

VOLUME 98 • NUMBER 3 • JUNE 1993

# The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

**LIBRARY**  
St Andrews Presbyterian College  
JUN 22 1993



*Launching a New Generation of History Supplements*

## Bedford Books in American History

Advisory Editor: Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

The Autobiography of  
Benjamin Franklin

Edited with an Introduction by Louis P. Masur



### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Edited with an introduction by Louis P. Masur, *City College of CUNY*

1993/175 pages/paper/\$5.00 (net)

"Perfectly geared to an undergraduate audience . . . a very trenchant and wide-ranging treatment of Franklin's biographical development and the history of Franklin interpretation."

— Richard Wightman Fox, *Boston University*

Narrative of the Life of  
Frederick Douglass  
An American Slave  
Written by Himself

Edited with an Introduction by David W. Blight



### NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE

Edited with an introduction by David W. Blight, *Amherst College*

1993/163 pages/paper/\$5.00 (net)

"I think this edition promises to be the most useful version available of Douglass' *Narrative*."

— David Brion Davis, *Yale University*

Plunkitt of  
Tammany Hall  
by William L. Riordon

Edited with an Introduction by Terrence J. McDonald



### PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

by William L. Riordon

Edited with an introduction by Terrence J. McDonald, *University of Michigan*

August 1993/160 pages/paper/\$5.00 (net)

"This is a model of how teaching materials should be crafted."

— Roger W. Lotchin, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

American Cold War  
Strategy  
Interpreting NSC 68

Edited with an Introduction by Ernest R. May



### AMERICAN COLD WAR STRATEGY

INTERPRETING NSC 68

Edited with an introduction by Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

1993/223 pages/paper/\$6.50 (net)

"A very interesting reader on an important subject. Ernest May's introduction is superb."

— Robert Dallek, *University of California at Los Angeles*

**Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press**

For exam copies, call 1-800-446-8923



# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

## Elected Officers

*President:* LOUISE A. TILLY, *New School for Social Research, New York*  
*President-elect:* THOMAS C. HOLT, *University of Chicago*  
*Vice-Presidents:* BLANCHE WIESEN COOK, *John Jay College, CUNY, Research Division*  
DREW GILPIN FAUST, *University of Pennsylvania, Professional Division*  
ROBERT A. BLACKKEY, *California State University, San Bernardino, Teaching Division*

## Appointed Officers

*Executive Director:* SAMUEL R. GAMMON  
*AHR Editor:* DAVID L. RANSEL, *Indiana University, Bloomington*  
*Controller:* RANDY NORELL

## Elected Council Members

FREDERIC E. WAKEMAN, JR.  
*University of California, Berkeley*  
*Immediate Past President*

SUZANNE WILSON BARNETT  
*University of Puget Sound*

NELL IRVIN PAINTER  
*Princeton University*

DONALD A. RITCHIE  
*Senate Historical Office*

CAROLE K. FINK  
*Ohio State University*

MARY ELIZABETH PERRY  
*Occidental College and  
University of California,  
Los Angeles*

SAM BASS WARNER, JR.  
*Brandeis University*

Cover illustration: A French *garçonne* of the 1920s. From Raymonde Sée, *Le costume de la révolution à nos jours* (Paris, 1929). See the article in this issue by Mary Louise Roberts, "Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France."



*The American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

*The AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: For incomes of \$60,000 and above, \$85.00 annually; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$75.00; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$65.00; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$45.00; below \$20,000, students, and joint memberships \$25.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$35.00; life \$1,200; teachers of K-12 \$70.00, K-12 without *The Review* \$45.00. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17.00. Subscription rates effective for volume 98: Class I, *American Historical Review* only, United States \$52.00, foreign \$65.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

#### GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. Texts, including quotations and footnotes, should be double-spaced with generous margins. Submissions sent from the North American continent should include four copies of the complete text (two copies if from abroad). Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 30 pages in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. Especially helpful are submissions that are IBM compatible. These include word-processing programs on 5.25 or 3.5-inch diskettes supported by MS-DOS and, in particular, WordPerfect. To check if your disk is compatible, call our Production Manager at (812) 855-0024.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *Review* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1993

All rights reserved

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.



# The American Historical Review

---

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Editor:* DAVID L. RANSEL

*Associate Editor:* LEAH SHOPKOW

*Assistant Editors:* WILLIAM V. BISHEL  
ALLYN ROBERTS

*Contributing Editor:* ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

*Office Manager:* SHANNON L. KAHLER

*Production Manager:* GUTA DAVIS

*Editorial Assistants:* CLAYTON BLACK, DEBORAH A. GERSHENOWITZ, STEPHEN L. HARP,  
PATRICK LEARY, CYNTHIA NELSON MEYER, RONALD H. PETERS,  
WILLARD SUNDERLAND, SIN-KIONG WONG

*Part-time Copy-editor:* THOMAS PRASCH

*Advertising Manager:* EMILY FRYE

## Board of Editors

THOMAS BENDER  
*New York University*

MARCIA COLISH  
*Oberlin College*

FREDERICK COOPER  
*University of Michigan*

ISABEL V. HULL  
*Cornell University*

PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK  
*University of Colorado  
at Boulder*

PHILIP NORD  
*Princeton University*

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.  
*University of South Florida*

CAROLE SHAMMAS  
*University of California,  
Riverside*

PETER STANSKY  
*Stanford University*

ROBERT B. WESTBROOK  
*University of Rochester*

## In This Issue

This issue begins with three essays on aspects of modernism in France, Germany, and Japan. The first treats the scandalous female fashions of post-World War I France, the second the political uses of the anxiety caused by potential attack from the air in interwar Germany, and the third licensed prostitution in Japan and its meaning for state regulation and national defense.

Consumerism and fashion have become an important focus of historical research in recent years. **Mary Louise Roberts** explores the controversies surrounding women's fashions in France during the 1920s. The short bobbed hair and abbreviated dresses of the time scandalized many observers, who feared unconventional female behavior and the blurring of gender boundaries. Supporters of the fashions interpreted them as a visual symbol of female liberation. Supposedly giving women freedom and convenience, the new styles, in fact, demanded much effort and money from women. The fashions nevertheless produced an illusion of freedom that played an important role in the political struggle over the redefinition of female identity after World War I.

A different type of fashion became important in Germany during the same period: airmindedness. **Peter Fritzsche** looks at the peculiar turn taken in Germany in regard to the vulnerability that all Europeans felt about air warfare after World War I. He examines the political implications of air defense measures, especially after the Nazi seizure of power. Under threat of bomber attack, Germans accepted the discipline of the National Socialist regime, organized air defense groups, and experimented with new political and gender roles. Fritzsche sees the nationalists as using this threat and the associated mobilization as a means of reformulating the nation in the machine-age terms that were so much a part of European thinking, imbued as it was by a belief in technological solutions to social problems.

Another aspect of modernism is taken up by **Sheldon Garon**, this time in the context of Japanese society. Like France and some other Western countries, modern Japan instituted an elaborate system of licensed prostitution, and Garon compares the arguments of Japanese regulationists and abolitionists with those of their counterparts in the West. The Japanese arguments were similar to Western ones in some respects but also differed significantly because the context was a non-Christian society whose norms and laws openly tolerated extramarital sexuality by males and assigned little importance to the conjugal relationship in the patriarchal family. Licensed prostitution also illuminates a key relationship between state and society; Japanese bureaucrats saw this task as part of a larger program of "social management" and economic development. But Garon questions prevailing views of this type of regulation as an imposition of an autonomous Japanese state and contends that middle-class abolitionists also played a central role in defining social mores. The essay ends with a discussion of the close relations between these social reformers and state officials in the 1930s when they

allied to suppress cafés, dance halls, and other manifestations of Western "modernism."

**Valerie Kivelson** adds to the instructive new analyses of the roots of social upheaval in early modern non-Western societies. Recent studies have rejected the old views of these events as irrational responses to material deprivation or movements orchestrated by elites. Kivelson argues that the tsarist court and the common people had a shared conception of political life based on Orthodox religious morals. The urban rebels who shook the Muscovite state in the mid-seventeenth century believed in the ideology of personal tsarist rule and were able to turn this common view of tsarism against the tsar himself for his countenancing of bureaucratic rule. Established moral conceptions clashed with the new form of government organization required by a modernizing state.

The final three essays treat Latin American labor history. We first received the essays by **Thomas F. O'Brien** and **Jonathan C. Brown** on U.S. corporations and workers in Cuba and Mexico, respectively. As a way of introducing and contextualizing these two studies of specific issues, we invited **Charles Bergquist** to write an essay on the current state of labor history in the Latin American field.

**Bergquist** notes the decline of the labor movement in the United States, the ideological crisis affecting the Left after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, and the current appeal of neo-liberalism. He believes nevertheless that labor history can make an important contribution to the definition of a new democratic politics that will give a voice to working people. Bergquist offers a critical review of challenges to traditional labor history posed by studies of worker control over the labor process, by gender analyses of working-class history, and by global perspectives and postmodernist criticism. With the exception of postmodernism, he sees these challenges as mutually reinforcing and as suggestive of viable democratic alternatives to the neo-liberal politics now reordering social and political relations in the world. The essays by O'Brien and Brown illustrate these themes in specific locales.

Despite the enormous importance of American corporate penetration of Third World countries, knowledge of this process remains rudimentary. Historians have studied in detail the forces in American society that shaped multinational enterprises but given little attention to the interaction between the multinationals and the foreign societies in which they operated. **Thomas F. O'Brien's** essay on the experience of General Electric in Cuba explores key aspects of the culture that this and other foreign companies brought with them as well as the responses of the Cuban working people and middle class to the agents and policies of this alien business culture. O'Brien then measures the effects of these responses on the course of Cuban history.

A similar story is told about Mexico by **Jonathan C. Brown**. The American and other foreign businessmen who brought modern industry to Mexico in the late

nineteenth century were not able to create the efficient, dependable, inexpensive, and obedient labor force that they hoped for. Mexican workers entered modern industry on their own terms. They changed jobs frequently, appropriated company property, took off on favorite holidays, and retained their cultural values and social preferences. The companies' importation of North American skilled workers at high wage levels spurred Mexicans to organize and seek government assistance in challenging foreign employers. Although Mexican workers eventually became dependent on wage labor, they did so through a process of negotiation in which many of their own social needs and cultural preferences had to be taken into account.

### Articles

- Samson and Delilah Revisited:  
The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France  
BY MARY LOUISE ROBERTS 657
- Machine Dreams: Airmindedness and the Reinvention of Germany  
BY PETER FRITZSCHE 685
- The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State  
in Imperial Japan, 1900–1945  
BY SHELDON GARON 710
- The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising  
BY VALERIE A. KIVELSON 733

### *AHR Forum*

- Labor History and Its Challenges:  
Confessions of a Latin Americanist  
BY CHARLES BERGQUIST 757
- The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Cuba  
BY THOMAS F. O'BRIEN 765
- Foreign and Native-Born Workers in Porfirian Mexico  
BY JONATHAN C. BROWN 786

### Featured Reviews

- Jacques Le Goff  
*History and Memory*  
BY HANS KELLNER 819



Liah Greenfeld <i>Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity</i> By GALE STOKES	821
David C. Lindberg <i>The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450</i> By RICHARD C. DALES	822
Paul Robinson <i>Freud and His Critics</i> By PETER GAY	823
Laura Engelstein <i>The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia</i> By MARK D. STEINBERG	825
Paul Boyer <i>When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture</i> By BRUCE KUKLICK	827

## Reviews of Books

### GENERAL

MARK POSTER. <i>The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context.</i> By Robert Anchor	829	M. C. HOWARD and J. E. KING. <i>A History of Marxian Economics. Volume 2, 1929-1990.</i> By Rondo Cameron	836
HARVEY J. KAYE. <i>The Powers of the Past: Reflections on the Crisis and the Promise of History.</i> By Fred Weinstein	830	JEFFREY KNAPP. <i>An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest.</i> By Arthur Ferguson	837
JANET COLEMAN. <i>Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past.</i> By Donald R. Kelley	830	TONY FREYER. <i>Regulating Big Business: Antitrust in Great Britain and America, 1880-1990.</i> By Philip Scranton	838
THOMAS LAQUEUR. <i>Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud.</i> By Angus McLaren	832	DANIEL YERGIN. <i>The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power.</i> By Melvin A. Conant	839
JOHN M. RIDDLE. <i>Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance.</i> By James A. Brundage	833	CLIFFORD M. FOUST. <i>Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug.</i> By Roderick E. McGrew	840
WALLY SECCOMBE. <i>A Millennium of Family Change: Feudalism to Capitalism in Northwestern Europe.</i> By Charles Tilly	833	ALLEN GUTTMANN. <i>The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games.</i> By Alfred Erich Senn	840
VRON WARE. <i>Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History.</i> By Margaret Strobel	834		
THOMAS NEVILLE BONNER. <i>To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine.</i> By Donald Meyer	835		
ALBERT S. LINDEMANN. <i>The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915.</i> By Stephen Wilson	836		

### ANCIENT

DONALD B. REDFORD. <i>Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times.</i> By Richard H. Wilkinson	841
SUZANNE DIXON. <i>The Roman Family.</i> By Brent D. Shaw	842
LESLIE KURKE. <i>The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy.</i> By Michael H. Jameson	842
JOHN D. GRAINGER. <i>Hellenistic Phoenicia.</i> By Richard A. Billows	843

- ROSS SHEPARD KRAEMER. *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World.*  
By Marilyn B. Skinner 844
- DAVID COHEN. *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens.*  
By Cynthia Patterson 845

## MEDIEVAL

- CLARISSA W. ATKINSON. *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages.*  
By Jacqueline Murray 846
- RICHARD P. ABELS. *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England.*  
By Steven Fanning 847
- JANET L. NELSON. *Charles the Bald.*  
By Constance B. Bouchard 848
- MARY STROLL. *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest.*  
By Robert Somerville 848
- MICHAEL A. KÖHLER. *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert.*  
By James M. Powell 849
- ALESSANDRO BARBERO. *Un santo in famiglia: Vocazione religiosa e resistenze sociali nell'agiografia latina medievale.*  
By Richard C. Trexler 850
- STEPHAN R. EPSTEIN. *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily.*  
By William A. Percy 851
- MARJORIE O'ROURKE BOYLE. *Petrarch's Genius: Pentimento and Prophecy.*  
By George McClure 852
- JOEL T. ROSENTHAL. *Patriarchy and Families of Privilege in Fifteenth-Century England.*  
By Barbara A. Hanawalt 853
- J. H. BURNS. *Lordship, Kingship, and Empire: The Idea of Monarchy, 1400–1525.*  
By Brian Tierney 853
- GLORIA FLAHERTY. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.*  
By Elizabeth A. Williams 859
- BETTY JO TEETER DOBBS. *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought.*  
By William R. Shea 860
- DENNIS R. DEAN. *James Hutton and the History of Geology.*  
By Rachel Laudan 861
- DANIEL M. SIEGEL. *Innovation in Maxwell's Electromagnetic Theory: Molecular Vortices, Displacement Current, and Light;* BRUCE J. HUNT. *The Maxwellians.*  
By David Cahan 861
- SANDI E. COOPER. *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815–1914.*  
By Michael Richards 863
- ALLAN MITCHELL. *The Divided Path: The German Influence on Social Reform in France after 1870.*  
By Rachel G. Fuchs 863
- JAMES FULCHER. *Labour Movements, Employers and the State: Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden.*  
By Lars G. Sandberg 865
- J. H. HEXTER, editor. *Parliament and Liberty: From the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War.*  
By Michael G. Finlayson 865
- C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE. *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith.*  
By Dewey D. Wallace, Jr. 866
- CONRAD RUSSELL. *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637–1642.*  
By Paul Christianson 867
- IAN GENTLES. *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645–1653.*  
By Leo F. Solt 868
- SHELLEY BURTT. *Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688–1740.*  
By J. G. A. Pocock 869
- C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE. *The Discovery of Childhood in Puritan England.*  
By Susan Dwyer Amussen 871
- WILLIAM WEBER. *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology.*  
By A. Peter Brown 871

## MODERN EUROPE

- MARGARET L. KING. *Women of the Renaissance.*  
By Benjamin G. Kohl 854
- DJELAL KADIR. *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology.*  
By Amy G. Gordon 855
- DENO JOHN GEANAKOPOLOS. *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine and Roman Churches.*  
By Alexander Kazhdan 856
- HEINZ SCHILLING. *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries.*  
By Andrew Fix 857
- BRIAN M. DOWNING. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe.*  
By Geoffrey Symcox 857
- MARGARET C. JACOB. *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe.*  
By John T. Graham 858
- ROY PORTER. *Doctor of Society: Thomas Beddoes and the Sick Trade in Late-Enlightenment England.*  
By Jo Hays 872
- LISA ROSNER. *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices, 1760–1826.*  
By Richard S. Thompson 873
- S. M. WADDAMS. *Law, Politics and the Church of England: The Career of Stephen Lushington, 1782–1873.*  
By Richard A. Cosgrove 874
- DAVID F. MITCH. *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy.*  
By Edward Stevens, Jr. 875
- ANDREW DAVIES. *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900–1939.*  
By Peter Bailey 875
- ERIK GOLDSTEIN. *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916–1920.*  
By D. N. Lammers 876

- EDMUND S. K. FUNG. *The Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat: Britain's South China Policy, 1924-1931.*  
By Donald A. Jordan 876
- ROBERT DARNTON. *Gens de lettres, gens du livre.*  
By Jack R. Censer 877
- THOMAS MCSTAY ADAMS. *Bureaucrats and Beggars: French Social Policy in the Age of the Enlightenment.*  
By Alan Williams 878
- GEOFFREY ADAMS. *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration.*  
By Richard M. Golden 879
- JEAN-LAURENT ROSENTHAL. *The Fruits of Revolution: Property Rights, Litigation, and French Agriculture, 1700-1860.*  
By Robert Forster 880
- MALCOLM CROOK. *Toulon in War and Revolution: From the ancien régime to the Restoration, 1750-1820.*  
By David Higgs 880
- HARVEY CHISICK. *The Production, Distribution and Readership of a Conservative Journal of the Early French Revolution: The Ami du Roi of the Abbé Royou.*  
By Jeremy D. Popkin 881
- LYNN HUNT. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution.*  
By Dorinda Outram 882
- NATALIE ISSER. *Antisemitism during the French Second Empire.*  
By Paula E. Hyman 883
- ALAIN CORBIN. *The Village of Cannibals: Rage and Murder in France, 1870.*  
By John M. Merriman 883
- FRANÇOIS RENAULT. *Le Cardinal Lavignerie, 1825-1892: L'Église, l'Afrique et la France.*  
By William A. Hoisington, Jr. 885
- NICOLE JORDAN. *The Popular Front and Central Europe: The Dilemmas of French Impotence, 1918-1940.*  
By Piotr S. Wandycz 885
- DARRYL HOLTER. *The Battle for Coal: Miners and the Politics of Nationalization in France, 1940-1950.*  
By John Gillingham 886
- ALAN WILLIAMS. *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking.*  
By Pierre Sorlin 887
- OSKAR GARSTEIN. *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia. Volume 3, Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553-1622; volume 4, The Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden, 1622-1656.*  
By Arne Hassing 888
- KIMMO IKONEN. *J. K. Paasikiven poliittinen toiminta Suomen itsenäistymisen murrosvaiheessa [J. K. Paasikivi's Political Activity during the Critical Stage of Finland's Development toward Independence].*  
By Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen 889
- MARC FORSTER. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720.*  
By R. Po-chia Hsia 889
- DIRK BLASIUS. *Friedrich Wilhelm IV. 1795-1861: Psychopathologie und Geschichte.*  
By David E. Barclay 890
- KARL ROHE. *Wahlen und Wählertradition in Deutschland: Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.*  
By Franklin C. West 891
- ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER. *Police and the Social Order in German Cities: The Düsseldorf District, 1848-1914.*  
By Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee 892
- CHRISTIAN GOTTHARDT. *Industrialisierung, bürgerliche Politik und proletarische Autonomie: Voraussetzungen und Varianten sozialistischer Klassenorganisationen in Nordwestdeutschland 1863 bis 1875.*  
By Eric Dorn Brose 892
- HEIDRUN HOMBURG. *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt—Management—Arbeiterschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900-1939.*  
By Bernard P. Bellon 893
- JÜRGEN ZARUSKY. *Die deutschen Sozialdemokraten und das sowjetische Modell: Ideologische Auseinandersetzung und ausenpolitische Konzeptionen 1917-1933.*  
By Dan S. White 894
- PETER HUBERT. *Uniformierter Reichstag: Die Geschichte der Pseudo-Volksvertretung 1933-1945.*  
By Jay W. Baird 895
- MICHAEL H. KATER. *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany.*  
By R. E. Sackett 895
- MARGARET F. STIEG. *Public Libraries in Nazi Germany.*  
By Gary D. Stark 896
- R. H. S. STOLFI. *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted.*  
By Alan F. Wilt 897
- GILES MACDONOGH. *A Good German: Adam von Trott zu Solz.*  
By Klemens von Klemperer 897
- CONSTANTIN GOSCHLER. *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus (1945-1954).*  
By Michael L. Hughes 898
- MARK ROSEMAN. *Recasting the Ruhr, 1945-1958: Manpower, Economic Recovery and Labour Relations.*  
By Raymond G. Stokes 899
- ANTHONY J. PAREL. *The Machiavellian Cosmos.*  
By Charles Trinkaus 900
- SERGIO PAGANO. *Il processo di Endimio Calandra e l'inquisizione a Mantova nel 1567-1568.*  
By John Tedeschi 901
- MARIO TOSTI. *Le Banche dei poveri: Carità, mutualità e piccolo credito nelle campagne umbre dall'antico regime all'età liberale.*  
By Jon S. Cohen 901
- SABINA LORIGA. *Soldats: Un laboratoire disciplinaire: L'armée piémontaise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.*  
By Claude C. Sturgill 902
- CATHERINE WENDY BRACEWELL. *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic.*  
By Traian Stoianovich 903
- GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS. *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Charles A. Frazee 904
- PAUL SANT CASSIA and CONSTANTINA BADA. *The Making of the Modern Greek Family: Marriage and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Athens.*  
By Ernestine Friedl 904

ARTUR EISENBACH. *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780-1870.*

By Gershon David Hundert 905

JOCHEN SCHMIDT. *Populismus oder Marxismus: Zur Ideengeschichte der radikalen Intelligenz Rumäniens 1875-1915.*

By Keith Hitchins 906

SERGIU VERONA. *Military Occupation and Diplomacy: Soviet Troops in Romania, 1944-1958.*

By Dov B. Lungu 907

SABRINA P. RAMET. *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991.*

By John C. Campbell 907

PAUL BUSHKOVITCH. *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

By Eve Levin 908

MARINUS A. WES. *Classics in Russia 1700-1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen.*

By Marc Raef 909

DAVID SAUNDERS. *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801-1881.*

By Gregory L. Freeze 910

BENJAMIN PINKUS. *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority.*

By Robert M. Seltzer 911

YAACOV RO'I. *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration 1948-1967.*

By Robert Weinberg 911

DAVID MACLAREN McDONALD. *United Government and Foreign Policy in Russia 1900-1914.*

By W. Bruce Lincoln 912

S. V. TIUTIUKIN. *Iul'skii politicheskii krizis 1906 g. v Rossii* [The July 1906 Crisis in Russia].

By Abraham Ascher 913

G. A. GERASIMENKO. *Zemskoe samoupravlenie v Rossii* [Zemstvo Self-Government in Russia].

By Scott J. Seregny 914

R. C. ELWOOD. *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist.*

By Beatrice Farnsworth 915

RICHARD K. DEBO. *Survival and Consolidation: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1918-1921.*

By Stephen Blank 915

## NEAR EAST

STANFORD J. SHAW. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.*

By Daniel J. Schroeter 916

FRED H. LAWSON. *The Social Origins of Egyptian Expansionism during the Muhammad 'Ali Period.*

By Byron Cannon 917

MOSTAFA ELM. *Oil, Power, and Principle: Iran's Oil Nationalization and Its Aftermath.*

By Ervand Abrahamian 918

JILL CRYSTAL. *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State.*

By Calvin H. Allen, Jr. 919

JULIE M. PETEET. *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement.*

By Julia Clancy-Smith 919

## AFRICA

GEBRU TAREKE. *Ethiopia: Power and Protest; Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century.*

By Edmond J. Keller 920

MARYINEZ LYONS. *The Colonial Disease: A Social History of Sleeping Sickness in Northern Zaire, 1900-1940.*

By Randall M. Packard 921

JOHN C. YODER. *The Kanyok of Zaire: An Institutional and Ideological History to 1895.*

By David Newbury 922

ROBERT J. GORDON. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass.*

By William Minter 923

## ASIA

MARTIN J. POWERS. *Art and Political Expression in Early China.*

By Chun-shu Chang 924

SUSAN NAQUIN and CHÜN-FANG YÜ, editors. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China.*

By Romeyn Taylor 925

RODERICK MACFARQUHAR and JOHN K. FAIRBANK, editors. *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 15, The People's Republic, Part 2: Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution, 1966-1982.*

By Lowell Dittmer 926

JEFFREY P. MASS. *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History.*

By Anne Walthall 927

HITOMI TONOMURA. *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho.*

By Paul Varley 928

MIRIAM SILVERBERG. *Changing Song: The Marxist Manifestos of Nakano Shigeharu.*

By Sheldon Garon 928

HY V. LUONG. *Revolution in the Village: Tradition and Transformation in North Vietnam, 1925-1988.*

By Mark W. McLeod 929

STEVEN KEMPER. *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics, and Culture in Sinhala Life.*

By Prasenjit Duara 930

TAJ UL-ISLAM HASHMI. *Pakistan as a Peasant Utopia: The Communalization of Class Politics in East Bengal, 1920-1947.*

By Ainslie T. Embree 930

WILLIAM J. LINES. *Taming the Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia.*

By Sally Gregory Kohlstedt 931

## UNITED STATES

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN. *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero.*

By David Glassberg 932

CARVILLE EARLE. *Geographical Inquiry and American Historical Problems.*

By Michael Storper 932

HOWARD M. SACHAR. *A History of Jews in America.*

By Jeffrey S. Gurock 934

- LAWRENCE FOSTER. *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons.*  
By Priscilla J. Brewer 935
- LAWRENCE J. McCAFFREY. *Textures of Irish America.*  
By Dennis Clark 935
- NORRIS HUNDLEY, JR. *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s.*  
By Robert W. Righter 936
- JAMES R. STONER, JR. *Common Law and Liberal Theory: Coke, Hobbes, and the Origins of American Constitutionalism.*  
By Henry J. Bourguignon 937
- PETER CHARLES HOFFER. *Law and People in Colonial America.*  
By A. G. Roeber 937
- AMANDA PORTERFIELD. *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism.*  
By Charles L. Cohen 938
- EDWIN S. GAUSTAD. *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America.*  
By Richard W. Pointer 939
- DANIEL P. JONES. *The Economic and Social Transformation of Rural Rhode Island, 1780-1850.*  
By Sheila L. Skemp 939
- LAWRENCE W. KENNEDY. *Planning the City upon a Hill: Boston since 1630.*  
By David Schuyler 940
- DONALD A. GRINDE, JR. and BRUCE E. JOHANSEN. *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy.*  
By Yasuhide Kawashima 941
- CAROL DEVENS. *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900.*  
By Richard White 941
- HERTHA DAWN WONG. *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years: Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography.*  
By Sam D. Gill 942
- LISA WILSON. *Life after Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850.*  
By Rosemarie Zagarri 943
- MARY ZWIEP. *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii.*  
By Anne M. Boylan 943
- WILLIAM EARL WEEKS. *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire.*  
By Reginald C. Stuart 944
- WILLIAM R. TAYLOR. *In Pursuit of Gotham: Culture and Commerce in New York.*  
By Karal Ann Marling 945
- ROBERT K. SUTTON. *Americans Interpret the Parthenon: The Progression of Greek Revival Architecture from the East Coast to Oregon, 1800-1860.*  
By Robert Muccigrosso 945
- R. SCOTT APPLEBY. "Church and Age Unite!" *The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism.*  
By Robert D. Cross 946
- ROGER WUNDERLICH. *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York.*  
By Carl J. Guarneri 947
- BRUCE LEVINE. *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War.*  
By Richard Stott 948
- EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER. *Salem is My Dwelling Place: A Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne.*  
By Joy S. Kasson 948
- RICHARD NELSON CURRENT. *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy.*  
By James Marten 949
- ROBERT D. SAWREY. *Dubious Victory: The Reconstruction Debate in Ohio.*  
By Ross A. Webb 950
- DUANE A. SMITH. *Rocky Mountain West: Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, 1859-1915.*  
By Mark S. Foster 950
- EDWARD L. AYERS. *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction.*  
By Steven M. Stowe 951
- RICHARD K. SCHER. *Politics in the New South: Republicanism, Race, and Leadership in the Twentieth Century.*  
By Numan V. Bartley 952
- SIDNEY W. MINTZ and RICHARD PRICE. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective.*  
By David Roediger 953
- STEPHEN WARD ANGELL. *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South.*  
By David M. Tucker 953
- WAYNE J. URBAN. *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904-1972.*  
By V. P. Franklin 954
- NICHOLAS NATANSON. *The Black Image in the New Deal: The Politics of FSA Photography.*  
By David P. Peeler 955
- ROBERT J. JAKEMAN. *The Divided Skies: Establishing Segregated Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934-1942.*  
By Steven F. Lawson 955
- LOUIS CANTOR. *Wheelin' on Beale: How WDIA-Memphis Became the Nation's First All-Black Radio Station and Created the Sound that Changed America.*  
By Daphne Duval Harrison 956
- ROBERT A. PRATT. *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89.*  
By Donald Spivey 957
- LAWRENCE J. OLIVER. *Brander Matthews, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Politics of American Literature, 1880-1920.*  
By George Cotkin 958
- PAUL WOLMAN. *Most Favored Nation: The Republican Revisionists and U.S. Tariff Policy, 1897-1912.*  
By David M. Fletcher 958
- PAUL D. LACK. *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History, 1835-1836.*  
By Archie P. McDonald 959
- STUART FEDER. *Charles Ives: "My Father's Song"; A Psychoanalytic Biography.*  
By Kathleen M. Dalton 960
- GREGG MITMAN. *The State of Nature: Ecology, Community, and American Social Thought, 1900-1950.*  
By Roderick Frazier Nash 960
- JAMES E. BRITTAIN. *Alexanderson: Pioneer in American Electrical Engineering.*  
By Harold Sharlin 961
- THOMAS S. DICKE. *Franchising in America: The Development of a Business Method, 1840-1980.*  
By Alan R. Raucher 962



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Topical Table of Contents

Administration 876, 879	Gender 919, 935, 938, 941, 986
Agriculture 839, 880	Historiography 819, 830, 983
Anthropology 859, 923, 953	Immigration 911, 935, 982
Architecture 945	Institutions 892, 895, 896, 914, 922
Art 924, 955	Intellectual 823, 830, 836, 852, 855, 859, 869, 878, 900, 906, 909, 922, 928, 937, 941, 960, 966, 968, 983
Biography 861, 890, 897, 915, 939, 948, 953, 954, 960, 961, 966, 967, 968, 972, 973, 975, 983	Journalism 882
Business 838, 839, 893, 962, 980	Labor 865, 892, 893, 899, 948, 962, 963, 964, 965
Civil Wars 868, 949	Legal 836, 845, 875, 898, 937, 969, 970, 971
Class 876, 892, 930	Literature 837, 842, 852, 878, 909, 928, 942, 948, 958
Colonialism 837, 855, 885, 921, 923, 980	Medicine 833, 835, 839, 863, 872, 874, 921
Comparative 821, 834, 835, 836, 838, 857, 865, 985	Methods 922
Constitutional 937	Military 847, 857, 868, 897, 902, 903, 907, 949, 955, 972
Crime and Violence 885, 892, 903	Music 871, 895, 956, 960
Cultural 825, 827, 829, 859, 876, 878, 883, 895, 896, 926, 930, 932, 935, 945, 947, 950, 951, 953, 955, 956, 958, 976, 977	Nationalism 821, 907, 918, 930
Demography 833	Peace 863
Economics 833, 836, 851, 893, 899, 901, 917, 939, 958	Philanthropy 879
Education 874, 875, 896, 909, 954, 957, 966, 977, 980	Philosophy 830
Empire 837, 843	Political 848, 853, 858, 865, 867, 869, 889, 891, 892, 894, 895, 898, 900, 907, 910, 913, 915, 917, 919, 930, 946, 950, 951, 952, 958, 964, 967, 972, 973, 977, 978, 979
Environment 931, 932, 936, 960	Professions 892
Ethnicity 903, 904, 905, 911, 916, 922, 923, 935, 948, 982	Psychology 890
Family 833, 842, 846, 853, 871, 904, 977	Race Relations 834, 941, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957
Film 887, 976	Radicalism 894, 906, 963, 966, 987
Foreign Relations 849, 876, 877, 886, 897, 907, 912, 915, 944, 958, 974, 975, 979, 984	



**Religion**

827, 844, 848, 850, 855, 856, 857, 866, 868,  
871, 880, 883, 885, 888, 889, 901, 905, 908,  
911, 916, 925, 930, 934, 935, 938, 939, 943,  
953, 959, 968, 981

**Revolution**

880, 881, 882, 883, 913, 915, 918, 920, 926,  
929, 946, 987

**Science and Technology**

822, 860, 861, 932, 961, 969, 977, 983

**Sexuality**

825, 832, 833, 845, 986

**Social**

841, 851, 863, 927, 928, 939, 946, 951, 962

**Sports**

840

**Theory**

819, 829, 830, 983

**Trade**

839

**Urban**

881, 892, 940, 945

**War**

881

**Women**

834, 835, 844, 846, 854, 904, 915, 919, 941,  
943, 964, 967, 981, 986

## Contributors

**Charles Bergquist** is professor of history at the University of Washington, Seattle, where he contributes to programs in Latin American studies and labor studies. He is the author of *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886–1910* (1978) and *Labor in Latin America* (1986) and the editor of books on development theory, labor in the global economy, and violence in Colombia. Bergquist is currently at work on a book titled *Five Easy Pieces: Labor Perspectives on the History of U.S.–Latin American Relations*, which will develop the ideas sketched in his contribution to this issue.

**Jonathan C. Brown**, professor of history at the University of Texas at Austin, has written *A Socio-economic History of Argentina, 1776–1860* (1979), winner of the Bolton Prize, and *Oil and Revolution in Mexico* (1993). His research on the development of Mexican petroleum by foreign companies led him to question the impact of industrialization on the workers, and he began to investigate how workers influenced the development of modern industry. Currently, he is editing a book on workers' control in Latin America and researching the history of the Mexican oil workers.

Associate professor of history at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, **Peter Fritzsche** received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1986. He is the author of *Rehearsals for Fascism: Populism and Political Mobilization in Weimar Germany* (1990) and *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and Popular Imagination* (1992). He is now completing a book on boulevard newspapers and metropolitan vision in Wilhelmine Berlin.

**Sheldon Garon** is an associate professor of history and East Asian Studies at Princeton University. He is the author of *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (1987), for which he won the American Historical Association's John K. Fairbank Prize in 1988. Long a student of state-society relations, Garon is working on a study of "social management" in twentieth-century Japan. Individual chapters will examine welfare policies, suppression of popular religions, regulation of prostitution, and relations between women's groups and the state. He has also begun a historical study of Japanese savings and

frugality campaigns. Garon received his doctorate from Yale University in 1981.

**Valerie Kivelson** is an assistant professor at the University of Michigan. She completed her doctorate at Stanford University. Now finishing a book on Muscovite political culture and the provincial gentry in the seventeenth century, Kivelson is beginning work on witchcraft in Russia from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. She is the author of "Through the Prism of Witchcraft: Gender and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Muscovy," in *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation*, edited by Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Christine D. Worobec (1991). Her interest in political culture as it affected Russians outside of the Moscow elite led her to the exploration in this issue of the political ideas of urban rebels.

**Thomas F. O'Brien** is an associate professor of history at the University of Houston. He studied under Hugh M. Hamill at the University of Connecticut, where he received his Ph.D. in 1977. His book *The Nitrate Industry and Chile's Crucial Transition* (1982) examines the influence of British economic penetration on Chile's national development. His articles on the effects of foreign investment in Latin America have appeared in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, the *Journal of Latin American Studies*, and the *Business History Review*. O'Brien is completing a study of the influence of U.S. corporate culture in Latin America prior to World War II.

**Mary Louise Roberts** is an assistant professor of history at Stanford University. Her book *Civilization without Sexes: The Great War, Cultural Crisis and the Debate on Women, 1917–1927*, will appear in early 1994 as part of Catharine Stimpson's "Women in Culture and Society" series, published by the University of Chicago Press. Roberts' major research interest is the history of women and gender in modern France. Her next project will concern gender and journalism at the fin de siècle and center on *La fronde*, a daily newspaper written, produced, and typeset by women from 1897 to 1905.

---

## Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France

---

MARY LOUISE ROBERTS

Once Delilah emasculated Samson by cutting his hair. Today, she believes she can make herself virile by cutting hers.

Victor Margueritte, *La garçonne* (1922).

IN FRANCE DURING THE 1920s, FASHION WAS A HIGHLY CHARGED ISSUE. In 1925, an article in *L'oeuvre* jocularly described how the fashion of short hair had completely overturned life in a small French village. After the first woman in the village cut her hair, accompanied by "tears and grinding of teeth" on the part of her family, the fashion had quickly become "epidemic: from house to house, it took its victims." A gardener swore he would lock up his daughter until her hair grew back; a husband believed that his wife had dishonored him. A scandalized curé decided to preach a sermon about it, but "unfortunately he had chosen the wrong day, since it was the feast of Jeanne d'Arc." As he began to condemn bobbed hair as indecent and unchristian, "the most impudent young ladies of the parish pointed insolently at the statue of the liberator."<sup>1</sup> By claiming the bobbed-cut Joan of Arc as their mascot, these young women grounded their quest for "liberation" in the rich, tangled mainstream of French history. They appealed to the ambivalent yet strongly traditional image of *Jeanne la pucelle* (Joan the Virgin), at once patriotic, fervently Christian, and sexually ambiguous.

The fashion among young women for short, bobbed hair created enormous tensions within the French family. Throughout the decade, newspapers recorded lurid tales, including one husband in the provinces who sequestered his wife for bobbing her hair and another father who reportedly killed his daughter for the

This essay is dedicated to the memory of Peter Roland Guerin (1946–1992), gifted teacher, mathematician, and generous friend. Funding for research was provided by a Fulbright Fellowship in 1987–1988, a Social Science Research Council Fellowship in 1989, and the Roy O'Connor Tocqueville Award in 1989. I would like to thank the many individuals who commented on earlier drafts, and in particular, Keith Baker, Estelle Freedman, Dan Gordon, Jennifer Jones, Cathy Kudlick, Tip Ragan, and the four anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*. I would especially like to thank Karen Sawislak and Joan Wallach Scott for their invariably excellent criticism and generous support. Final thanks to Katherine Jolluck for her superb copy editing. A different version of this material will appear in *Civilization without Sexes: The Great War, Cultural Crisis and the Debate on Women, 1917–1927* (Chicago, forthcoming, 1994).

<sup>1</sup> René Rambaud, *Les fugitives: Précis anecdotique et historique des coiffures féminines à travers les âges, des Egyptiens à 1945* (Paris, 1947), 250–51. He quoted the article in *L'oeuvre*, May 29, 1925.

same reason.<sup>2</sup> A father in Dijon sought legal action against a hairdresser in 1925 for cutting the hair of his daughter without his authority.<sup>3</sup> "At present, the question of short hair is dividing families," argued Antoine, one of the hairdressers who pioneered the bobbed cut.<sup>4</sup> "The result," according to journalist Paul Reboux, "was that during family meals, nothing is heard except the clicking of the forks on the porcelain."<sup>5</sup> One working-class woman, who was in her twenties during the era, remembered that her mother-in-law did not talk to her sister-in-law Simone for almost a year after the latter bobbed her hair.<sup>6</sup> René Rambaud, another hairdresser who helped to popularize the cut, recalled the story of a newly married woman who cut her hair, believing that she had the right to do so without consulting her parents. Her mother and father in turn accused her husband and his parents of the monstrous crime, leading to a rift so severe that the two families did not reconcile for twenty years.<sup>7</sup>

The outcry concerning the fashion of bobbed hair can be explained in part by its novelty and unfamiliarity. Short hair exemplified the dramatic, provocative changes sweeping the world of French fashion. Notions of female fashion had undergone a profound transformation since the beginning of the century.<sup>8</sup> According to the journalist René Bizet, for example, every aspect of female dress had not only changed but become the mirror opposite of what it had been in 1900.<sup>9</sup> Both before and during the war, as the ideal of the voluptuous, curvaceous woman gave way to a sinuous, smooth, "modernist" one, the compressed structural lines and highly ornamental fashions of the previous century were radically simplified. Paul Poiret pioneered the new minimalist style within the elite world of *haute couture* in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Working-class and middle-class women began to adopt the more efficient approach to fashion during the war.<sup>10</sup> In the early 1920s, designer Coco Chanel created a

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Guilleminault, *Les années folles* (Paris, 1958), 121.

<sup>3</sup> See Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 240; and Gaëtan Sanvosin, "La jeune fille et les plaideurs," *Le gaulois*, November 6, 1925, Dossier 391 Coiffure, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand (hereafter cited as BMD). A good example of just how seriously fashion was taken in this era is the size of and evidently careful research in Marguerite Durand's dossiers on fashion and hairstyles. Durand was a prominent feminist and a collector of a major archive on women, consultable today at the Bibliothèque Marguerite-Durand in the 13th arrondissement of Paris. Her dossiers, which consist of a plethora of articles carefully gleaned from the daily press and other periodicals, form a substantial part of the research of this article. Where possible, I have tried to verify the dates of articles and the accuracy of the quotations in the original publications. Besides using the dossiers on fashion at the BMD, my method has been to systematically research fashion, women's, and mainstream periodicals during the years 1918 to 1927, as well as to read all pamphlets and books on the subject published during these years.

<sup>4</sup> A. Décaux, *Histoire des françaises*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), 2: 1007. See also Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 205, where he refers to "la tempête d'imprécations et de violence contre ce mode." See also 216, 231, and 240, where he refers to "cette lutte épique" within families over short hair.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Reboux, "Opinion: Cheveux coupés," *L'oeuvre*, January 11, 1919.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, *Confessions of a Concierge: Madame Lucie's History of Twentieth-Century France* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 57.

<sup>7</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 240.

<sup>8</sup> René Bizet, *La mode* (Paris, 1925).

<sup>9</sup> Bizet, *La mode*. See also *Vogue*, March 1, 1923, and September 1, 1924; and "L'histoire de la mode féminine de 1900 à 1924: Huit des vingt-cinq poupées de Mmes Lafitte-Désirat," *L'illustration*, June 21, 1924, Dossier Mode, BMD.

<sup>10</sup> Historian Valerie Steele argues that the Poiret avant-garde style was being diffused in the years

sporty, casual mode by further simplifying Poiret's style. Mass-produced and meticulously imitated throughout France, the Chanel style reached its peak of popularity by 1925 and held sway until 1927 or 1928.<sup>11</sup>

The craze for short hair typified this chronology of change in the fashion world. At the fin-de-siècle, excessive, baroque hairstyles had dominated, and, in the pre-war years, only a few actresses, such as Caryathis and Eve Lavallière, cut their hair short.<sup>12</sup> Precisely who was responsible for popularizing the bob is a matter of dispute. Coco Chanel, who cut her hair in 1916, is often credited with the revolution in hairstyles, as are two hairdressers, Antoine Cierplikowski and René Rambaud, who pioneered the style in professional circles during the early 1920s (see Figure 1).<sup>13</sup> In any case, between 1918 and 1925, short, bobbed hair "à la Jeanne d'Arc" or "aux enfants d'Edouard," grew in popularity and by mid-decade was sending shock waves throughout France.<sup>14</sup> Important to the popularity of the bob was the 1922 publication of Victor Margueritte's novel *La garçonne*, about a young "modern woman" who rejects her bourgeois family, cuts her hair, adopts male dress, and leads a hedonistic and "liberated" life in Paris. According to René Rambaud, the novel, which became an overnight best seller, inspired young women throughout France to cut their hair and to follow the new style "à l'allure garçonnaire."<sup>15</sup> After 1922, the new styles were associated particularly with the young, sexy, independent "garçonne" or "femme moderne."

just prior to the war as well, but she does not detail how or why except to say that it was promoted in avant-garde art. See her excellent *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (New York, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> For two arguments that 1927 was a turning point, see *Mode des années folles, 1919–1929* (Paris, 1970); and François Boucher, *Histoire du costume en occident de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, new edn. (Paris, 1983). According to fashion historian Marylène Delbourg-Delphis, the new fashions evolved during 1920–1923. After 1923, the fashions greatly increased in popularity. She notes slight variations on the style during the years 1924–1930. See *Le chic et le look: Histoire de la mode féminine et des moeurs, de 1850 à nos jours* (Paris, 1981), 102, 108–10.

<sup>12</sup> It was the hairdresser Antoine who claimed to have cut off Eve Lavallière's hair. In his autobiography, Antoine Cierplikowski, *J'ai coiffé le monde entier! Présentation et propos recueillis par Jean Durtal* (Paris, 1963), 104–07, Antoine told the story of how he "discovered" the bob in trying to make this forty-year-old actress look young enough to play the part of an eighteen-year-old. Just as he was pondering what to do, he saw a young girl with very short hair bearing a letter for the actress.

As legend has it, the actress Caryathis cut off her hair in 1913, as a response to a man whom she had failed to arouse. She tied a ribbon around her shorn locks and left them hanging from a nail in his home. See Edmonde Charles-Roux, *Chanel: Her Life, Her World, and the Woman behind the Legend She Herself Created*, Nancy Amphoux, trans. (London, 1975), 164, where the author credits Caryathis for inspiring Chanel to cut off her own hair. Historians Catherine Lebas and Annie Jacques view the writer Colette as one of the pre-war pioneers of short hair, both because she cut her own and because she gave her fictional character Claudine short hair. See their *La coiffure en France du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1979), 269–74, for a detailed history of the bob.

<sup>13</sup> In her diary on May 30, 1917, Misia Sert, the famous Russian musician, attributed the trend to Coco Chanel. See Edmonde Charles-Roux, *Chanel and Her World* (London, 1981), 79. See also "La coiffure," *Vogue*, December 1, 1924, where Chanel is credited with starting the fashion of short hair. According to Lebas and Jacques in *La coiffure en France*, Antoine published the first short hairstyles in the professional press on March 1, 1919.

<sup>14</sup> See Margarete Braun-Ronsdorf, *Des merveilleuses aux garçonnnes: Histoire de l'élégance en Europe de 1789 à 1929* (Paris, 1963), 207, for the names of the new bob. See also M. Bruyère, *Une mode féminine: Les cheveux coupés* (Avignon, 1924), 7. According to Paul Gerbod, the 1920s are now seen as the golden age of hairdressing because of the short hair and "la vogue de l'indéfrisable." See Gerbod, "Les coiffeurs en France, 1890–1950," *Le mouvement social*, no. 114 (January–March 1981): 78.

<sup>15</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 248. See also Lebas and Jacques, *La coiffure en France*, 273. For the phrase "à l'allure garçonnaire," see Magdaleine Chaumont, "Confidences," *Comœdia*, March 18, 1925, Dossier Mode, BMD.



FIGURE 1: "Coiffures garçonnnes," *Le capilartiste*, 1925.

The fashion styles that emerged in the 1920s differed dramatically from those at the turn of the century. Since the new look emerged gradually, however, the controversy it inspired cannot be explained solely in terms of its novelty. Memoirists, in looking back on the decade, invariably described the new styles as central to the spirit of the era, suggesting the broader cultural significance of fashion. "Short hair was not only a fashion, it was an epoch. It was a particular sign of a time," argued Rambaud in his memoir.<sup>16</sup> The "epoch" of short hair began immediately after the war, when the new bobbed cut first became an object of widespread controversy.<sup>17</sup> If we are to believe the radical feminist Henriette Sauret, the bob already preoccupied the French in 1919, when relatively few women were actually cutting their hair. During that year, Sauret made fun of male journalists who, faced with major stories such as the Paris Peace Conference, demobilization, and the Bolshevik "threat," still concerned themselves with women's hair. "This urgent question," Sauret sarcastically observed, occupies "a good third of their daily remarks." Short hair, she wrote, "holds a certain interest for men which has gone undetected by us, because they deign to devote to it the precious emanations of their brains."<sup>18</sup> Although Sauret was obviously exaggerating, her remarks raise an interesting question. What "undetected interest" did short hair hold in order to become the focus of so much emotion and anger? If fashion was a sort of text, a complex visual language that postwar observers "read" in various ways, what was it about the new style that gave offense? How did

<sup>16</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 253. See also Smith, *Confessions of a Concierge*, 57.

<sup>17</sup> The precise starting point of the bob controversy is difficult to ascertain. The earliest articles I was able to find concerning the controversy date from 1919. Paul Reboux, "Opinion: Cheveux coupés"; and "Longs ou courts?" *L'oeuvre*, February 23, 1919; Pierre Chaine, "Autre opinion: Les cheveux coupés," *L'oeuvre*, January 15, 1919.

<sup>18</sup> Henriette Sauret, "Préoccupations masculines," *La voix des femmes*, January 30, 1919. This article was, in part, a response to the series of articles in *L'oeuvre* cited above. For another, later commentary on how everyone was talking about fashion, see Eugène Marsan, "D'une révolution du costume," *De la mode: Hier—aujourd'hui—demain* (Les cahiers de la république des lettres des sciences et des arts), no. 7 (July 15, 1927): 49–50.



postwar observers—journalists, clergy, pamphleteers, designers, feminists—explain its dramatic and explosive power?

I will argue that postwar observers interpreted the new fashion in two ways: as a visual language for the war's social upheaval and as a visual fantasy of female liberation. The new styles emerged during the war and postwar periods—years of dramatic change in French gender relations as well as in fashion. In this context, a first set of postwar observers, especially natalists and Catholics, interpreted fashion as evidence of a refusal among women to pursue traditional gender roles. Fashion bore the symbolic weight of an entire set of social anxieties concerning the war's perceived effects on gender relations: the blurring or reversal of gender boundaries and the crisis of domesticity (*la crise du foyer*). The belief that women were becoming more like men and rejecting their traditional domestic role existed as early as the fin-de-siècle period but was greatly exacerbated by the war's disruption of the normal hierarchies of status between men and women.<sup>19</sup> One of the most commented on of the war's effects was its blurring of sexual difference. Although the entry of women into higher education and traditionally male professions had begun in the 1890s, the war accelerated this process, as women took over male jobs and often had sole charge of the family.<sup>20</sup> Even after the war, many bourgeois women continued to work outside the home, in great part because of the devastating economic effect the war had on their families.

In this age of social and cultural transformation, issues of gender roles and identity concerned, worried, and even traumatized French men and women. Such anxiety found expression in the increasing attention to female identity in the fictional, theoretical, and periodical literature of the years 1917 to 1927.<sup>21</sup> A preoccupation with gender issues was also articulated in fears concerning the crisis of domesticity and the growth of the natalist movement during the same period. Natalist rhetoric warned of a widespread *crise du devoir maternel*, an unwillingness on the part of women to have children, despite the fact that little evidence exists to suggest that women were, in fact, scorning motherhood.<sup>22</sup> The

<sup>19</sup> For fears concerning the crisis of domesticity before the war, see Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 648–76. For the war, see James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Woman in French Society, 1870–1940* (New York, 1981); Françoise Thébaud, *La femme au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris, 1986); Mathilde Dubesset, Françoise Thébaud, and Catherine Vincent, "Les munitionnettes de la Seine," in *1914–1918: L'autre front*, Patrick Fridenson, ed. (Paris, 1977).

<sup>20</sup> For example, the number of middle-class women entering liberal professions such as law and medicine jumped dramatically during these years. See Edmée Charrier, *L'évolution intellectuelle féminine* (Paris, 1931), for a statistical analysis of some of these changes.

<sup>21</sup> For the increase in attention to gender issues in postwar periodical and fictional literature, see Anne-Marie Sohn, "La Garçonne face à l'opinion publique: Type littéraire ou type social des années 20?" *Le mouvement social*, 80 (1972): 26. For a more detailed examination of the debate, see Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*.

<sup>22</sup> The birth rate for the years 1920–1925 was 19.7 per 100 inhabitants, a dramatic increase not only over the wartime decline but also over the pre-war figure of 18.2. Hence while the birth rate was low, it was in fact higher in comparison with pre-war figures. In addition, after this initial postwar revival, the birth rate again began gradually to fall, dropping to 14.8 by the five-year period just before World War II. The reasons for these demographic trends are complex and not reducible to women's assumed desire (or lack of it) to have children. But it is striking to note that the birth rate during the very period in which fears concerning a *crise du devoir maternel* seemed to peak was in fact the highest in the two-decade period surrounding it. See Colin L. Dyer, *Population and Society in Twentieth Century France* (New York, 1978), 50, 67–69.



mother as an image of female identity inspired a comprehensive array of social policies, such as legislation on abortion, military and financial privileges for large families, and the establishment of state-run maternity institutions. Natalist values were so pervasive in postwar France that only the most politically marginal figures, such as socialists and radical feminists, dared to denounce them openly.<sup>23</sup> While historians usually associate the deep anguish connected to the crisis of domesticity with postwar natalist rhetoric, the same sentiments shaped the debates over fashion.

A second set of postwar observers, among them, fashion designers and feminists, interpreted the new look differently. For these people, fashion became the means by which women gained a necessary freedom of movement—and thereby were liberated. According to the feminist Henriette Sauret, the new fashions were not created by men to fulfill or further their ideal of female desirability; rather, they were created by women themselves “to respond to our personal aesthetic or our need for convenience.” Sauret described short hair as “a gesture of independence; a personal venture.”<sup>24</sup> This second reading of fashion in turn raises questions concerning fashion, feminism, and politics worth examining in greater detail. What did it mean politically to argue that these new styles gave women some measure of independence? Did they, in fact, allow women more freedom of movement, and what connection, if any, did this physical emancipation have to more general feminist aims? What, in other words, were the politics of postwar fashion?

The political significance of fashion in postwar France has not been adequately explored by historians, perhaps because of theoretical assumptions concerning the relationship between fashion and social change. Many historians interpret the change in female fashions during these years as nothing more than a derivative expression of social changes already under way. They explain the trend among women toward short hair and a looser, more carefree style of clothing as a reflection of a new freedom of movement women enjoyed in both professional and social circles that was itself brought about by the war.<sup>25</sup> Fashion is thus denied a historical dynamic of its own; it becomes a “marker” but not a “maker” of social change.

<sup>23</sup> For a classic statement of the natalist argument in the war and postwar periods, see Gaston Rageot, *La natalité, ses lois économiques et psychologiques* (Paris, 1918). In the secondary literature, see Françoise Thébaud, *Quand nos grand-mères donnaient la vie: La maternité en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Lyons, 1986); Karen Offen, “Body Politics: Women, Work and the Politics of Motherhood in France, 1920–1950,” in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s*, Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds. (London, 1991).

<sup>24</sup> Sauret, “Préoccupations masculines.”

<sup>25</sup> See, among many other possibilities, Steven Hause, “More Minerva Than Mars: The French Women's Rights Campaign and the First World War,” in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, Margaret Higonnet, et al., eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 102; Bruno de Roselle, *La mode* (Paris, 1980), 157–58; *Mode des années folles*; G. Perreux, *La vie quotidienne des civils en France pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, 1966), 345; Boucher, *Histoire du costume*, 411; Yvonne Deslandres and Florence Müller, *Histoire de la mode au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1986), 115; Décaux, *Histoire des françaises*. Even those historians who deny the reality of such a liberation argue that fashion was deceptive in that it “created a general aura of emancipation around women in the immediate post-war years”; McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot*, 163–65. See also Maité Albistur and Daniel Armogathe, *Histoire du féminisme français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977), 2: 586, for the argument that women's adoption of male dress and more “cavalier” manners did not necessarily mean that they sought or achieved emancipation.

When historians do interpret fashion as transformative, they tend to characterize it as a negative homogenizing force associated with mass consumer culture.<sup>26</sup> Most often, feminist historians, for example, have presented twentieth-century fashion as an element of modern consumerism and an agent of social control, which objectified and manipulated women as sex objects. According to this argument, as fashion became an intense preoccupation of women during this period, it facilitated their assimilation into mainstream patterns of behavior, effacing specifically female forms of cultural expression and thereby defusing female political activism.<sup>27</sup> Finally, French feminist historians have dismissed the young *garçonne* or modern woman with whom the new fashions were associated as entirely apolitical. Perceived in terms of an "individualistic" or "lifestyle" approach to emancipation, the modern woman's quest for freedom is seen as frivolous and self-centered.<sup>28</sup> As the historian Bonnie Smith has defined it, the modern notion of womanhood "included efficiency at home and work, energy in

<sup>26</sup> Many labor historians have stressed the negative homogenizing powers of mass culture. According to the "embourgeoisement thesis" of these historians, for example, mass consumption had the effect of assimilating workers into mainstream middle-class patterns of behavior and eclipsing a genuine working-class culture. For an excellent historiographical summary of this debate in American labor history, see Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge, 1990), 398 n. 6.

<sup>27</sup> According to Arthur Marwick in *Beauty in History: Society, Politics, and Personal Appearance* (London, 1988), 29, the argument that fashion was an agent of social control was first articulated in Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (English edn., 1952). It has been developed most fully in the historiography of American and English women. See Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976), chaps. 6-7; Rayna Rapp and Ellen Ross, "The Twenties: Feminism, Consumerism and Political Backlash in the United States," in *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, Judith Friedlander, et al., eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 55. See also Elaine Showalter, *These Modern Women: Autobiographical Essays from the 20s* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1978). For Europe generally, see Bonnie G. Smith, *Changing Lives: Women in European History since 1700* (Lexington, Ky., 1989), 411. For an example of the way in which the notion of fashion as social control underwrites historiography of the period, see Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke, "'I Am Somebody!': Women's Changing Sense of Self in the German Democratic Republic," in *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds. (New York, 1987). For a refreshing revision of many of these questions, see Elizabeth Wilson's provocative "All the Rage," in *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body*, Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog, eds. (New York, 1990).

<sup>28</sup> See Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L'égalité en marche: Le féminisme sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1989), 343. For definitions of French collective political engagement, which is considered to be "feminist," see Claire Goldberg Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany, N.Y., 1984); Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs*, 14 (Autumn 1988): 119-57. The British modern woman has also been viewed as apolitical. As Deirdre Bedoe recently remarked, "the image of the flapper is partly an elaboration of the New Woman theme, but she is the New Woman stripped of her serious side and hell-bent on having a good time"; *Back Home to Duty: Women between the Wars, 1918-1939* (London, 1989), 10. For Great Britain, see also Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement* (Oxford, 1981), 149; Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880-1930* (London, 1985), 148, 155. The argument that the modern woman was essentially apolitical has been particularly well developed in the American case. See William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America* (Chicago, 1969), 295-97; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1975), chap. 6; J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana, Ill., 1973); Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York, 1978); and Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977). Historians of American women have begun to dispute these views. For example, in *Labor's Flaming Youth: Telephone Operators and Worker Militancy, 1878-1923* (Urbana, 1990), 13, Stephen H. Norwood questions "the stereotype of the flapper as frivolous and apolitical" by demonstrating militant union organization among telephone operators, many of whom had strong links to the women's movement.

sports and sexual life, companionship with her mate, and consumerism." The modern woman signified a preoccupation with sex, marriage, career, and shopping rather than politics.<sup>29</sup>

However, if postwar fashion was mere consumerist frivolity, what did Sauret mean when she described it as "a gesture of independence"? "Unlike Samson who lost his strength in losing his mane," quipped Sauret, "we may gain total power in cutting our hair."<sup>30</sup> The myth of the biblical Samson, which is seen frequently in the debate concerning the bob, gains particular relevance in the immediate postwar context because it formed the basis of the meaning of *poilu*, the French sobriquet for the trench soldier. Originally meaning "covered with hair" or "hairy," *poilu* eventually gained the connotative sense of "homme robuste" or simply "homme," from the myth of a virile Samson.<sup>31</sup> Another press name for the women's short, bobbed cut was "coiffure au poilu de 2<sup>e</sup> classe," and the cloche hats of the 1920s have been closely compared to those of the *poilu* during the war.<sup>32</sup> The investment of the female bob with a kind of virile power doubly inverted the *poilu*-Samson myth: first, because less, not more, hair granted power and, second, because women themselves became "virilized" Samsons—rather than shearing Delilahs. These inversions of power and gender in the *poilu*-Samson myth suggest a link between the bob cut and social anxieties concerning the war's perceived reversal of gender boundaries.<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, one can scarcely ignore the political role that dress has played in French history. During the upheaval of 1789, for example, men and women signaled their allegiance to revolutionary change by demanding the elimination of aristocratic and religious distinctions of dress and by wearing *sans-culottes*, the *bonnet rouge*, or the *cockade*.<sup>34</sup> A law for an official revolutionary costume, adopted in 1795, was given this rationale by Grégoire: "The language of signs has an eloquence of its own; distinctive costumes are part of this idiom for they arouse ideas and sentiments analogous to their object, especially when they take hold of the imagination with their vividness."<sup>35</sup> Revolutionary fashion was invested with political significance inasmuch as it acted as a language of signs capable of presenting a "vivid" (visual) image of the new republican citizen. By providing the

<sup>29</sup> Smith, *Changing Lives*, 411.

<sup>30</sup> Sauret, "Préoccupations masculines." *La voix des femmes* was a socialist feminist paper that became increasingly communist after 1920.

<sup>31</sup> See *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Oscar Bloch and W. von Wartburg, eds., 2d edn. (Paris, 1950).

<sup>32</sup> In *La femme et la beauté* (Paris, 1929), Marcel Braunschvig refers to the "chapeau de feutre souple, en forme de cloche aux rebords variés qui plus ou moins rappelle le 'casque du poilu.'" See also Edmonde Charles-Roux, *Le temps Chanel* (Paris, 1979).

<sup>33</sup> For the Samson and Delilah myth, see also this description of the bobbed cut in Victor Margueritte's *La garçonne* (Paris, 1922), 161–62: "Today for a woman, it is the symbol of independence, if not power. Once Delilah emasculated Samson by cutting his hair. Today, she believes she can make herself virile by cutting hers." In addition, see Antoine's reference to the myth in his *J'ai coiffé le monde*, 79. Here Antoine joked that when he created the bobbed cut, he revenged Samson by depriving Delilah of her hair and hence her power to charm men.

<sup>34</sup> Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 74–75. See also Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans, 1789–1794," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 14 (1981): 283–312.

<sup>35</sup> *Du costume des fonctionnaires publics: Rapport fait par Grégoire (Séance du 28 fructidor an III)*, quoted in Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 77–78.

new political imaginary with a graphic representation of itself, revolutionary costume could “arouse” allegiance to its analogue, republican ideals. Dress had an “eloquence of its own.” It was seen as a way to shape character, the maker as well as the measure of the republican citizen.<sup>36</sup>

As clothing became commercialized into fashion, it became political in a more subtle and less conscious way than in the revolutionary period.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, postwar fashion—the short hair and scandalously abbreviated dresses of the modern woman—acted as a political language of signs in the same manner that Grégoire had outlined in 1795. Feminists, designers (both male and female), and the women who put on the new fashions interpreted them as affording physical mobility and freedom, in short, as a visual analogue of female liberation. When the new fashions were widely interpreted in this way, they became invested with political meaning. To wear them was to challenge traditional notions of gender difference and to arouse sympathy for freedom and autonomy for women. In other words, fashion constituted a semi-autonomous political language that served as a maker as well as a marker of the modern woman. Postwar fashion figured in a larger struggle for social and political power.

THE OUTCRY CONCERNING SHORT, BOBBED HAIR was embedded in a larger debate on the new fashions that began during the later war years and most likely peaked in the years 1924–1926.<sup>38</sup> Before turning to this wider debate, let us examine the social and economic context in which it occurred, as well as its place in the general history of French fashion. The centrality of fashion to a larger discourse concerning identity and power makes particular sense for France, where Paris had dominated the industry worldwide since the seventeenth century. Fashion played a central role in the postwar economy and was also a form of cultural expression. The fashion industry itself had been ruled by the *haute couture* designers since the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Although only a minute fraction of French women could afford *haute couture*, it was widely imitated and disseminated throughout France and the world by the fashion press and the ready-to-wear fashion industry. A proliferation of fashion journals and the rise of the department store also characterized the growth of the industry in the late nineteenth century. Trends initiated by French designers were enormously influential in deciding what the fashionable woman wore; yet other factors, such as commercial promotion, methods of production, and consumer demand also affected changes in fashion.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 82–83. The notion of clothing as a political sign extended even further back to the *ancien régime*, in which the different orders, trades, and professions were identified by their dress.

<sup>37</sup> I am indebted to Edward G. Berenson of the University of California, Los Angeles, for this point.

<sup>38</sup> My chronology here is based on the number of articles I was able to find that concerned the wider social and behavioral implications of the new fashions and that appeared in both fashion magazines and the wider bourgeois press from the late war years through the 1920s. As far as I can tell, this type of article peaked in numbers during the years 1924–1926.

<sup>39</sup> See Roselle, *La mode*, 50.

<sup>40</sup> Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York, 1985), 17–18.

The industry enjoyed a period of prosperity after the war. Due to the diminution of European royal and aristocratic circles, Parisian designers found themselves catering to new customers, among them the *nouveaux riches*, writers and artists, and rich Americans.<sup>41</sup> Many new houses opened, including that of Coco Chanel, the first nationally and internationally known female *couturier*.<sup>42</sup> The influence of *haute couture* designers became greater than ever after the war. Although mass production of fashionable styles had begun many decades earlier, postwar fashion was democratized in an unprecedented manner. As René Rambaud, pioneer of the bobbed hairstyle, explained, "Up until this time, fashion remained the privilege of a certain part of society; at this point, it penetrated all social classes, from *la plus grande aristocrate* to the humblest village dweller."<sup>43</sup> The transformation in the clothing industry toward mass marketing, as well as the development of the popular press and a full-scale advertising industry after the war, made fashion increasingly a product for mass consumption. The broad social dimensions of the postwar fashion controversy need to be understood against this background of a burgeoning consumer culture. When George Sand dressed like a man in the 1840s, she was likely to remain an isolated phenomenon; when Coco Chanel did the same in the 1920s, she could be imitated throughout France and the world.

Within this social and economic context, a dramatically new style of women's dress arose in the first two decades of the twentieth century, a style most frequently associated with the designer Paul Poiret.<sup>44</sup> "It was the age of the corset," Poiret later reminisced, "I waged war upon it. It was in the name of liberty that I brought about my first Revolution, by deliberately laying siege to the corset."<sup>45</sup> Poiret here likened himself to a revolutionary storming the Bastille of Victorian fashion, thereby restoring to women their innate right to freedom of movement.<sup>46</sup> In addition, Poiret's art-deco fashion plates, illustrated by Paul Iribe and then Georges LePape, revolutionized fashion illustration. Poiret was less concerned with transmitting information about the design involved and more intent on conveying a "modern spirit" through a flat, highly decorative, and abstract style. His illustrations were "cubist," in that the construction and detail of the dress remained vague and subordinate to the overall design. Poiret's idealized designs took on a life of their own, bringing fame to Poiret's dresses apart from how they actually looked on women.

<sup>41</sup> Deslandres and Müller, *Histoire de la mode*, 115–16.

<sup>42</sup> For biographical information on Coco Chanel, see Charles-Roux, *Chanel*; and *Chanel and Her World*.

<sup>43</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 253. In the secondary literature, see Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 100–01.

<sup>44</sup> Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 219; Braun-Ronsdorf, *Des merveilles*, 201. In *Fashion and Eroticism*, however, 226, Steele also argues that Poiret's personal influence on fashion has been exaggerated and that the new styles were pioneered between 1892 and 1908 in many of the big designer houses, such as Lanvin's.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Peter Woolen, "Fashion/Orientalism/The Body," *New Formations*, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 5–33; see also Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 10; and Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London, 1985), 40. According to Wilson, Poiret claimed to have abolished the corset by 1908.

<sup>46</sup> See Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 219–23. Poiret's fame and fortune became a casualty of the war. He served in the army as a tailor, and, when he returned to Paris in 1918, he was not able to recover his business, his popularity, or his marriage. See Yvonne Deslandres with Dorothee Lalanne, *Poiret: Paul Poiret, 1879–1944*, Paula Clifford, trans. (New York, 1987), 57.



Although designers such as Poiret spearheaded the new image of beauty within the elite world of Paris *couture* long before 1914, working-class and middle-class women did not adopt it until after the war broke out.<sup>47</sup> In the somber spirit of the war years, the old ornamental froufrous and decorative accessories were put away and neutral colors adopted. Women doing factory work, for example, began to dress in simple sheath-like frocks and short, full skirts called war crinolines (*crinolines de guerre*).<sup>48</sup> Even after the war, large jewelry or ornament of any kind that drew attention to itself remained out of fashion.<sup>49</sup> The taste for a more convenient, minimalist, pared-down look persisted, even as French women returned from the war hospitals and factories.

In the years immediately following the war, Coco Chanel, the youngest and most daring of the Parisian *couturiers* after the war, further popularized and developed the new style.<sup>50</sup> Besides opening the world of *haute couture* to women, Chanel tried to create a style for "the modern woman," as she was called, that was comfortable, practical, and compatible with an "active" life. "Chanel expresses the heart and soul of *la femme moderne*," declared the title of a 1923 article in *Vogue*.<sup>51</sup> Chanel used beige jersey to assure a loose, easy line as well as a sort of "poor" look for her designs. Poiret jested about his postwar rival: "What did Chanel invent? *Pauvreté de luxe*."<sup>52</sup> In part because jersey was so difficult to sew, Chanel simplified and abbreviated her designs to an extent that Poiret had never dared, creating a sporty, casual look. She removed the waistline altogether and radically shortened the skirt to well above the ankle (Figure 2). Chanel also adopted male fashions—short hair, ties, collars, long tailor-cut jackets, and pyjamas—to create a boyish look.<sup>53</sup>

Chanel's style of dress peaked in popularity at mid-decade and maintained its dominance in the fashion world until 1927 or 1928, when designers such as Jean Patou and Elsa Schiaparelli began to reassert the waist and the bust. Although the new style followed a fashion cycle of growth and decline in the ten years from 1918 to 1928, its basic aesthetic and lines remained unaltered. Hence the period represents an internally consistent stage in fashion design, and it is also possible to group together fashion commentary and debate from these years as a coherent body of evidence.<sup>54</sup> Chanel's styles became very popular in the postwar years, meticulously imitated by young girls throughout France. At the same time, they became inscribed in a debate concerning female identity and power as well as the

<sup>47</sup> Much more research on class patterns of consumption needs to be done in order to arrive at a precise class analysis of fashion history in this period. In *Fashion and Eroticism*, 235, Steele downplays the importance of the war, arguing that the new styles might have emerged even without the influence of the war.

<sup>48</sup> Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 235. See also Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 237–39; and Perreux, *La vie quotidienne des civils*, esp. 262.

<sup>49</sup> Braun-Ronsdorf, *Des merveilles*, 203.

<sup>50</sup> See Jacqueline de Monbrison, n.t. (Paris, 1926), 34. In *Histoire du costume*, 412, Boucher credits Chanel, Patou, and Lelong with creating the models most typical of the new look.

<sup>51</sup> *Vogue*, October 1923.

<sup>52</sup> Charles-Roux, *Chanel*, 154–57. Jersey was a cheap fabric and at the time was considered by most leaders in the textile industry to be unusable. See also Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 40; and Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 244. Charles-Roux links Chanel's "poor look" with her own childhood as a poor orphan.

<sup>53</sup> Pyjamas had originally been used by fashionable Parisian women forced to seek bomb-raid shelters in the dead of the night; Chanel made them in red and into a fashion rage.

<sup>54</sup> In other words, I do not consider fashion commentary in the years between 1919 and 1926 to be so disparate as to warrant separate treatment or even chronological differentiation in my analysis.

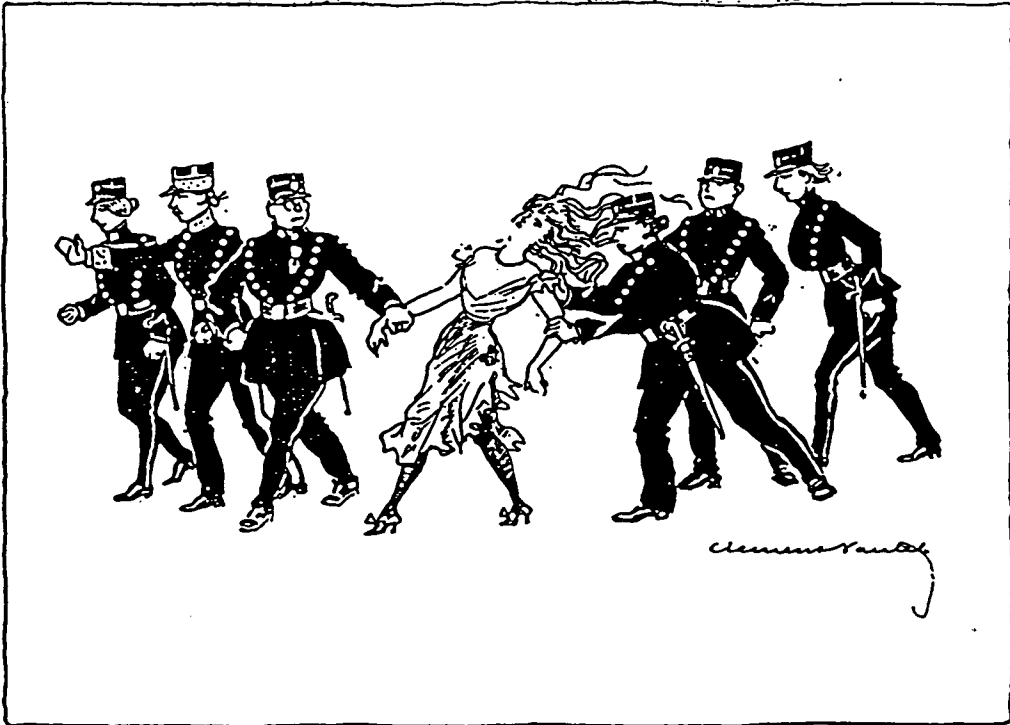


FIGURE 2: Chanel's designs, *Vogue*, November 1924.

perceived effect of the war on gender relations. Because of its relatively consistent character over the ten years following 1918, this debate on fashion is best explored thematically rather than chronologically, by analyzing the way in which the new fashion was read by, first, its critics and, second, its defenders.

THE MOST VOCIFEROUS CRITICS OF THE NEW FASHION included traditional conservatives, such as Catholics and natalists, in addition to a smattering of journalists, writers, and fashion commentators whose social and political positions remain difficult to fix. Their invective concerning fashion began in the immediate postwar period and seemed to peak during the years 1925 to 1927. The majority of these critics were men; but, since many of fashion's most ardent supporters were also male, namely fashion designers and hairdressers, no simple historical





*La dernière midinette avait été arrêtée par les gardiennes de la paix, et condamnée pour délit « de port d'un costume dit féminin, comportant une jupe... »*

FIGURE 3: "The last *midinette* had been arrested by the guardians of the peace and condemned for the crime 'of wearing attire said to be feminine, including a skirt.'" Clément Vautel, "Le féminisme en 1958," *Je sais tout*, May 15, 1918.

analysis by gender is possible. What the critics of fashion found offensive about the new styles was their effect of reversing or blurring the boundaries of sexual difference, enabling women not only to look like but also to act like men.<sup>55</sup> Clément Vautel articulated this view as early as 1918 in a cartoon that neatly illustrates the political stakes in the debate on fashion (Figure 3). Vautel was a prominent novelist and journalist, well known for his natalist and anti-feminist views.<sup>56</sup> His cartoon features a female shop worker (*midinette*) being arrested "for the crime of wearing attire said to be feminine, including a skirt." The female policemen wear male uniforms and harsh, authoritarian expressions. In Vautel's fantasy of the future (the article is titled "Feminism in 1958"), women have seized political control from men. The cartoon relates the fears that women could no longer be "women" even if they wished to do so and that they were becoming

<sup>55</sup> This fear of masculinized or "desexed" women has a long history in the Third Republic and is not unique to the postwar period. See, for example, Gay L. Gullickson, "La Pétroleuse: Representing Revolution," *Feminist Studies*, 17 (Summer 1991): 241–65.

<sup>56</sup> The cartoon is from Clément Vautel's "Le féminisme en 1958," *Je sais tout*, May 15, 1918, Dossier Anti-Féminisme, BMD. For Vautel's natalism, see his article in *Le journal*, August 23, 1923, decrying depopulation in the village of Montélimar, and his novel *Madame ne veut pas d'enfant* (Paris, 1924). Vautel was also referred to as a formidable anti-suffragist in the feminist monthly *Le droit des femmes*, February 1919.

indistinguishable from men in their appearance as well as in their possession of traditionally male powers.

Above all, Vautel meant his cartoon to be funny, and certainly the lament that fashion was erasing the boundaries of sexual difference frequently became the subject of innocent humor. A column in the women's magazine *Fémina* told the story of a woman who was driving dressed in a riding outfit that made her indistinguishable from a man. When she caused an accident with another car by her own recklessness, the other driver, a man, emerged from his ruined vehicle. Enraged enough to mistake her sex, he slugged her in the jaw.<sup>57</sup> An article in the radical-socialist journal *Le quotidien* (1924) worried that women who bobbed their hair might eventually suffer from baldness, that once strictly male source of anguish. Because medical wisdom at the time held that the shortness of one's hair caused baldness in some way, *Le quotidien* wondered "if it wouldn't be necessary to pay dearly in a few years for this fantasy of young womanhood?"<sup>58</sup>

Elsewhere, the new tendency of women to "disguise themselves as men" was not met with humor but with serious observation and invective.<sup>59</sup> "Smoking, wearing short hair, dressed in pyjamas or sportswear," complained the writer Francis de Miomandre, "women increasingly resemble their companions."<sup>60</sup> In 1925, an anonymous Catholic author declared, "Modern women shouldn't try to 'masculinize' themselves, and thus to lose their sex.—A woman becoming a boy: Oh no!"<sup>61</sup> Some critiques were grounded in fashionable scientific discourse, such as that on sexual perversion inspired by the translation of Havelock Ellis's work into French. "The species feels itself endangered by a growing inversion," the literary critic Pierre Lièvre argued in 1927, "No more hips, no more breasts, no more hair."<sup>62</sup> Evolutionary theory linked fashion trends to an ominous biological future. "I myself don't know if Lamarck had foreseen this transformation of the species," wrote the poet Jean Dars in a 1925 survey on the *jeune fille*. "It is not written in his *History of Invertebrate Animals* that young girls were supposed to take on the appearance of boys so soon."<sup>63</sup>

In reading fashion as a visual erasure of sexual difference, postwar critics spoke of a certain absence or lack of definition, which characterized both the new female body and "womanhood" itself. They interpreted the fashions that the modern

<sup>57</sup> "De petites choses," *Fémina*, May 1921.

<sup>58</sup> "La mode des cheveux courts rendra-t-elle les femmes chauves?" *Le quotidien*, September 3, 1924, Dossier 391 Coiffure, BMD. The article has a serious tone, despite its comic effect.

<sup>59</sup> Roger Boutet de Monvel, "Les masculines," *La gazette du bon ton*, May 1922, 102–04.

<sup>60</sup> Francis de Miomandre, *Notes et maximes: La mode* (Paris, 1927), 40–41. He declares that the same thing happened in 1700 and quotes from a book called *Le théophraste moderne, ou Nouveaux caractères sur les mœurs*. Controversies about fashion can be traced back to the early eleventh century; see, for example, Henri Platelle, "Le problème du scandale: Les nouvelles modes masculines au XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 53 (1975): 1071–96.

<sup>61</sup> Anonymous, *Aux femmes chrétiennes: Le scandale de la mode* (Besançon, 1925), 15. For still another example of the Catholic viewpoint, see Bruyère, *Une mode féminine*, 17, where the author argues that in cutting her hair, a woman "will appear to have abdicated a privilege, that she is less a woman."

<sup>62</sup> Pierre Lièvre, *Reproches à une dame qui a coupé ses cheveux* (Paris, 1927), 54–57. Havelock Ellis's *Etudes de psychologie sexuelle* (19 volumes) were translated and published continuously in France during the period 1908–1935.

<sup>63</sup> Jean Dars, "Enquête sur la condition et les aspirations des jeunes filles d'aujourd'hui," *La grande revue*, October 1925, 637–38. See also "La mode masculine impose sa loi aux femmes," *Le figaro*, April 1925, Dossier Mode, BMD.

woman wore as reproducing her inability to be defined within the boundaries of traditional concepts of womanhood. To them, the visual erasure of sexual difference symbolized the erosion of other kinds of cultural and social boundaries. In 1925, a young Parisian law student asked:

Can one define *la jeune fille moderne*? No, no more than the waist on the dresses she wears. Young women of today are difficult to locate precisely. If you want to stay within the French tradition, it would be a barbarism, in my opinion, to call our pretty *parisiennes* young women.

These beings—without breasts, without hips, without “underwear,” who smoke, work, argue and fight exactly like boys . . . —these aren’t young women!<sup>64</sup>

For this observer, the rejection of the highly structured female form in the modern woman’s visual appearance symbolized the unrestrained social and cultural space she seemed to inhabit. In the same year, the novelist Christiane Fournier called the young modern woman “a monster,” explaining that “I only want to say that she has been thrown by her time beyond the realm of natural law. We work [outside the home], and cause a great deal of trouble for ourselves . . . we aim for our ideal, which is to ‘masculinize’ ourselves. Our hair is short, we are independent in both word and deed.”<sup>65</sup> Both observers above emphasize the modern woman’s inability to be “located precisely” within the “natural laws” and “traditions” of French society. The silhouette of *la femme moderne*—as a being without breasts, without waist, without hips—visually articulated this erosion of traditional cultural categories.

Critics of the new styles frequently inscribed their popularity within a socioeconomic context of the crisis of domesticity, women’s so-called rejection of the traditional maternal, domestic role. As early as 1919, the natalist doctor François Fouveau de Courmelles claimed that the new styles had “reduced” women “to the state of eunuchs or sticks [*bâtons*], in which no supplementary being could find a place to live or be nourished.” He dubbed postwar fashion “the fashion of non-nursing . . . the fashion of non-motherhood.” For Courmelles, fashion itself besieged the set of norms, values, and social practices that had structured female identity in terms of a maternal, domestic role throughout the nineteenth century. Scanty dresses left the female body vulnerable to winds and drafts, and women were bound to harm their reproductive organs. Postwar fashions, by transforming women into sexless eunuchs, non-mothers, and non-women, were the reason behind the falling birth rate.<sup>66</sup> Such complaints continued throughout the decade. In 1920, the natalist Catholic pamphlet *La mode est coupable* (Fashion Is Guilty) also described the new styles as physically dangerous and accused young women in this way: “Your children will suffer because of you, and the future generation, product of an age of pleasure, will not know to conserve what our soldiers have

<sup>64</sup> M. Numa Sadoul, excerpted from “Une controverse: L’émancipation de la jeune fille moderne est-elle un progrès réel?” *Progrès civique*, June 13, 1925, Dossier Féminisme, XX<sup>ième</sup> Siècle, BMD.

<sup>65</sup> Madame Christiane Fournier, “Enquête sur la condition et les aspirations des jeunes filles,” *La grande revue*, September 1925, 445.

<sup>66</sup> Dr. François Fouveau de Courmelles, “Modes féminines et dépopulation,” *La revue mondiale* (November 1, 1919): 278–81.

defended.”<sup>67</sup> Two other Catholic critics of fashion, Mademoiselle de Saint-Seine and Frère A. Vuillermet, argued in 1926 that modern women “do not want children because the short, new dresses no longer lend themselves to the disfigurements required by maternity”; consequently, “the most serious interests of the race are compromised.”<sup>68</sup> Conservatives such as Roger Boutet de Monvel and Marius Boisson, also condemned the new styles for causing a woman to ignore her family and home. “There is a repudiation of the womb, since she no longer wants to be a mother,” wrote Boisson in 1925, and “a repudiation of breasts of any size . . . since if, by chance, she is a mother, she no longer wants to nourish her flesh.”<sup>69</sup>

Fashion’s power to shock articulated the trauma of rapid change and upheaval, both in French gender roles and in French culture and society generally. Veteran, novelist, and future fascist collaborator Pierre Drieu la Rochelle critiqued the physical appearance of the modern woman in “Le pique-nique” (1924), a short story about a disaffected war veteran named Liessies and his girlfriend Gwen: “She is extremely thin, mere skin and bones . . . Women are cutting their hair as a sign of sterility. Sections of her hair are hidden under her handkerchief. She walks with empty hands; she wears no jewelry; she is completely uncovered.”<sup>70</sup> The language that Drieu la Rochelle used to describe Gwen confuses her nakedness with other less tangible qualities, such as deprivation, barrenness, a scarcity of warmth and pleasure. As such, the language evokes a moral anguish that exceeds the boundaries of mere description. In the story, Gwen’s metaphoric sterility described here represents the spiritual impotence and malaise felt by the veteran Liessies, with whom Gwen is involved. To Drieu la Rochelle, the modern woman evokes a sense of exposure and a fundamental loss of innocence.

The same preoccupation with the starkness and sterility of the new fashions marks a later book titled *Reproches à une dame qui a coupé ses cheveux* (1927). The author, literary critic Pierre Lièvre, condemns his neighbor because, in bobbing her hair, she lost the ability to distinguish between those to whom her hair was always done up and those to whom she let it down in the intimacy of her home. “One well knows that she can no longer transform herself in the bedroom: one knows her exactly as she is.”<sup>71</sup> For Lièvre, short hair signified a new frankness in women’s behavior, as well as the loss of a virginal intimacy, a domestic, private pleasure. Speaking of those husbands and lovers who had suffered from “the cruel fashions which reign today,” Lièvre concluded with this lament: “their

<sup>67</sup> Anonymous, *La mode est coupable* (Tarbes, 1920), 3.

<sup>68</sup> Mlle. de Saint-Seine, *La mode et la conscience chrétienne* (Paris, 1926), 8; Fr. A. Vuillermet, *La croisade pour la modestie* (Paris, 1926), 10. Not surprisingly, Catholics and church officials led the fight against the perceived lack of modesty in dress. Catholic critics of fashion called modern women the “deshabillées” or “the undressed ones” and expressed the fear that, given current trends, “total nudity” would soon result. See Anonymous, *Aux femmes chrétiennes*, 9. See also Hélène du Taillis, “Où s’arrêteront-elles?” March 23, 1925, Dossier Mode, BMD; Princess Lucien Murat, “L’influence de la mode sur la pudeur,” *De la mode: Hier—aujourd’hui—demain*, 26.

<sup>69</sup> See Roger Boutet de Monvel, “De l’influence des modes sur les mœurs,” *Vogue*, April 1, 1922. Roger Boutet de Monvel was a fashion writer for both *Vogue* and the highbrow *Gazette du bon ton*. Marius Boisson, “Pour nos ombrages,” July 15, 1925, n.t., Dossier Mode, BMD. Boisson was a prolific novelist. See also “La femme moderne: Vénus androgyne,” *La rumeur*, 1928, Dossier Mode, BMD.

<sup>70</sup> Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, “Le pique-nique,” *Plainte contre l’inconnu* (Paris, 1924).

<sup>71</sup> Lièvre, *Reproches*, 16.

intimacy has lost its crowning glory. They no longer awaken near a tousled lover, but instead, a friend with disheveled hair."<sup>72</sup> Short hair, as Lièvre saw it, was cruel in the sense that it destroyed not only sexual difference but also a familiar, intimate, interior life.

The "modern woman" signified a colder, more impersonal world. In 1924, the novelist Magdeline Chaumont critiqued her sterility:

Warped by life or only by fashion, we distance ourselves from what could be called somewhat disdainfully: tender feelings . . . Observe in any public place the expression which all women wear upon their faces. Do we see one who is kind, dreamy or satisfied? No, they all have features which are shut, hard, spiteful . . . Put simply, women are becoming nasty, aggressive; one expects from them a cruel or disagreeable word. There is no longer either the heart of the mother nor that of the daughter or lover. There is the dried-out heart of *la femme moderne*, the universal heart has become a desert.<sup>73</sup>

As in the case of Drieu la Rochelle and Lièvre, what charges this description of the modern woman is once again the replacement of a "dreamy," "tender" world of warmth and satisfaction with one that is colder, sterile, more exposed. "Warped by life or only by fashion"? The distinction was hard to draw, particularly as fashion itself took on the symbolic weight of anguish concerning the perceived loss of idealism and innocence. These components of a lamented pre-war life—at once very familiar and very far away—were believed to be the hard casualties of the war. Even the physiognomy of the modern woman became a way of talking about the loss of the "dreamy" pre-war era, the trauma of rapid change, and the arrival of a brave new world. Fashion thus operated as a text that conveyed the same cultural malaise or *crise de l'esprit* that Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Paul Valéry, Romain Rolland, and other prominent writers made famous after the war.<sup>74</sup>

THE CRITICS' INVECTIVE AGAINST THE NEW STYLES suggests that they gained popularity in a socially conservative, natalist atmosphere. Given this social and cultural climate, it was necessary for those who liked the fashions—designers, merchandisers, young women, some journalists—actively to defend and foster their development. The supporters of fashion, whose defense of the new styles seemed to peak at mid-decade, chose to praise it as a means of giving women a necessary freedom of movement and thus emancipating them from old social as well as physical constraints.<sup>75</sup> A young woman justified her wearing such clothes

<sup>72</sup> Lièvre, *Reproches*, 9–10, 14, 16.

<sup>73</sup> Chaumont, "Les élégances: Confidences."

<sup>74</sup> For a good introduction to this postwar malaise among intellectuals and writers, see Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston, 1989). For the term "crise de l'esprit," see Paul Valéry, *Variété*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1924); and Marcel Arland, "Sur un nouveau mal du siècle," *Nouvelle revue française*, February 1924. Among the primary literature, see also Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, *La suite des idées* (Paris, 1927); and *Le jeune européen* (Paris, 1927); Romain Rolland, *A la civilisation* (n.p., 1917); and Benjamin Crémieux, *Inventaires: Inquiétude et reconstruction; Essai sur la littérature d'après-guerre* (Paris, 1931).

<sup>75</sup> Critics of fashion also sometimes spoke of fashion as emancipatory as well. For example, C. Jeglot, otherwise a critic of postwar attire, could not help but praise the fact that "our short dresses



by arguing that the modern woman "does not like to be restricted; this is why she is rejecting attire which could hinder her movements."<sup>76</sup> Defenders of the new look created a vivid image of a new kind of woman who leads a mobile, athletic, and independent life. To do so, they adopted two discursive strategies. First, they aligned the new styles with the aesthetic of modern consumer culture, defined in terms of mobility and speed. Second, they conflated physical and psychological qualities in their logic of human behavior: how one dressed encouraged behaviors analogous to the visual image produced. This conflation of the visual and the behavioral was key to the politics of women's fashion in the postwar era.

Supporters produced a notion of fashion as "emancipatory" by equating the new look with the aesthetic of modern consumer culture. The rise of mass culture, the adoption of new forms of transportation and communication, and the growth of consumerism were socioeconomic developments well under way by 1914 but were intensely accelerated by the war.<sup>77</sup> Fashion was by nature visual and dynamic, a constantly changing marketable mass of images and a mark of the capitalist commodification of the body; thus it became integral to the new aesthetic of mass consumer culture. Bonnie Smith has argued that "fashion made women at once more desirable, more efficient, and in need of new goods."<sup>78</sup> The fashions of the modern woman were often associated with the new palladiums of pleasure in the postwar world—the tea dances (*thé dansants*) and jazz clubs—as well as American consumer culture.<sup>79</sup>

The fashionably dressed modern woman was also linked to the new consumer plaything of the decade: the automobile. At mid-decade, advertisers, novelists, and social observers pictured women (much more than men, it seems) behind the wheel of the car, creating a visual image of female mobility and power (Figure 4).<sup>80</sup> In *L'aventure sur la route* (1925), a popular novel about a modern woman who tours France in her new car, the heroine is described as a beautiful, sleek animal who moves effortlessly in the clothes she wears: "An astonishing ease accompanied all of her movements. It seemed as if her clothes imposed no servitude upon her; she moved with the glorious animal independence of gymnasts in their tight."<sup>81</sup> In 1927, the dramatist "Rip" described the new position of the modern

---

liberate us from dust, from mud, . . . they are adapted to our active, hurried and industrious lives"; *La jeune fille et la mode* (Paris, 1928), 11.

<sup>76</sup> "Une controverse," 872. See also Suzanne Callias, "La liberté des cheveux courts," *La française*, May 7, 1921; Bruyère, *Une mode féminine*, 25–26; Comte de Bondy, "La mode et la vie," *De la mode*, 36; and J. R. F., "La philosophie des coiffures de la Parisienne," *Vogue*, September 1923.

<sup>77</sup> See Barnett Singer, "Technology and Social Change: The Watershed of the 1920s," *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 4 (1976): 321–29; Barnett Singer, *Modern France: Mind, Politics, Society* (Seattle, Wash., 1980); Paul A. Gagnon, "La Vie Future: Some French Responses to the Technological Society," *Journal of European Studies*, 6 (1976): 172–89. See also Walter Benjamin's essay "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Harry Zohn, trans., *Illuminations* (Glasgow, 1973).

<sup>78</sup> Smith, *Changing Lives*, 416.

<sup>79</sup> See Deslandres and Müller, *Histoire de la mode*, 116.

<sup>80</sup> In 1920, there was 1 automobile per 165 French inhabitants; in 1930, the figure was 1 per 28 inhabitants. See Singer, "Technology and Social Change," 321. In order to determine when female images begin to predominate in car advertising, I looked at approximately ten French fashion and popular magazines from the years 1918 to 1927. For the link between the modern woman and the automobile, see also Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 121.

<sup>81</sup> Raymond Rienzi, *L'aventure sur la route* (Paris, 1925), 14.

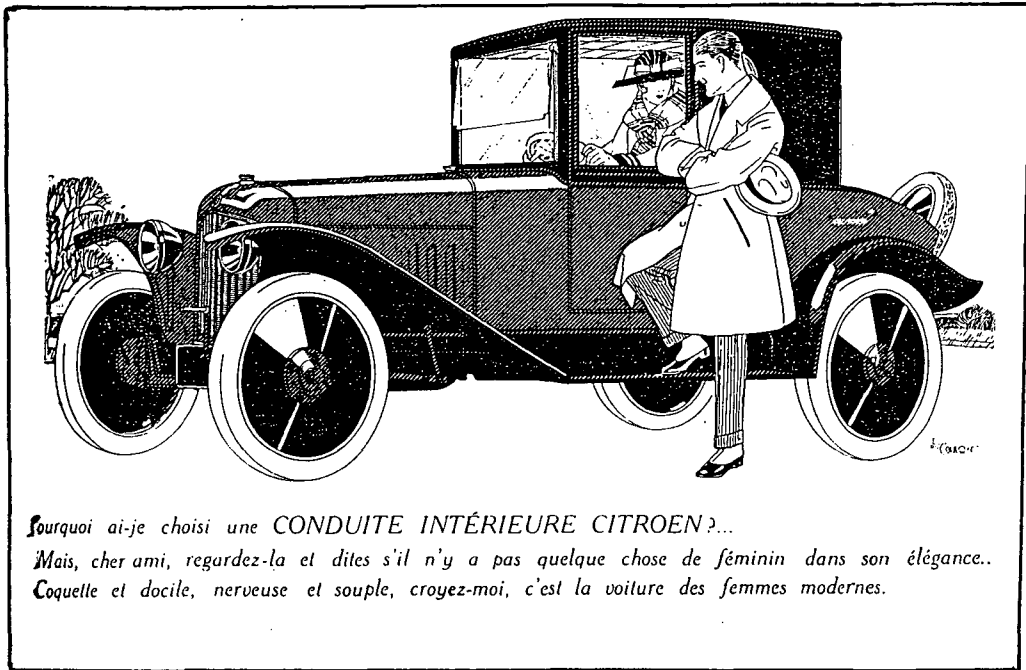


FIGURE 4: "Why have I chosen a CONDUITE INTÉRIEURE CITROËN? . . . But, *cher ami*, look at it and say there isn't something feminine in its elegance. Coquettish and docile, responsive and agile, believe me, it's the car of *femmes modernes*." Advertisement for Citroën, *Fémina*, January 1921.

woman: "Athletic as well as capable of exercising most male trades, *la femme moderne*, firmly installed behind the wheel of the *torpédo* which takes her to her office, store, or factory, has understood the superiority that severity of dress confers upon a man."<sup>82</sup> These advertisers and writers created the image of a woman who leads a busy, fast-paced, and independent life, and who is empowered by the "mannish" fashions she wears.

Like the automobile itself, these fashions created an ethos of mobility and speed in tune with the "freedoms" of modern life. According to an article in the fashion magazine *Fémina* (1924), modern women "dress in such a way so as not to be hindered in their gestures; they are adapting themselves to an era in which one must act quickly, walk with a hurried step, jump into a car, and proceed, in the least amount of time possible, from one occupation to another."<sup>83</sup> "Nothing stops her, nothing fills her with fear," wrote a female columnist for *Le figaro* in 1925. "Intrepid, she drives her own car while waiting to pilot her airplane."<sup>84</sup> A year

<sup>82</sup> Rip, "La mode de demain," in *De la mode*, 89–90. See also Miomandre, *Notes et maximes*, 27; and "De petites choses." For the "sportiness" of *la femme moderne*, see J. R. F., "Sur la simplicité," *Vogue* (January 1, 1923): 35; Monbrison, 59, 64, 67; André de Fouquières, "Les tendances de la mode," *De la mode*, 43–44; Marsan, "D'une révolution du costume," 80; and "La femme sportive doit rester élégante," *Vogue*, July 1923.

<sup>83</sup> "Paris, L'enfer des cheveux," *Fémina*, January 1924.

<sup>84</sup> Camille Duguet, "Critique de la mode," *Le figaro*, March 11, 1925, Dossier Mode, BMD. As for the designers, she argued that "ils situent mieux la mode dans le décor de la vie moderne, trépidante et mouvant à l'excès." See also the letter by Lucien Lelong to Duguet, probably in response to this



later, the designer Lucien Lelong shared the "secret" of the modern woman's fashions: "to be dressed in such a way so as to live for the speed—I would even say the electricity—of every passing moment . . . *Tout est vitesse prodigieuse* and we appear in a dazzling film."<sup>85</sup> "Women want to walk, run, do sports," wrote the prominent aristocrat André de Fouquières in 1927. "Nothing can prevent them from doing so, nature is regaining its rights . . . Suddenly, the noise of a motor! *C'est la réalité présente! life! movement! vertigo!*"<sup>86</sup> By fusing the spirit of the new fashions with this modern consumer ethos of freedom, supporters of fashion were able to present it as liberated and liberating.

In making their emancipatory argument, supporters of the new styles further relied on the unexamined assumption that what one wore affected how one behaved (and vice versa). As early as 1919, Paul Reboux, a journalist for the bourgeois daily *L'oeuvre*, drew on such logic to defend the new bob. He began by reminding his readers of the political and symbolic importance of fashion in French history: "After the Empire, the struggle between advocates of the wig and those of emancipated hair offers a marvelous image of the Restoration." In the same way, Reboux argued, the short, bobbed cut signaled political and social changes in the postwar era. Speaking of the war, he claimed that "in these four years, women were emancipated . . . They have virile occupations. They are going to vote. It is quite natural that their hairstyle be adapted to this new condition."<sup>87</sup> Eight years later, in 1927, Reboux made the same defense of fashion, this time stating his argument more explicitly: "Free movement of the human body must accompany an age in which the individual is emancipated."<sup>88</sup> And he continued to praise the bob as "the clearest symbol of female emancipation."<sup>89</sup>

Prominent designers also inscribed the new fashions within a socioeconomic context of the war's disruption of female identity; describing fashions as markers of change. In 1927, Jacques Worth wrote: "The war changed women's lives, forcing them into an active life, and, in many cases, paid work . . . As the years pass by, women feel enamored by more freedom, hence the easier style of dresses." Another designer, "Premet," agreed: "The woman of today has given up

---

article: Lucien Lelong, "Lettre ouverte à Madame Camille Duguet," *Le figaro*, December 2, 1924, Dossier Mode, BMD.

<sup>85</sup> Lucien Lelong, "Un plaidoyer pour les modes actuelles," n.p., March 18, 1926, Dossiers Mode and Coiffure, BMD. For a very similar statement, see Lelong, "Lettre ouverte à Madame Camille Duguet." See also words of Cyber-Soeurs, in Marsan, "D'une révolution du costume," 88.

<sup>86</sup> Fouquières, "Les tendances de la mode," *De la mode*, 45. See also Roubaix Prouvost, *La mode en 1927* (Paris, 1927), who makes a reference to how women's fashions fit "dans le cadre de son existence nouvelle." He argues that there were three inspirations of contemporary fashion, "jeunesse, mouvement, sport," and refers to the life of a young woman as "une vie pleine de mouvement." See also Marsan, "D'une révolution du costume," 70.

<sup>87</sup> Reboux, "Opinion: Cheveux coupés." See also the response to Reboux's first article, "Autre opinion," *L'oeuvre*, January 15, 1919, by Pierre Chainé. Chainé reminded Reboux that cutting women's hair has traditionally been a public humiliation for those women who have been "too friendly with the Boches" and who are therefore considered guilty of treason.

<sup>88</sup> Paul Reboux, "Grandeurs, variations et décadences de la mode," *De la mode*, 17. See also Marsan, "D'une révolution du costume," 47. In his article, "Prosperity's Child: Some Thoughts on the Flapper," *American Quarterly*, 21 (Spring 1969): 45–63, Kenneth Yellis argued that the American flapper's abandonment of traditional female dress paralleled her rejection of a passive sexual, social, and economic role from which such dress gained its meaning.

<sup>89</sup> Reboux, "Grandeurs, variations," 16.

for good the restraints placed upon her.”<sup>90</sup> In hindsight, hairdresser René Rambaud explained the popularity of the new style in this way:

The woman who took an active place in industrial, commercial, artistic, social life during what is called “The Great War” has in part conserved it . . . Rapidly and not undeservedly, women are winning their right to freedom. And to equality perhaps . . . in a bold and impressive jump, this generation is surmounting the high barriers of tradition, prejudice and established morality concerning hair: she is having her hair cut.<sup>91</sup>

To Rambaud, bobbed hair was associated with a broader fight for freedom, equality, and the attempt “to surmount the high barriers of tradition.” One could argue that for designers and merchandisers, this emphasis on freedom and mobility was merely an effort to sell women on the new styles rather than a genuine promotion of freedom for women. Despite the possibility of such mercenary motives, the fact that these promoters made this kind of argument for the new styles becomes significant, inasmuch as it reveals their intuitive sense of what would attract women about the new styles—what image of themselves and of their lives women hoped to project through wearing them. Fashion acted as a presentation of self, in part grounded in fantasy and wish fulfillment. What these designers believed they offered were images of fashion as change, liberation, and freedom from constraint.<sup>92</sup>

Although the origins of such images are impossible to determine, feminists were using them to describe fashion in the early 1920s, several years before they were adopted by the designers quoted above. As we have seen, the radical feminist Henriette Sauret described short hair in 1919 as “a gesture of independence; a personal venture.” According to Augusta Moll-Weiss, a well-known feminist and founder of the household rationalization movement, when women of all classes were working, they demanded fashions “which one can put on easily, rapidly.” Complicated fashions were no longer popular, she argued in 1921, because women “no longer tolerate impeding their freedom of movement for the benefit of laws whose omnipotence they no longer recognize.”<sup>93</sup> In 1922, feminist journalist Jane Misme, editor of *La française*, praised the new, more abbreviated swimsuits worn by young women for giving them ease and freedom of movement in the water: “anything which stands in the way of the harmonious and necessary development of the body can only be a false kind of grace and modesty.”<sup>94</sup> By describing the old swimsuits as “false,” Misme implied that the new ones more

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Marsan, “D’une révolution du costume,” 85–86.

<sup>91</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 237–39. See also Antoine Cierplikowski, *J’ai coiffé le monde*, 10: “la guerre de 14–18 avait obligé les femmes à travailler . . . Il en résulta pour elles, la guerre terminée, une grande liberté d’allure qui correspondait à une nouvelle liberté d’esprit. Cela n’alla pas sans causer quelque désarroi parmi les hommes. Ils avaient quitté des compagnes dévouées qui s’effaçaient volontiers devant l’omnipotence masculine; ils retrouvaient des collaboratrices indépendantes décidées à jouer leur partie.”

<sup>92</sup> For this idea of fashion as an expression of an ideal self, see Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, esp. 45–48; and Sandra Gilbert, “Costumes of the Mind: Transvestism as Metaphor in Modern Literature,” *Critical Inquiry*, 7 (Winter 1980): 391–417.

<sup>93</sup> Augusta Moll-Weiss, “Les femmes d’après-guerre et la mode,” *L’école et la vie*, no. 15 (January 1, 1921): 235–36.

<sup>94</sup> Jane Misme, “La pudeur aux bains,” *L’oeuvre*, August 3, 1922, Fonds Bouglé, Articles de Journaux, Boîte no. 2, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

faithfully expressed a woman's "natural" self. Maria Vérone, a prominent postwar feminist leader and the editor of the bourgeois feminist monthly *Le droit des femmes*, agreed with Misme. "The women who have preceded us," she maintained, "gave us the bad example of fake hair, false sentiments, marriage without love." By contrast, she argued, "we wear short hair, dresses which are not constricting and we want to have a profession, in order to be independent."<sup>95</sup> Like Grégoire, Vérone believed that dress constituted a symbolic language that, through its vividness and ability to excite the imagination, "arouse[d] ideas and sentiments analogous to their object." Fake hair encouraged duplicity in one's life as well as one's appearance, leading inevitably to "false sentiments" and loveless marriage. Likewise, the "non-constricting" clothes of the modern woman created a visual analogue of liberation, encouraging an "independent" life.

FEMINISTS SUCH AS SAURET, MOLL-WEISS, AND VÉRONE presented fashion as a maker as well as a marker of change because it had the ability to encourage new behaviors analogous to the visual image produced. Can one say, then, that fashion authorized feminist emancipation? It is debatable whether the new fashions were, in fact, physically liberating, able to facilitate physical mobility and therefore a more independent life. Freedom of movement is a relative concept, and certainly the new styles were liberating in comparison to the crimped, corseted fashions of the fin-de-siècle. Even a cursory glance at the narrow tubular skirts and the high heels of the 1920s, however, casts doubt on the mobility that such styles could have afforded women. They were comfortable only by comparison to pre-war fashions.<sup>96</sup> Writing on fashion in 1924, Jacqueline de Monbrison first proclaimed that "contemporary fashion is essentially comfortable, and . . . *femmes modernes* will never accept a restrictive fashion." Yet, some pages later, she admitted that the new styles of Jean Patou, for example, were "so narrow that 'madame' will not go very far, and would do well to have the car wait for her to return." She also confessed that dressing and undressing in the new styles presented enormous difficulty: "By what miracle are we able to get into our dresses? . . . Mystery! and above all, yes above all, by what other miracle are we able to get out of them?"<sup>97</sup> In *Reproches à une dame*, Pierre Lièvre disabused readers of the idea that comfort or freedom of movement had anything at all to do with fashion. Given modern conveniences, he argued, women had less need to move freely than ever before: "You are telling me that the woman who drives her little Citroën should not be restricted in her movements?"<sup>98</sup>

The new style was no more carefree than it was physically liberating. According

<sup>95</sup> Cited in Lebas and Jacques, *La coiffure en France*, 269. See also Camille Duguet, "Critique de la mode": "la femme moderne, ou plus exactement, la femme d'aujourd'hui ne ressemble et ne veut surtout plus ressembler à la femme d'hier. Pratique, sportive, réaliste et positive, elle entend vivre sa vie à sa guise, en se libérant chaque jour d'une de ces préjugés opprimant jusqu'alors sa faiblesse."

<sup>96</sup> Heels remained high, despite the fact that in January 1918, doctors Quenu and Ménard presented a lecture at L'Académie de Médecine on, in Gabriel Perreux's words, "les inconvénients du talon haut pour la santé des femmes." See *La vie quotidienne des civils*, 267.

<sup>97</sup> Monbrison, 96, 100-01.

<sup>98</sup> Lièvre, *Reproches*, 34.

to the historian Marylène Delbourg-Delphis, a new concept of beauty arose in the 1920s, particularly after mid-decade. This concept was based on faith in the body's malleability, its ability to be shaped and improved. As a result, she points out, women began to use more make-up and invest greater amounts of time and money in beauty products for face, skin, and hair.<sup>99</sup> An article in *Vogue* during 1923 commented on how long women were spending in "instituts de beauté" and insisted that to achieve the look, the modern woman must "greet with a smile the incessant admonitions, the harsh instructions of the trainer, masseuse, professor: 'Stand up straight, don't slump your back, eat little, don't drink, walk, get up, lean over . . . think of your health, of hygiene above all.'"<sup>100</sup> Several such *instituts de beauté* were begun during the 1920s, especially in the later years of the decade.<sup>101</sup> Although women claimed that the new bob cut was "practical" and easy to care for, one commentator asked in 1924, "who will be persuaded that a few minutes every day devoted to the maintenance of long hair in the intimacy of the home can be compared to the interminable periods of waiting at the hairdresser's?"<sup>102</sup> The political writer François de Bondy agreed in 1927 that women now spent their lives at their hairdresser and remarked that "to pretend the contrary would be a little like saying that it was more practical for us men to shave every morning than to grow a beard."<sup>103</sup>

In addition, after 1920, the style of dress required excessive thinness, which could only be achieved by continuous, strict dieting.<sup>104</sup> A panoply of new products appeared on the market to help women shape their sometimes unwilling bodies into conformity with the new silhouette. These included such panaceas as Dr. Duchamp's *Iodhyrine*, "approved and recommended by the French and international medical body," Dr. Jawas' "Mexican tea," "L'ovidine-Lutier," which promised a "marvellous result, without diet or danger," the Gigartina seaweed sugar-coated pills (*dragées*) designed to thin the chin, thighs, and waist, "Galton pills," also to rid women of double chins, and "Tanagra *dragées*," containing thyroid to dehydrate women and produce "in no time an elegant and supple silhouette."<sup>105</sup> With a tone of great pity, a 1924 *Vogue* article described the regime of "la malheureuse who has resolved to maintain an ideal weight": "Hours passed in the gym, mornings devoted to the brutal hands of *masseuses*, thyroid pills taken despite the risk of permanently ruining one's health, masks or rubber girdles to slim down waists or faces."<sup>106</sup> Although traditional types of corsets were abol-

<sup>99</sup> Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 118. Delbourg-Delphis makes no precise chronological analysis concerning this development of a new concept of the body. However, she seems to argue that it becomes particularly important after mid-decade. See also Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 241–42; Marwick, *Beauty in History*, 298–99; for America, Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York, 1983).

<sup>100</sup> "A la conquête d'une nouvelle jeunesse," *Vogue*, April 1, 1923.

<sup>101</sup> Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 118.

<sup>102</sup> Bruyère, *Une mode féminine*, 26.

<sup>103</sup> Comte de Bondy, "La mode et la vie," *De la mode: Hier—aujourd'hui—demain*, 37.

<sup>104</sup> See Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 106.

<sup>105</sup> See advertisements in *La féminina*, 1920; and *La mode pratique*, October 1922. See also Miomandre, *Notes et maximes*, in which he makes a reference, p. 26, to the means "parfois terribles" by which women get thin.

<sup>106</sup> "Traité de la silhouette féminine," *Vogue* (November 1924): 48. See also Clément Vautel, "Etre mince ou ne pas être," *Art, goût, beauté*, May 15, 1924, in which he excerpts the statement of a young *femme moderne*, Nicole: "Pauvres femmes que nous sommes . . . notre existence n'est faite que de sacrifices . . . Si vous saviez ce qu'il faut souffrir pour rester sveltes!" In *Fashion and Eroticism*, 241,

ished, most women still wore constraining undergarments of some kind, such as the straight elastic girdle or bust bodice.<sup>107</sup> Poiret himself admitted in 1921 in *L'illustration* that the new look demanded some kind of girdle.<sup>108</sup> As *Vogue* exclaimed in 1923: "how seductive the straight line of our winter dresses is, how revealing the *sveltesse* of the female silhouette! But how ungracious when the waist is not shaped [*moulée*] by a corset-girdle, the indispensable complement of contemporary fashion."<sup>109</sup> Dr. Monteil's *ceinture-maillot*—cheerfully called "The Goddess"—was made entirely of rubber and cost a walloping 150 francs. There were also girdles for a woman's face, neck, and ankles, those for the latter advertised as "invisible even under the sheerest stockings" (Figures 5 and 6).

From this perspective, the new fashions look like an elaborate marketing ploy to feed the growth of a burgeoning beauty industry, including make-up and skin-care manufacturers, owners of *instituts de beauté*, hair salon owners, diet specialists, and the *hauts couturiers*. In this sense, postwar fashion can be understood as a sort of modern consumerism that exploited women in the pursuit of profit, as feminist historians have claimed. Far from enjoying freedom, women who bought into this quest for beauty found themselves locked into a relentless and time-consuming set of physical and financial constraints.

But if postwar fashion was not as "liberating" as it appeared, why did feminists and the women who wore the styles present them as affording enormous mobility and freedom? According to the journalist René Bizet, who wrote a treatise on fashion in 1925, it was the illusion of freedom, if not freedom itself, that was the objective of the new look. In Bizet's words, "there was a tyranny of liberty in current fashion." Women went to desperate lengths in order to produce "the illusion of being free" through their clothes.<sup>110</sup> The fashion writer Jacqueline de Monbrison supported this notion in 1926 by referring to Princess Irène, a woman who took no less than two hours with her maid to prepare for the evening. But the desired effect, according to Monbrison, completely disguised this effort: "The effect of extreme elegance that she produces would hardly lead someone to

---

Steele describes how the era marked the "internalization" of the corset, as a new emphasis was put on strict dieting.

<sup>107</sup> Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 235. Some people still argued for the traditional corset. See "Le corset," *La mode pratique*, September 27, 1924: "La souplesse, la fluidité des étoffes actuelles divulgent trop les formes et les imperfections de la taille pour que l'absence de tout soutien ne dénote pas un laisser-aller contraire à la fois à l'élégance et aux convenances." For a detailed history of undergarments during this period, see Elizabeth Ewing, *Dress and Undress: A History of Women's Underwear* (London, 1978); David Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing, and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture in the West* (Totawa, N.J., 1982).

<sup>108</sup> See "La mode qui vient," *L'illustration*, June 11, 1921. Poiret banished the traditional corset but replaced it with a "cache-corset," which eventually became the *brassière*. He called postwar women "telephone poles." See Deslandres, *Poiret*, 99, 149.

<sup>109</sup> "La ligne nouvelle," *Vogue*, December 1923. This article recommends several different kinds of corsets and girdles, each for one occasion (such as tennis or evening wear). See also Lucie Neumeyer, "Le panégyrique du corset," *Art, goût, beauté*, March 1925. Without the corset, Neumeyer argued, "la silhouette actuelle n'aurait point cette grâce élégante, cette ferme souplesse qui sont de grands charmes. S'en passer? Quelle erreur!" Finally, see Andrée Santeuil, "Dernières créations de la mode," in the trade journal *Les élégances parisiennes*, no. 6, 1921.

<sup>110</sup> Bizet, *La mode*, 17.



***Vous serez belle éternellement  
et toujours jeune..... Madame,***  
 EN PORTANT UNE DEMI-HEURE PAR JOUR LES  
**APPAREILS DE BEAUTÉ**

**du DOCTEUR MONTEIL**  
 Hygiéniste-Spécialiste  
 8, 10, Passage Choiseul, PARIS (Opéra)

**En caoutchouc radio-actif.**

Ils préviennent ou suppriment  
 radicalement rides, bajoues,  
 pattes d'oie, double menton,  
 taches, rougeurs, etc.

**Embellissent, rajeunissent,**  
 s'appliquent parfaitement à tous les  
 visages.

La Ceinture "LA DÉESSE", entière-  
 ment en caoutchouc, s'applique  
 directement sur la peau et fait maigrir  
 rapidement les hanches et le ventre  
 sans médication ni régime.

"LA DÉESSE" supprime et pré-  
 vient toute obésité, tonifie, affine et  
 harmonise le corps.

**SOUTIEN-GORGE assorti : 120 fr.**

**NOUVELLE CREATION**  
**Bandes en caoutchouc radio-actif.**  
**Spéciales pour amincir les chevilles.**  
**LA PAIRE : 40 frs**

**Demander notre Catalogue de Spécialités de Beauté.**

Masque idéal. Prix. 30f.

Appareil dit Papillon, 20f.

Mentonnière avec cou, 20 f.  
 Mentonnière sans cou, 15 f.  
 Front, 12 f. :: Loup, 15 f.

Ceinture  
 "LA DÉESSE"  
 entièrement en  
 caoutchouc.  
 Taille ordinaire : 150 l.  
 Grande taille : 170 l.  
 Mesures à donner :  
 largeur de la taille  
 et des hanches.





FIGURE 5: An advertisement for various beauty devices, from *Fémina*, 1924.

suspect that it took two hours to achieve, so much is it dependent on the triumphant appearance of simplicity."<sup>111</sup>

Thinking about the new fashions as producing the illusion of freedom, rather than freedom itself, can help us to determine their political importance. By conceiving of fashion as a language of movement and change, even when it was not, designers like Paul Poiret and Coco Chanel created a visual fantasy of liberation.

<sup>111</sup> Monbrison, 41; see also page 15, where she admits that women must diet, have massages, and wear corsets in order to achieve the line in fashion.





**POUR  
VOS  
CHEVILLES**

Pour amincir vos chevilles et avoir de jolies jambes, portez sans hésiter les **Banc's L.** en caoutchouc chair extra mince, plus souples que toute autre bando. Elles sont invisibles sous le bas le plus fin et valent 35 francs la paire, franco chez

**CLARKS**  
18, Rue Vivienne, 16  
**PARIS**

FIGURE 6: An advertisement for ankle girdles, from *La mode pratique*, 1924.

Merchandisers succeeded in selling the new styles by projecting an image of liberation from constraint; the women who wore them were attracted to this fantasy and wanted to express it as their own. In defining fashion in terms of personal emancipation, feminists such as Vêrone and Misme also helped to define its cultural interpretation. The fantasy of liberation then became a cultural reality in itself that was not without political importance. The image of *la femme moderne* adopted by French women—as intrepid, powerful, active, and athletic—created a visual analogue of the freedom that many women of all classes had supposedly enjoyed during the war, when they had assumed traditionally male professions and responsibilities. By wearing these clothes, women could project a fantasy of an ideal, liberated self, one that moved freely in an unconstrained social space. In Moll-Weiss's words, such an ideal self could put on and take off new identities unrestricted by old prejudices, hierarchies, or “laws whose omnipotence they no longer recognize.” Because the new look sharply contrasted with that of the turn of the century, it represented a visual declaration of sudden change in women's lives.

THE PARADOX OF WOMEN'S FASHION IN POSTWAR FRANCE consisted in the strange and contradictory manner in which it was political. Despite the exploitative and regressive reality of the new styles, at the level of fantasy, they represented a visual

image of personal freedom and emancipation. By mid-decade, the fantasy of fashion itself became invested with political meaning. To wear the new fashions was to embrace publicly the already established cultural meanings of fashion: as a visual erasure of sexual difference (the critics' view) and as a declaration of independence from pre-war social constraints (the defenders' view). To buy and wear the new styles—at the workplace, on the streets of Paris, wherever social exchange took place—was to participate in a social fantasy of liberation. Fashion became a language of signs used to herald the arrival of a new world.

Considering postwar fashion as a political gesture raises two important sets of questions. First, did women's participation in this visual fantasy of liberation produce any real political effects? Obviously, to look emancipated was not to be emancipated. Since the illusion of freedom could as much undermine as reinforce a liberated self-image, participation in this visual fantasy represented a political risk.<sup>112</sup> Despite these important qualifications, evidence does exist that the new fashions had a strong political effect—their ability to scandalize and infuriate postwar French men and women. If the new look did not in some way profoundly threaten traditional notions of female identity, why were fathers, mothers-in-law, and conservatives up in arms about it? Why else did fashion divide families and destroy marriages if it did not touch some political nerve or challenge some prevailing signification of power?

Second, in considering fashion as a political gesture, one needs to ask whether or not participation in this visual fantasy of liberation was a conscious political choice. Did women deliberately wear the new styles in order to project an image of personal freedom? Or were they just fond of new clothes and the mode of the day? Exactly why women wore what they did is a complex issue, with the considerations ranging from personal aesthetics to the desire to conform. The motivation of these women is especially difficult to ascertain because only rarely did they articulate their reasons on paper; fashion was something to wear, not to write about. These considerations of motive point up the possible weaknesses of fashion as a political or feminist strategy. The women who wore the new fashions were certainly rebellious, but if this act of rebellion was not a conscious political choice, was it likely to last or blossom into other forms? Were these women destined for an eventual relapse into conventionality?<sup>113</sup>

The answers to these questions lie beyond the scope of this essay, but it is interesting to look at fashions during the 1930s with them in mind. After 1927 or 1928, rising stars of *haute couture* such as Elsa Schiaparelli began to reassert the waist and bust in dresses and to pioneer a gentler, more sculptured look. Typical of this new style were the *coiffures* that replaced the bob: framed by curls around the face, they had a softer, more "feminine" look. Fashion once again began to follow the contours of a woman's body and to delineate, even emphasize, sexual

<sup>112</sup> I am indebted to Estelle Freedman of Stanford University for this point.

<sup>113</sup> This question was raised by a reader for the *American Historical Review*. In fact, as George Fredrickson and Karen Sawislak have suggested to me, the paradoxical life cycle of a fashion would seem to make such a relapse into conventionality inevitable. A certain fashion becomes popular because it challenges convention in some way. For example, the short bob gained popularity in great part because it represented a challenge to the old female convention of long tresses and elaborate coiffures. Yet the very popularization of this fashion, in turn, made it conventional—in the sense that "everyone" was having her hair cut.

difference. The length of skirts, which gradually grew throughout the 1920s, stabilized at mid-calf by 1930, and fashion generally grew more "respectable" and "responsible." The notion of "liberty" and "scandal" in fashion disappeared.<sup>114</sup>

The period between 1918 and 1927 thus formed an exceptional time in twentieth-century French fashion, in which what women wore became invested with political meaning in a profound yet ephemeral way. The political significance of fashion did not inhere in the styles themselves; rather, fashion became political because of the way it was interpreted by contemporaries, how it was understood in the cultural *imaginaire*. Wearing the new styles was in no way a form of organized feminism, as we are used to thinking of this term. Nor can they be said to have authorized "feminist" emancipation. But even if unable to win women the vote, adherence to the new fashions did help to keep issues of female identity at the forefront of French life during a period of rapid social transformation. Speaking of the bob, René Rambaud asserted, "Never has any other [fashion] held such a place in the mind, in conversation, in events."<sup>115</sup> Through fashion, changes in female identity were debated, challenged, and embraced in multiple ways.

Through fashion as well, the image of the modern woman became associated with an aesthetic of a modern consumerism. Far from serving as a homogenizing force, modern consumer culture became the means by which women expressed a more liberated self. The visual alignment of *la femme moderne* with an ethos of mobility (embodied in the automobile) created a cultural landscape in which a vivid new kind of woman—powerful, active, and adventuresome—could be represented. The woman pictured behind the wheel of her *torpédo* was on the way to *her* office, store, or factory. In this sense, the impact of consumer culture on specifically female forms of cultural expression is both more paradoxical and complex than historians have believed. The modern woman's quest for freedom, spoken in the language of fashion and consumerism, deserves reconsideration as a form of collective political engagement.

For historians trying to understand socio-cultural changes during the period of World War I, the controversy surrounding postwar fashion is a rich source for exploration. The ways in which French observers read the text of fashion can tell us much about what preoccupied and worried them during this time of transition. Many of the French, such as fashion's critics, yearned for a more traditional and stable French society, symbolized by the domestic hearth. They expressed anxiety that change would usher in a colder, more impersonal world. Others, namely the supporters of fashion, welcomed change as a dismissal of pre-war social constraints. Fashion was not "politics" as we are used to conceiving of it, but the debates over its meaning in postwar France were profoundly political. The fashions of the modern woman became central to the cultural mythology of the era, instilling at once envy, admiration, frustration, and horror, because they provided both a visual language for upheaval and change and figured in a political struggle for the redefinition of female identity.

<sup>114</sup> See Delbourg-Delphis, *Le chic et le look*, 110, 133–34, 148; Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 246; Caroline Evans and Minna Thornton, "Fashion, Representation, Femininity," *Feminist Review*, no. 38 (Summer 1991): 49–57.

<sup>115</sup> Rambaud, *Les fugitives*, 253. See also Smith, *Confessions of a Concierge*, 57.

---

## Machine Dreams: Airmindedness and the Reinvention of Germany

---

PETER FRITZSCHE

THE ALWAYS MUSCULAR FIGURE OF TECHNOLOGY was cast both as hero and villain in the grand narratives that made sense of the nineteenth century. As Gustave Flaubert's comic fable ends, Bouvard and Pécuchet dispute the "future of mankind." Each furnishes his forecast with machinery. Pécuchet takes a "gloomy view" and foresees people diminished by technology and vulgarized by democratic politics: "America will have conquered the world," he concludes. Bouvard, by contrast, "takes a rosy view." Human character will improve, scientific discoveries will enrich knowledge, travelers will journey in submarines and space ships, and "Europe will be regenerated by Asia."<sup>1</sup> In similar fashion, in his poem "Vingtième siècle," Victor Hugo counterposed the steamship, symbol for an industrial system of exploitation and destitution certain to run aground, with an imaginary airship, which would inaugurate an era of social peace and global prosperity.<sup>2</sup> Neither Flaubert nor Hugo was overly sanguine; the advance of industry spurred their visions of ruin. At the same time, however, the frightful incidence of disorder invited both writers to imagine more strenuous technological endeavors—an airship, new discoveries—that might restore social well-being. Technology therefore remained the focus of inquiries about both the diagnoses and possible therapies for the ills of modern times.

The twentieth century did not resolve the dispute between Bouvard and Pécuchet. Although the airships Hugo anticipated made their appearance in European skies at the turn of the century, they did not serve peaceful ends only. Zeppelins and airplanes bombed civilians during World War I and threatened more massive destruction in wars to come. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, "voices prophesying war" described skies full of airplanes that hurled incendiary bombs and chemical gases onto defenseless cities. There was no more evocative symbol for the "dark side of progress" than the long-range bomber.<sup>3</sup> In perhaps

I am very grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies and the Program for Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security and the Research Board at the University of Illinois for grants that made this research possible in 1989 and 1990. Harry Liebersohn was extremely encouraging at various points, and Victor Libet sharpened my early formulations. I also found the lengthy comments provided by the anonymous readers for this journal exceptionally helpful; even in the absence of face-to-face relations, I had a genuine sense of professional community.

<sup>1</sup> Gustave Flaubert, *Bouvard and Pécuchet*, A. J. Krailsheimer, trans. (London, 1976), 286–87.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Hugo, "Vingtième siècle," in *La légende des siècles* (Paris, 1856), 4: 217–40.

<sup>3</sup> I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War 1763–1984* (London, 1966); and J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman, *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York, 1985).

the most influential book after the war, *The Outline of History* (1920), H. G. Wells predicted that a future conflict would leave Europe ravaged by air attacks, making the "bombing of those 'prentice days," 1914–1918, look like "child's play." Although he ended his history on a rosy note, retaining faith in the League of Nations to keep the peace, by 1935, a gloomier Wells began his screenplay to Alexander Korda's popular film, *Things to Come*, with an air war that annihilated civilization.<sup>4</sup> These forebodings recirculated in illustrated Sunday supplements and found their way into popular science-fiction stories in which whole cities were leveled by air raiders, chemical agents were released to disfigure the species, and the unfortunate survivors driven to panic and flight. There seemed little doubt that the social order, which civil strife indicated had become increasingly fragile since World War I, would unravel completely in the event of air war. The scholarly calculations of air-power theorists in the 1920s—Giulio Douhet in Italy, Lord Trenchard in Britain, and Billy Mitchell in the United States—told the same grim story.<sup>5</sup>

When Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin declared to the House of Commons in November 1932 that "no power on earth can protect" civilians in the street, "the bomber will always get through," he expressed a broad European consensus. Before radar was developed in the late 1930s, only a few experts believed either anti-aircraft artillery or fighter planes to be plausible deterrents to bomber attacks.<sup>6</sup> Particularly in Britain and France, Baldwin's memorable phrases summed up the mounting catastrophism of the postwar years. Baldwin's statement and Wells's screenplay were emblematic of the conviction that modern men and women had become helpless victims of the tools that science had perfected. Faced with the awesome destructive potential of the bomber, the Allies took the solemn promises of the signatories to the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war seriously and worked diligently to attain comprehensive agreements to disarm air forces in the 1930s.<sup>7</sup>

In Germany, however, the political implications of the air age were more varied. Wellsian prophecies of total war were widely accepted, but nationalist spokesmen came to believe that Germany could prosper in these pitiless conditions. An ethos of military preparedness, which eventually displaced enthusiasm for international concord, constituted a "specifically German development" and anticipated Nazi war preparations in the 1930s.<sup>8</sup> In Germany, prognostications of

<sup>4</sup> H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (New York, 1920), 1084–85, quoting the Royal United Service Institution's Sir Louis Jackson; and Wells, *Things to Come* (New York, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Edward Warner, "Douhet, Mitchell, Seversky: Theories of Air Warfare," in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, N.J., 1944), as well as Michael Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

<sup>6</sup> House of Commons Debates, vol. 270, cols. 631–32, November 10, 1932. More generally, see Lee Kennett, *A History of Strategic Bombing* (New York, 1982); and R. J. Overy, *The Air War 1939–1945* (New York, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm Smith, *British Air Strategy between the Wars* (Oxford, 1984), 49, 109–39. See also Uri Bialer, *The Shadow of the Bomber: The Fear of Air Attack and British Politics 1932–1939* (London, 1980); and Robert H. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time: The Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (New Haven, Conn., 1952).

<sup>8</sup> Wolfram Wette, "Von Kellogg bis Hitler (1928–1933): Die öffentliche Meinung zwischen Kriegsverächtung und Kriegsverherrlichung," in Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Paderborn, 1981), 158–59.





FIGURE 1: The German weekly *Die Woche* imagines air war in 1931.

doom served as preconditions for a new and more vigilant political order. National survival in the twentieth century seemed to be a matter of accepting the novel terms of the "air future." This meant preparing for air war and fashioning an air-minded generation. Both as a set of assumptions and later, in the 1930s, as



the policy of the German state, "airmindedness" prefigured the "total mobilization" of the economy, civic life, and individual morale that radical nationalists such as Ernst Jünger and Carl Schmitt believed the rough politics of postwar Europe required. In this view, the horrors of total war did not eliminate the rationale of armed engagement but instead called for a more thorough organization of civil society and promised to secure the military advantages and political unity that Germany lacked in World War I. The air age thus provided postwar Germany with the technological means to reinvent itself. Airmindedness was not a utilitarian code of conduct that derived logically from the frightening realities of air war. Rather, it added up to an ideologically inflected diagnosis of danger and opportunity by which the Nazis could build the national community. Focusing on the idea of airmindedness, I will examine how the sites of technological vulnerability after World War I provided congenial locations for political experimentation in Germany and explore more generally the links between twentieth-century technology and the authoritarian state.

AIRMINDEDNESS WAS THE CREATION OF WORLD WAR I. The war years saw a dramatic expansion of the part aircraft played in war. Airplanes, which at the outset amounted to little more than fragile contraptions of wood, canvas, and baling wire, fit more for the circus than the battlefield in the view of most military observers, ended the war as versatile one-seater fighter planes pulled through the air by 400-horsepower motors or as giant four and five-engined bombers manned by specialized crews of as many as nine aviators. By 1918, bombardiers had struck urban and industrial targets with thousands of kilograms of explosives. The once-fanciful idea that airplanes could wage a gruesome war on civilians in an effort to destroy the ability and the will to fight had become reality.<sup>9</sup>

The bomber was the most ominous feature of total war, in which the theater of operations extended over the entire territory of belligerent nations. Along with the frenzied demands of wartime production and the mobilization of hearts and minds, the air war conscripted civilians as active participants in the war effort. This enfranchisement of citizens in the republic of war had two immediate consequences. It opened the way for an intensification of military operations to strike at metropolitan factories and working-class neighborhoods or to enforce hunger blockades and wear down resistance on the home front. In addition, total war required a more effective mobilization of society in order to maximize industrial production and bolster morale. As Michael Geyer explains, "machine war and ideological mobilization complemented each other"; "engineers and ideologists . . . came in pairs."<sup>10</sup>

If the conduct of war required politically cohesive and spiritually vigorous

<sup>9</sup> On the origins of strategic bombing in World War I, see Raymond H. Fredette, *The Sky on Fire: The First Battle of Britain* (New York, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> Michael Geyer, "German Strategy in the Age of Machine Warfare, 1914–1945," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 545, 528. See also Hans Speier, "Ludendorff: The German Concept of Total War," in Edward Earle Meade, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, 1944), 306–21; and Major Bogatsch, "Das Luftschutzproblem," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1 (August 1931): 6–13.

citizens, the occasion of war provided the means to achieve domestic unity. German theorists of total war such as Erich Ludendorff and Ernst Jünger celebrated war for the international advantages it procured but also for the iron-clad nationalism it furthered.<sup>11</sup> Total war and national revolution thus went hand in hand. The notion of air-mindedness reproduced this conflation of ends and means. To prepare for air attacks surely constituted a calibrated response to the intensification of industrial warfare. At the same time, it served as an effective technology to mobilize the nation and renovate its political structures.

Since air power was in part designed to undermine the will to fight by threatening neighborhoods and inducing panic, it called forth new postures of civilian response. That Germany's defeat in 1918 was widely considered the result of a failure of nerve on the home front not only led Weimar's military theorists to pay more attention to the strategically vital issue of civilian vulnerability but also strengthened the arguments of air-power proponents who heralded strategic bombing as the offensive weapon best suited to break civilian morale. This revalorization of psychological factors also underscored the need for more thorough propaganda and social discipline on the home front.<sup>12</sup> A successful war-making capacity therefore required moral as well as material rearmament. Taking these lessons to heart, the National Socialists launched an energetic campaign to train German families to remain calm under fire. In classrooms and at civic functions, civil-defense officials detailed the aerial danger posed by the Allies. Air-defense exercises came to be routine events in factories, schools, and neighborhoods. By 1939, over 8 million members of the Reich Civil Defense League (Reichsluftschutzbund) had received specialized training.

But the everyday scenes in which schoolchildren tried on gas masks and city dwellers darkened their homes were not simply sensible precautions in an increasingly dangerous world. They were also remarkable ideological exercises. Preparation for even the remote eventuality of air war implicated civilians in a web of discipline and authority. In Germany, the most enthusiastic proponents of air-mindedness called for a technocratic state in which the rickety forms of democratic governance would give way to the streamlined leadership necessary to overcome the debilitating social frictions and parliamentary squabbles that allegedly undermined national defense and inhibited civic virtue. A wide range of veteran pilots, air-war strategists, and aviation engineers argued that the air future demanded a tougher, more public-spirited citizenry and a more powerful executive. In their view, an authoritarian government such as Hitler's was more able to implement air-defense measures and to counteract panic and defeatism during air raids. At first a foresighted statement of technical precaution, air-mindedness developed rapidly into a far-reaching political prescription. Air-minded-

<sup>11</sup> Erich Ludendorff, *Der totale Krieg* (Munich, 1935), 10; and Ernst Jünger, "Die totale Mobilmachung," in Jünger, ed., *Krieg und Krieger* (Berlin, 1930). See also Hans Barth, "Die totale Mobilmachung in Krieg und Frieden" (1938), in Barth, *Fluten und Dämme: Der philosophische Gedanke in der Politik* (Zurich, 1943), 203–13.

<sup>12</sup> On the role of psychology and the lessons of 1918, see George Soldan, *Der Mensch und die Schlacht der Zukunft* (Oldenburg, 1925); Kurt Hesse, *Der Feldherr Psychologos: Ein Suchen nach dem Führer der deutschen Zukunft* (Berlin, 1922); Lothar Schüttel, *Luftkrieg bedroht Europa!* (Munich, 1938), 50–51; Ludendorff, *Der totale Krieg*, 9; and Hans Detlef Rohden, *Vom Luftkrieg* (Berlin, 1938), 15. See also Kennett, *Strategic Bombing*, 50–51.

ness added up to the full-scale mobilization of the population according to authoritarian political principles under the pretext of adhering to supposedly self-evident military and technological requirements necessary for national survival in the age of total war.

Airmindedness was only one in a long series of state-sponsored campaigns that claimed to respond to domestic emergencies of one sort or another and thereby to rehabilitate the nation in more stalwart fashion. As Flaubert and Hugo hinted long ago, machine-age crisis invited machine-age reclamation. Historians since have argued that the effort to renovate what was taken to be a dangerously imperiled society dominated much of the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1840s, moral philosophers, medical experts, and criminologists worried obsessively about the imminence of revolution, the fragility of the social order, and the disease and poverty of the cities. In their view, industrial civilization generated disturbing new pathologies that intoxicated and weakened society. By the end of the nineteenth century, an unsettling sense of permanent crisis dominated discussions about the modern condition.<sup>13</sup>

But if the industrial age turned out to be alarmingly hazardous, science and technology also rendered it more susceptible to improvement. A parade of bold proposals for reform met each debility as it was identified. Carefully noted and classified indexes of ill-health were indispensable arguments for the nineteenth century's effusive proposals for social engineering. Indeed, no aspect of the modern state has received more attention recently than the effort to discipline citizens. One hundred years ago, Max Weber had already made discipline the central feature in his story of the rise of the capitalist and bureaucratic forms of the Western world. Michel Foucault elaborated these themes and explored the micropolitical regimes of domination that accompanied scientific inquiry. In the last several years, detailed case studies of social welfare and public health in modern Europe have retained a Foucauldian perspective but have drawn particular attention to the preoccupation with degeneration and rehabilitation at the end of the nineteenth century. The conviction that unregulated industrial progress was pathological and unhealthful did not gain intellectual authority until after Darwin, but it then prompted an enduring fascination with technocratic and increasingly authoritarian strategies of social control.<sup>14</sup> A wide variety of ambitious projects to improve national efficiency and public health composed the reformist agenda. Cities had to be cleaned up and redesigned, populations

<sup>13</sup> Louis Chevalier, *Working Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1973); and also Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York, 1895). On crisis, Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1982).

<sup>14</sup> See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1978); and Stefan Breuer, "Sozialdisziplinierung," in Christoph Sachsse and Florian Tennstedt, eds., *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986). Recent literature on social discipline includes Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford, 1989); Alfons Labisch, "Doctors, Workers and the Scientific Cosmology of the Industrial World: The Social Construction of 'Health' and the 'Homo Hygienicus,'" *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20 (1985): 599–615; Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989). See also Detlev Peukert, *Die Weimarer Republik: Krisenjahre der Klassischen Moderne* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987):

educated into virtuous citizens, and hinterland empires won. Not to embark on liberal reform was to renounce economic prosperity and risk social disintegration. Emile Durkheim, perhaps the most famous diagnostician of the social ills of modern civilization as a result of his work on suicide, compared the statesman to a physician: "He prevents the outbreak of illness by good hygiene, and he seeks to cure them when they have appeared."<sup>15</sup> The burden of modern statesmanship was constant vigilance.

After 1914, the demands of total war exposed new points of stress and weakness and, in turn, prompted new technocratic measures. Front-line mutinies, labor strikes, and, in Russia, the collapse of the home front made morale an essential concern to Western military establishments. Air power raised the stakes even higher. In fact, air raids were imagined in the same medical terms that had described nineteenth-century degeneracy: bombers attacked the "nerve ganglia of national morale,"<sup>16</sup> the "moral immune system of a people,"<sup>17</sup> the "jugular veins" of the country, and the "entrails" of the metropolis.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the spread of commercial advertising and mass media such as radio and the might of a new aristocracy of press lords seemed to confirm the extreme psychological vulnerability of society. Given the harsh realities of total war, which threatened national cohesion as much as national security, airmindedness constituted an ambitious effort to redefine the postwar crisis of state authority. It amended the pathologies of the population to include panic and flight and relocated the sites of therapy in order to induce public discipline and composure. And, as the numerous other public health crises of the modern era have revealed, the technical requirements to meet stern challenges—civilian vigilance, training, and discipline—also promised political benefits—civic unity, cohesion, and authority. The promiscuity of political forms in the machine age derived from precisely this complementarity of renovation and crisis.

The twentieth-century links between jeopardy and reform, between chaos and order, are particularly pertinent to Germany. To be sure, the logic of total war had European-wide implications. Air power generated authoritarian impulses in France and Britain as well as Germany. These common features should not be forgotten. There is good reason, however, to draw attention to Germany. Jeffrey Herf's original study of "reactionary modernism" has indicated how readily German nationalists reconciled themselves to machines in order to recharge their authoritarian projects.<sup>19</sup> Historians have pushed Herf's point even further, not only recognizing the selective acceptance of technology but insisting too on the centrality of machine-age design in German politics and culture.

<sup>15</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), cited in Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics*, 169.

<sup>16</sup> British Brig. Gen. P. R. C. Groves, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 129 (February 1924), and cited in Thomas H. Greer, *The Development of Air Doctrine in the Army Air Arm 1917–1941* (1955; Washington, D.C., 1985), 19.

<sup>17</sup> Freiherr von Bülow, "Lufrüstungen des Auslandes und Wirkungsmöglichkeiten der Bombenflugzeuge auf Deutschlands," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1 (August 1931): 3.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander P. de Seversky, *Victory through Air Power* (New York, 1942), 8; and Walter D. Binger and Hilton H. Railey, *What the Citizen Should Know about Civilian Defense* (New York, 1942), 24.

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1984).

Compared to the rest of Europe, Germany was always much more visibly a self-made nation: unification, by "blood and iron," had come only in 1871; astonishing industrial growth soon followed. Coming in the space of a single generation, this transformation ensured that Germany would experience considerable social and cultural turbulence. As Modris Eksteins observes, "the sense of the 'modern,' of upheaval, and of potential catastrophe" was much more acute in Central than in Western Europe. Stark images of urban apocalypse preoccupied German intellectuals as diverse as Friedrich Nietzsche, Ludwig Meidner, and Gustav Landauer.<sup>20</sup> The "elemental forces and mechanical power" of war and revolution intensified the prevailing sense of crisis and opportunity.<sup>21</sup> Detlev Peukert makes a similar point for the 1920s. Weimar Germany was the locus of the "classical modern" because the rapid advance of technology encouraged a high level of political, social, and artistic experimentation.<sup>22</sup> Feelings of insecurity and impermanence, and the sense that the future was an unknown and dangerous destination, mingled with a heady opportunism about new possibilities and new projects.

The apocalyptic terms in which technology was described both as disaster and rebirth became a hallmark of German nationalism. Air-mindedness rested on the conviction that crisis was its own reward. Only in Germany did the jeopardy of the air age serve as a welcome opportunity for national renewal. This was so not because longstanding traditions of German illiberalism consistently appropriated industrial means to irrational ends, as Herf concludes, or even because anxious middle-class Germans sought compensation for defeat and economic insecurity in aggressive Weimar-era militarism, as Wolfram Wette and many other historians suggest, but because national unity and state power in Germany appeared to be much more historically improvised than elsewhere.<sup>23</sup>

Germany's sense of jeopardy was never so acute as at the end of World War I, which cost the young nation-state the authority of its monarchy and threatened the integrity of its territory. Over a million men had been killed in the conflict, and millions of wounded veterans shuffled along the streets after the war, brutalized reminders of the violence of the battlefield. Scarred by bomb detonations and clouded by chemical gases, the new ground that war revealed was horrifying and perilous. But it was also magical and resourceful, as Ernst Jünger, a storm-troop leader on the western front, detailed in a shelf-full of books that appeared after the war. Jünger recalled "a wonderful June night." "The sky is black and pricked out with a thousand stars . . . rifles and helmets clink together in the lorries. The

<sup>20</sup> Modris Eksteins, "History and Degeneration: Of Birds and Cages," in Chamberlin and Gilman, *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, 11. See also Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston, 1989); Weindling, *Health, Race, and National Politics*, 574–76, 580; Carol S. Eliel, *The Apocalyptic Landscapes of Ludwig Meidner* (Los Angeles, Calif., 1989); and Klaus Vondung, *Die Apokalypse in Deutschland* (Munich, 1988).

<sup>21</sup> Matthias Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 1. See also Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge, 1979), 39–72.

<sup>22</sup> Peukert, *Die Weimarer Republik*, 266–71. See also Helmut Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit: Studien zur Literatur des "Weissen Sozialismus"* (Stuttgart, 1970).

<sup>23</sup> Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, 233; Wolfram Wette, "NS-Propaganda und Kriegsbereitschaft der Deutschen bis 1936," *Francia*, 5 (1977): 589; and Wette, "Von Kellogg bis Hitler."



engines sing the wild song of energy and tune our nerves more sharply than any march." At once, a fighter plane buzzed overhead. The "trembling arms" of searchlights explored the "dark vault," "rockets are discharged one after another, and even machine guns send out swarms of deadly glow-worms." As it was, the airplane, "dancing like a pretty butterfly among flame-throwers," eluded the artillery fire. Nevertheless, that spring night, Jünger recognized that armies had never been "more dangerously, more terribly armed." The war had opened up an immense realm of possibility. Jünger's botanical metaphors suggested that military technology had evolved into a "second nature" that would fundamentally reshape postwar Europe. "The men who today are behind the machine guns," Jünger predicted, "will tomorrow be in industry, carrying their tempo into the markets and the large towns, creating the political situation and giving the world a new face."<sup>24</sup>

Jünger identified aviators as the most faithful representatives of the "commanding breed" of machinists whom war had cast. Fliers combined "hearts of fire" with "brains of steel," a "burning fever" with the "agile and iron clarity needed to master complicated hundred-horsepower motors," and as such stood out as modern-day conquistadors.<sup>25</sup> Lifting off from the face of the earth, connecting continents in a day and bombing metropolitan centers in an hour, attaining faster and faster speeds, and finally piercing the stratosphere, aviators expressed the very essence of the technological age. They made plausible a whole new order of active verbs to describe the assault and seizure of the planet. For Jünger, the task of statesmanship was to replenish German politics with these strong-armed verbs, to seek a new order out of the conditions of danger.

Visions of a perilous air war and the prosperous air future coexisted uneasily, but both rested on the insight that twentieth-century technology had rendered the material and social world astonishingly malleable. The topography and atmosphere of the earth were not nearly as daunting and the stretches of continent and ocean not nearly so vast as they had seemed just at the turn of the century. This technical mastery offered Germany tempting political opportunities. Before 1914, nationalists had already depicted Graf Zeppelin's airships as master weapons against British naval power and, even after 1918, applauded Weimar's aeronautical triumphs as evidence that aviation had expanded Germany's political horizons. Well before the development of the Third Reich's Luftwaffe in 1935, aviators, airplanes, and airships served as highly evocative symbols of national resurgence.<sup>26</sup>

Aviation was a compelling metaphor for German nationalism because it seemed to introduce a new logic to international relations and point the way to a revival of Germany's power in a world in which the imperial spoils had already been divided. Air power appeared to be a useful detour for the dissatisfied state, challenging a political order that still subscribed to older notions of movement along land and sea routes. Airplanes overturned conventional claims of sover-

<sup>24</sup> Ernst Jünger, *Copse 125*, Basil Creighton, trans. (London, 1930), 7–9, 106.

<sup>25</sup> Jünger, *Copse 125*, 89; and the foreword to Ernst Jünger, ed., *Luftfahrt ist not!* (Leipzig, n.d. [1928]), 12.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Fritzsche, *A Nation of Fliers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).



eignty, drawing, as one writer put it, "dead-straight, black lines . . . through the colorful miscellany of the European political map."<sup>27</sup>

The fashionable German "science" of geopolitics avidly took up aeronautics and introduced new technological as well as racial and geographical variables to demonstrate that international relations were not as fixed or, to Germany, as disadvantageous as they had seemed after Versailles—that "suburban Parisian treaty," in the words of Weimar geographers, which was provisional, tangential, and suburban. According to Carl Schmitt, an international jurist deeply influenced by geopolitics, twentieth-century technology had manufactured new forms of sovereignty. Airline routes, electric power grids, and other trajectories of economic penetration favored regional empires such as "Greater Germany" rather than the independent small states of post-1918 Europe.<sup>28</sup> To popular nationalists and educated observers alike, aviation served as an enduring and unexpectedly rich contrast to the obsolescence of nineteenth-century order. It happily suited the postwar needs of German nationalism. Moeller van den Bruck claimed in another context that the Germans had become a "Gefahrvolk," a reckless people who rejected the Versailles settlement and married their political ambitions to the circumstances of worldwide upheaval.<sup>29</sup>

When Ernst Jünger applauded the healthy barbarism of the postwar world, he cheered not so much the catastrophic dangers of the machine age as the new-found wealth of power and possibility and movement that the existence of those dangers seemed to imply. This sense that the given world was malleable was central to the aeronautical imagination after World War I; it was largely taken for granted that the political landscape could (and should) be refashioned. The question that remained was whether Germans would be the subjects or the objects, the bombardiers or the gas victims, the colonizers or the colonized, on which side of the air future's powerful, horrible active verbs.

GERMANY'S VULNERABILITY TO AERIAL BOMBARDMENT became a matter of national preoccupation in the late 1920s. The Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war in 1928 and European disarmament talks in Geneva throughout 1932 pushed the specter of air war into the headlines.<sup>30</sup> German nationalists accused the Allies, who until 1926 had restricted commercial aviation and civil-defense efforts and prohibited Germany from arming an air force altogether, of leaving the nation dangerously

<sup>27</sup> Hans Richter, *T 1000: Ein Roman eines Riesenflugzeuges* (Hanover, 1927), 56. See also Jürgen Link, "Riskante Bewegung im Ueberbau: Zur Transformation technischer Innovation in Kollektivsymbolik am Beispiel des Ballons," in Link, *Elementare Literatur und generative Diskursanalyse* (Munich, 1983).

<sup>28</sup> Carl Schmitt, *Völkerrechtliche Grossraumordnung* (Berlin, 1941 [1939]), 6–8. See also Manfred Langhans-Ratzburg, *Begriff und Aufgabe der geographischen Rechtswissenschaft (Geojurisprudenz): Systematisches über die Beziehungen der Rechtswissenschaft zur Geographie, Kartographie, und Geopolitik* (Berlin, 1928).

<sup>29</sup> Moeller van den Bruck, "Die Ideen der Jungen in der Politik," *Der Tag*, no. 159, July 26, 1919.

<sup>30</sup> Carl Schmitt, "Totaler Feind, totaler Krieg, totaler Staat" (1937), in Schmitt, ed., *Positionen und Begriffe im Kampf mit Weimar—Genf—Versailles 1923–1939* (Hamburg, 1940), 234; and Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 169. On the conference itself, J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Pipe Dream of Peace* (New York, 1935); and Edward W. Bennett, *German Rearmament and the West, 1932–1933* (Princeton, N.J., 1979).

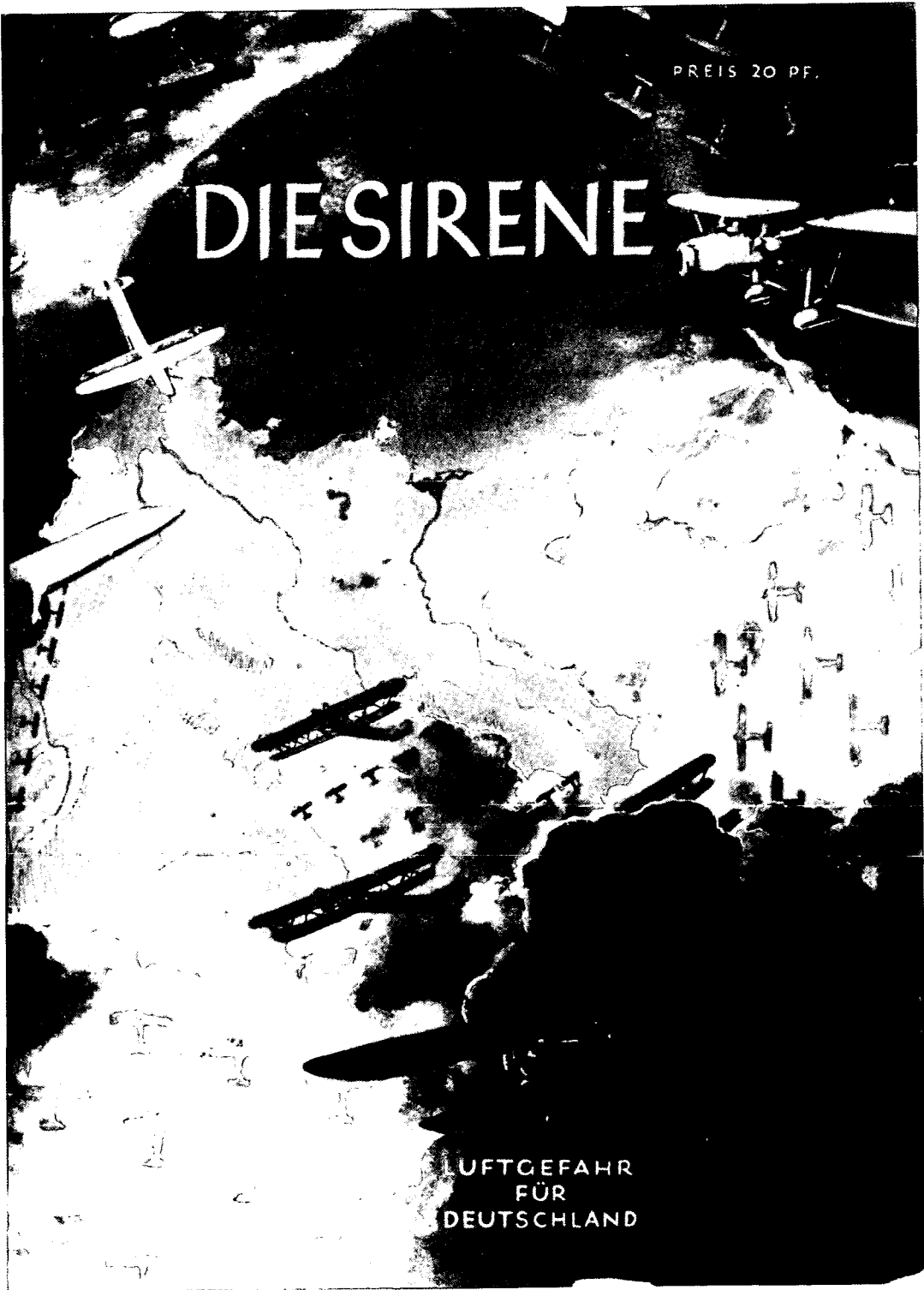


FIGURE 2: The front cover of *Die Sirene*, no. 19 (July 1934) depicts a map of Germany in which borders are outlined by the fringe of dark clouds filled with Polish, French, and Czech bombers. This is a classic piece of Nazi map propaganda. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

unprepared to meet the reckonings of air power. The escalating social conflict that was the result of the worldwide depression and the paralysis of the Weimar party system raised additional fears about the ability of the German state to defend itself. According to Carl Schmitt, the technological and psychological demands of total war put a premium on the ability of the state to mobilize citizens, yet Germans appeared increasingly divided. These debilitating circumstances undermined national sovereignty.<sup>31</sup> Although Schmitt did not explicitly refer to the threat of air war in his sketch of the "total state," his later writings indicated how movement in the air, either by airplane or radio signal, dramatically heightened the exposure of the German people to enemy attack and thereby illustrated his conviction that efficient twentieth-century states required strong authoritarian government.<sup>32</sup> The demands of air defense were thus regarded as technical as well as political: they required Germans to submit to a precautionary regime of watchfulness but also to subordinate individual and group interests to comply with the exigencies of national sovereignty. This balance shifted over the course of the 1930s, and the prospect of total war served increasingly as a foil for the failures of parliamentary democracy and for the superior efficacy of fascism.

First established in 1927, a year after the Allies permitted the German army (Reichswehr) to develop ground defenses against air attack, groups such as German Air Defense (Deutscher Luftschutz) and the German Air-Defense League (Deutsche Luftschutz-Liga) assembled experts to educate the public. A minimum of technical preparation would not only reduce the level of bomb destruction but also deter attacks by revealing their ineffectiveness.<sup>33</sup> Chemical engineers confidently anticipated detoxicants that would render poison gases harmless, and architects and city planners sought to revise building codes and disperse industrial suburbs to cut the destructive yield of bombs.<sup>34</sup> In the event of an air raid, civil-defense officials expected technical forces drawn from the police, fire companies, and the Red Cross to combat gas and fire on the ground and attend to the injured; the public would play a mostly passive role and simply seek shelter.<sup>35</sup>

Weimar-era civil defense was the business of experts who regarded air defense in primarily technical terms. A rational calculation of costs and benefits suggested how sensible safety measures might deter enemy attacks. If these precautions failed, and bombers menaced Germany, trained specialists seemed able to manage the emergency efficiently and smoothly. Indeed, air raids were frequently

<sup>31</sup> Carl Schmitt, "Weiterentwicklung des totalen Staates in Deutschland" (January 1933), in Schmitt, *Positionen und Begriffe*, 186–87; Schmitt, "Machtpositionen des modernen Staates" (March 1933), in Schmitt, ed., *Verfassungsrechtliche Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1924–1954* (Berlin, 1958), 369; and Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, George Schwab, trans. (1932; New Brunswick, N.J., 1976).

<sup>32</sup> Schmitt, *Völkerrechtliche Grossraumordnung*, 50; and Carl Schmitt, *Land und Meer* (Leipzig, 1944), 73–74. See also Peter Schneider, *Ausnahmezustand und Norm: Eine Studie zur Rechtslehre von Carl Schmitt* (Stuttgart, 1957), 44, 64.

<sup>33</sup> Haeuber, "Die Entwicklung der Luftschutzbewegung: Bericht des Vorstandes des deutschen Luftschutz e.V.," *Die Gasmasken*, 1 (July 1929): 49–50; Grosskreutz, "Die Luftgefahr und die militärischen Abwehrmöglichkeiten," *Die Gasmasken*, 1 (July 1929): 62–64.

<sup>34</sup> Quasebart, "Kann der Bürger gegen Kampfgase geschützt werden?" *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1 (September 1931): 25; and Heinrich Dräger, "Luftschutz und Städtebau," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (June 1932): 124–27.

<sup>35</sup> Riemer, "Gasschutz und Rotes Kreuz," *Die Gasmasken*, 2 (December 1930): 106.

compared to industrial accidents. Both disasters called on the same technicians and were discussed side by side in the professional literature. Bombs and explosions were among the inevitable "gas dangers of daily life" that modern people would have to learn to accept: "Just as a child learns to clothe itself or the car owner learns to drive, every citizen should try on a gas mask in a gas shelter at least . . . once a year, in order to see how it works . . . to get rid of the unjustified aversion to this new piece of twentieth-century clothing." Learning to live with gas was "just like" getting used to "the other technical things of modern life such as electrical light switches . . . cooking gas, hot-water heaters, and the like."<sup>36</sup>

German nationalists and a number of military strategists disputed this authoritative language of civil-defense experts. Painting a frightening picture of endemic warfare along Germany's borders and pervasive demoralization and panic at home, they emphasized the incalculability of dangers facing the Reich. Merely technical preparations designed to meet conventional industrial accidents were inadequate. In their view, the appropriate solutions had to include political regimens. Over the course of the 1930s, air defense gradually evolved into an ambitious program of national renovation to rebuild Germany's military strength and, more important, to discipline the nervous energy and political passions of its citizens. Germans would have to endure considerable sacrifice and regimentation to adjust to the unmistakable power of the machinery of war.

Air defense required political solutions because civilian exposure to air attack was conceived in mass-psychological rather than merely technical terms. Democracy came under special criticism for allegedly dissolving the social bonds necessary for national defense. When air-power strategists discussed the vulnerability of embattled states, they focused on Europe's big, sprawling cities, where the concentration of inhabitants in tenements and their reliance on municipal services such as water, gas, and electricity supposedly created ideal conditions for panic. Already in 1932, one retired officer painted a remarkably prescient picture of what he called "terror raids." He foresaw waves of bombers striking big cities randomly, hour after hour, day after day, in order to ravage civilian morale.<sup>37</sup> Police officials grew increasingly skeptical about the public's ability to remain calm during air raids. It is not surprising that three high-ranking officials of Berlin's Police Institute of Traffic—Weskamp, Langenscheidt, and Borowietz—underscored the unpredictable behavior of the people. Any interruption of normal traffic or the social and economic pulse that regulated it would end in city-wide paralysis and panicky flights into the countryside. As traffic police might be expected to know, the workaday discipline along big-city boulevards was fragile indeed; state authorities could not depend on metropolitan discipline.<sup>38</sup> These fears were confirmed when officials held civil-defense exercises in the summer of

<sup>36</sup> Quasebart, "Kann der Bürger gegen Kampfgase geschützt werden?" 28. See also "Deutsche Luftschutzausstellungen auf der Wanderung," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (December 1932): 285.

<sup>37</sup> Fichte, "Wie werden Luftangriffe durchgeführt?" *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (September 1932): 197–99.

<sup>38</sup> Major Langenscheidt, "Polizeiliche Verkehrsregelung und Luftschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (January 1932). See also Weskamp, "Verwaltungsrechtliche Grundlagen für die Tätigkeit der Polizei im zivilen Luftschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* 2 (May 1932): 104–07; and Borowietz, "Die zivilen Luftschutzübung in Mitteldeutschland im November 1932," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 3 (January 1933): 10–13.

1932. Again and again, reports complained that civilians disobeyed orders and turned serious exercises into chaotic affairs. The weakest links in the chain of civilian morale included women and children, who were supposedly more excitable by nature, and urban workers, who were apparently on the edge of revolt by disposition. Whether loosed by female hysteria or proletarian rebellion, civilian panic was widely considered more dangerous to the pursuit of victory than loss of life or destruction of strategic materiel. A strong-willed leader was desperately needed, concluded one observer.<sup>39</sup>

Already in the months before Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933, civil-defense officials began to design political supports to reinforce the psychological weak spots that the exercises had exposed. According to one army general, proper air defense required "virtuous and selfless work, painstaking work," and the "unconditional subordination" of each individual to the state.<sup>40</sup> Only a resolutely patriotic and carefully trained public could avoid panic. To achieve this state, Erich Hampe, a gas expert with Germany's Technical Emergency Forces (Technische Nothilfe), broke with conventional Weimar-era wisdom and recommended assigning auxiliary tasks to large numbers of civilians. Since a "sense of responsibility" enhanced civilian composure, volunteer brigades would be useful as a prophylactic, a massive feint to fortify weak nerves.<sup>41</sup> Gas masks served a similar function, even if they were not especially useful in air raids. Initially the exclusive equipment of specialists, gas masks became everyday appendages to public mobilization. In the 1930s, references to a "protective device" or "infantry mask" gradually gave way to the "people's gas mask," which was an affordable item widely available in three different sizes by 1937.<sup>42</sup>

The civic virtues of the small town provided air-power theorists with a model for the micropolitical mobilization they envisioned. According to Kurt Kottenberg, commenting on civil-defense issues for Germany's Urban League, the denser club life, greater sense of social responsibility, and "less complicated spiritual atmosphere" of the provinces facilitated popular participation. Even in the crisis year 1932, small towns were not nearly so politically divided as big cities and thus provided an opportunity for cooperation among social groups.<sup>43</sup> And, finally, the strong leaders needed to manage air-raid emergencies could still be found among Germany's townsfolk. In the event of a bomb strike, one expert explained, "there cannot be any debate, any conflicts of opinion, any half-hearted resolutions." The situation called for a "man who demonstrates that he is a leader, who has iron nerves, who is cold-blooded and fearless, who has a clear and quiet aspect, and shows endurance."<sup>44</sup>

Given the feelings of vulnerability that accompanied the prospect of long-range

<sup>39</sup> "Die zivile Luftschutzübung in Ostpreussen vom 23.-25. Juni 1932: Kritische Betrachtung und Auswertung ihre Ergebnisse," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (August 1932): 179-80.

<sup>40</sup> Ritter von Mittelberger, in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (August 1932): 170.

<sup>41</sup> Erich Hampe, "Technische Nothilfe und Luftschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1 (September 1931): 43. See also Bogatsch, "Das Luftschutzproblem," 12-13.

<sup>42</sup> On gas masks, see Julius Meyer, *Grundlagen des Luftschutzes* (Leipzig, 1935), 128-30, 147-49.

<sup>43</sup> Kurt Kottenberg, "Zum Luftschutzproblem in Mittel- und Kleinstädten," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (June 1932): 127-29.

<sup>44</sup> Heinrich Paetsch, "Oertliche Führung im Luftschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* 2, (May 1932): 97-100.



bombers reaching the heart of the nation, feelings intensified by political strife and economic hard times, government officials agreed that the primary task of air defense was to replicate as nearly as possible the social coherence and political authority of the small town. An air-minded Germany had to be made up of vigilant and disciplined communities led by charismatic leaders. Purely local efforts alone, however, were not sufficient, and almost all civil-defense officials called on the state to play a more energetic role. However, the Weimar government had little money and even less political legitimacy and so failed to act decisively. By 1933, therefore, questions of defense in the age of total war posed the desirability of national revolution in order to reassert political authority and cement the domestic foundations of national security. Once the Nazis assumed power in January 1933, these implicit affinities between air defense and an authoritarian regime became explicit.

Just a few months after Hitler's appointment as chancellor, air-defense officials explained that Germany was no longer able to afford the political conflicts and social divisions that had prevailed during the Weimar period. Nineteenth-century liberalism incapacitated twentieth-century defense by encouraging a purely individual sense of self-preservation. People simply fleeing during an air raid would fill the streets, rip apart families, and wreck civil repose; flight was the end of a defensible society. The task of civil defense was to maintain social composure. To this end, every man, woman, and child should learn to feel a part of and responsible for the entire body of the nation (*Volkskörper*). Air war pulled together a new technological "community of risk." The horrors of bomber attacks would be meted out to the nation as a whole and not according to the differences of class, status, or education that liberalism and socialism had made sensible.<sup>45</sup> By the same token, the benefits of air defense accrued only to those who worked together in a national spirit. This presupposed an end to party strife and domestic conflict. Civil-defense authorities testified that National Socialism served national security interests by accomplishing just that. Purely voluntary self-defense efforts had failed miserably, reflected Hans Rumpf, a prominent fire engineer, in November 1933; "today," however, "a very strong authoritarian will" is able to "force contrary elements of the population to understand and to obey."<sup>46</sup>

NATIONAL SOCIALISTS ADMITTED THE EXTREME DANGERS of the air age and described the relentless discipline that civilian defense required. The "imperative to adjust" to these technical, spiritual, and political realities made the "coordination" of all aspects of society necessary, explained Otto Alfred Teetzmann, press

<sup>45</sup> Erich Hampe, "Luftschutz als Schicksalsfrage," in *Der zivile Luftschutz: Ein Sammelbuch über alle Fragen des Luftschutzes*, E. H. Knipfer and Erich Hampe, eds. (Berlin, 1937), 128; and "Wie sieht der Luftschutz aus? Was jeder einzelne jetzt schon wissen muss," *Stuttgarter Neues Tageblatt*, no. 478, October 14, 1933. On new communities of risk in twentieth-century welfare states, see Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875–1975* (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>46</sup> Hans Rumpf, "Selbsthilfe der Bevölkerung im Brandschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 3 (November 1933): 276. See also Schüttel, *Luftkrieg*, 51–54; Friedrich Andreas Fischer von Poturzyn, *Luftmacht: Gegenwart und Zukunft im Urteil des Auslandes* (Heidelberg, 1938), 25; Otto Alfred Teetzmann, *Luftschutz: Die deutsche Schicksalsfrage* (Stuttgart, 1934), 256–58; and Arthur Rathje, "Luftschutz und Volksgemeinschaft," *Die Sirene*, no. 2 (February 1935).



spokesman for the Reich Air Defense League, which had replaced the various Weimar groups. In the age of total war, the state had to act decisively to rework public psychology just as it had once legislated to improve public health and provide social welfare. For the state to let down its guard was to invite the demoralization that had destroyed Germany in November 1918.<sup>47</sup> The Third Reich's extensive civil-defense efforts thus acknowledged that the fundamental brittleness of civilian morale was a serious breach of national security. Once the harsh world of things had been mastered, however, the Reich looked forward not simply to defensible borders but also to a new social compact and a revitalized imperial will. "Civil defense is part of 'total mobilization,'" explained Ewald Sellien: "it is not emergency defense, it is not a means to minimize the dangers of war . . . rather it is the expression of the will to fight and the self-assertion of a great people."<sup>48</sup>

The Nazis overhauled the Weimar-era regime of technical expertise in order to achieve public mobilization. "Every German man, every worker," not simply "scientists and technicians," were to join civil-defense efforts.<sup>49</sup> Without popular will, the best equipment was just "sound and fury," maintained one writer. And what made a good air-defense leader? Not so much professional skill but "the right psychological match" with civilians.<sup>50</sup> Rather than a siren signal to crawl underground, civil defense was a call to hold out in order to achieve final victory. The ends of civil defense were accomplished once "the individual thinks, feels, and acts as a fighter" and "is as disciplined as a soldier" and all citizens "are bound into one unbreakable people's community."<sup>51</sup> Civilians were not targets to be protected and sheltered but rather the nation's most important combatants, responsible for maintaining social order, bolstering civic morale, and preparing for the next onslaught. Air-defense solutions were thus chiefly ideological rather than merely technical. In the Nazi view, civilian defense meant mobilizing Germans into a national army of utmost vigilance and true belief. That the Nazis in fact decreased expenditures on air defense in favor of an offensive air capacity after 1936, as most historians agree, not only points to the primacy of political over technical aspects of civil defense but also indicates that civil defense always served primarily domestic rather than military ends.

For the state, it was crucial for ordinary Germans to see their country through the eyes of the bombardier—as one vast target. Only then would the organic unity of the fascist nation be realized. Walther Günther, director of photographic services for Berlin, exhibited aerial photographs to depict the basic cohesion of

<sup>47</sup> Teetzmann, *Luftschutz*, 256; and Tim Mason, "The Legacy of 1918 for National Socialism," in Anthony Nicholls and Erich Matthias, eds., *German Democracy and the Triumph of Hitler* (London, 1971).

<sup>48</sup> Ewald Sellien, "Der Wehrgedanke im Luftschutz," *Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen*, 34 (1935): 273, quoted in Jutta Sywottek, *Mobilmachung für den totalen Krieg: Die propagandistische Vorbereitung der deutschen Bevölkerung auf den Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Opladen, 1976), 76.

<sup>49</sup> Rudolf Hanslian and Hermann Paetsch, "Zum 4. Jahrgange von *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 4 (January 1934): 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 4 (June 1934): 146.

<sup>51</sup> Hampe, "Luftschutz als Schicksalsfrage," 120; and Ewald Sellien, "Der Luftschutz in der Schule," in *Luftfahrt, Luftschutz und ihre Behandlung im Unterricht*, Karl Metzner, ed. (Leipzig, 1937), 10–11.

the big city, the interlocking and truly national scale of economic activity, and the completely indiscriminate effects of air attacks. The popular air shows of the period accomplished the same purpose. Throughout the 1930s, the Nazis rehearsed air attacks to simulate the vulnerability of the Reich. The most spectacular was an air raid over Berlin, later dubbed the "Reichstag Fire of German Aviation." To show how exposed Germany was to enemy air attacks (as Weimar supposedly had been to Bolshevik agitators), "unknown foreign" air-planes bombarded Berlin on June 24, 1933. "This time it was only leaflets," warned the prestigious journal *Flugsport*, but next time it might be "gas or incendiary bombs." Elsewhere, Germans were in fact treated to gas. At an air show in Kiel, a small wooden village built specially for the purpose was torched while voluntary firemen, Red Cross officials, and members of the Technical Emergency Forces hurried through the ruins, rescuing "victims" and combating the blaze. The entertainment ended with tear gas fired at unsuspecting spectators! "The effect was quick and dramatic. Suddenly a sea of handkerchiefs were in motion."<sup>52</sup> Tear gas drove home the lesson that only the Nazis could manage the extraordinary dangers of the air age.

The Reich Air Defense League installed huge dummy bombs, over eight feet long and painted black with an eye-catching yellow stripe, on city squares, where they remained as alarming monuments to the fearsome aspect of the times. Explosives also swung overhead from street lamps and streetcar wires, ominous, dangling reminders of the proximity of the air war. After 1933, this sort of debris littered the nation and confirmed impressions of the unfathomable dangers beyond its borders and the need for sobriety and discipline at home. The dramatization of the aerial danger served to insert citizens into an emphatically national frame of reference, something Walter Benjamin had suggested when he referred to fascism's "aesthetization of politics."<sup>53</sup>

To build a national community of risk, National Socialists also trained citizens to handle the machinery of the air age. Recreational aviation, especially gliding, enlisted potential air victims into active service. After 1933, the swastika-emblazoned German Airsport League (*Deutscher Luftsport Verband*) looked forward to an airfield in every community and a gliding group in every neighborhood. Heavily subsidized by the Nazis, the gliding movement steadily approached these fantastic goals. National Socialists had always applauded gliding for its patriotic spirit. In the early 1920s, when the Allies strictly limited the horsepower of German airplane motors and the size and load of airplane frames, young Germans defiantly took to the skies and virtually founded the gliding and soaring movement. "If we can't fly with motors, we'll fly without them," went the patriotic slogan. After World War I, gliding became the guardian of German aviation and

<sup>52</sup> Walther Günther, "Luftbild und Luftschutz," *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 3 (October 1933): 253–56; "Fremde Flieger über Berlin," *Flugsport*, 25 (July 5, 1933): 283–84; and Eugene M. Emme, "The Genesis of Nazi *Luftpolitik*," *Aerospace Historian*, 6 (1959): 16. On Kiel, see *Internationales Luftfahrt Archiv*, October 6, 1933.

<sup>53</sup> Benjamin reviewing Jünger's collection *Krieg und Krieger*, cited in Wette, "Von Kellogg bis Hitler," 164; and Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, ed. (New York, 1969).

the executor of its ambitions.<sup>54</sup> The main value of gliding lay elsewhere, however.

Gliding cultivated the values of service and sacrifice that National Socialism cherished so highly. Teamwork was essential to the sport. Six to eight people were needed to launch a glider and, after it landed, to haul it back up the hill. Only occasional moments of flying broke up a strenuous day of physical labor on the ground. "One minute up—one hour down," wrote gliding enthusiast Paul Karlson.<sup>55</sup> Long after it became possible to use automobiles and airplanes to pull gliders into the air, the German Airsport League still preferred the primitive method of the rope (and thus the team) precisely because it promoted comradeship and discipline.<sup>56</sup> The group was central to gliding, and flying clubs rather than individuals typically constructed planes. Gliding schools in which group cooperation could be organized, theoretical courses on aerodynamics, meteorology, and navigation taught, the sons and daughters of workers supposedly join the sons and daughters of farmers and merchants provided Germans with happy images of accomplishment and fraternity. Patriotic stories recounted treasured moments of community in summer gliding camps. They recounted the emergence of the new German, who was technically able, self-reliant, and ready to serve the nation. Not surprisingly, Hermann Goering embraced Weimar's glider pioneers as early forerunners of "a national socialism."<sup>57</sup>

As many as 60,000 young people earned gliding licenses during the 1930s, but gliders were not a practical way to school an entire generation. It was in the classroom that the Nazis exerted the most extensive efforts to "air condition" young people. According to a directive issued by the Reich Ministry of Education on November 17, 1934, it was in the "national-political" interest of the state to actively promote aviation in schools. In physics classes, students studied the mechanics of flight, in chemistry classes, they investigated gas warfare; literature syllabi included the memoirs of war aces, even in the original French and English; and history assignments covered fliers from Daedalus to Graf Zeppelin and detailed Allied restrictions on German aviation in the 1920s and the Nazi-sponsored revival in the 1930s. Teachers were encouraged to take gliding lessons themselves, conduct classes in model-airplane building, and lead field trips to local flying rallies, airports, and airplane factories. (Curious schoolchildren so impeded production that plant visits were suspended in 1937.)<sup>58</sup> Nazi-era teachers also taught Douhetian doctrines of air war, fitted students with gas masks, and drilled

<sup>54</sup> For the history of gliding in Germany, see Walter Kleffel, *Der Segelflug* (Berlin, 1930); Georg Brütting, *Segelflug erobert die Welt* (Munich, 1940); Peter Riedel, *Start in den Wind: Erlebte Rhöngeschichte 1911–1926*, 2d edn. (Stuttgart, 1986); and Riedel, *Vom Hangwind zur Thermik: Erlebte Rhöngeschichte, 1927–1932* (Stuttgart, 1988).

<sup>55</sup> Paul Karlson, *Segler durch Wind und Wolken* (Berlin, 1933), 131; and Walter Julius Bloehm, *Die Flügelschlepper: Tagebuch aus einer Segelfliegerschule* (Berlin, n.d. [1938]), 115.

<sup>56</sup> Bloehm, *Flügelschlepper*, 115; R. Nelkenbrecher, "Deutsche Schule und Segelflug," *Deutsches Turnen*, no. 5 (December 15, 1933); and Rahskopff, "Segelflug—Sozialismus der Tat," in *Die Weltgeltung der deutschen Luftfahrt*, Heinz Orlovius and Ernst Schultze, eds. (Stuttgart, 1938), 85–88.

<sup>57</sup> Fritzsche, *Nation of Fliers*, 119–31, 190–97. See also Ernst Jünger's foreword to *Luftfahrt ist not!*, 9–10; and Hermann Goering, "Deutsche Luftfahrt im Dritten Reich," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 4657, June 14, 1934.

<sup>58</sup> Reichs- und Preussischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, "Besichtigung von Werken der Luftfahrtindustrie," February 18, 1937, Oberschulbehörde 362–2, 393/12, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

Luftfahrt und Schule

Mufu. Atlantic



FIGURE 3: "Aviation and School." This Nazi-era schoolroom exhibit shows the new intellectual scenery of air-mindedness. Courtesy of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

classes to maintain composure during air raids.<sup>59</sup> By the late 1930s, schoolrooms had acquired a completely new intellectual scenery. Model airplanes hung from ceilings, murals depicting bomber attacks papered the walls, dozens of airplane books sat on library shelves—a design for the mobilization of the nation under the banner of air-mindedness.

<sup>59</sup> Hans-Heinrich Grunwaldt, "Jugendpsyche und Gefahrmoment," *Luftschutz und Schule*, 1 (June 1936): 219–20; and Ewald Sellien, "Das Problem des Douhetismus im Unterricht," *Luftschutz und Schule*, 1 (April 1936): 172–74. See also Metzner, *Luftfahrt, Luftschutz und ihre Behandlung im Unterricht*; and Walter Hofstaetter, *Luftfahrt im Deutsch- und Geschichtsunterricht* (Berlin, 1935).

The air-power exercises that took place in gliding camps and classrooms soon extended into neighborhoods and workplaces. According to the June 1935 Air Defense Act, every street and building in the Reich had to make air-defense provisions. The Air Ministry reorganized the Reich Air Defense League and set up a military chain of command to give leaders of local "air-defense sectors" (*Luftschutzorte*) executive powers over the police and other municipal emergency forces. Every apartment building had to elect a "house warden," preferably someone not needed elsewhere and thus often a housewife, who in turn assigned a fire detail, a hose crew, medical aides, and a dispatcher from among other residents. A pyramidal organization linked house wardens to block wardens, district leaders, city-wide air raid officials, and finally to Air Minister Goering himself.<sup>60</sup>

In Ernst Ohliger's *Bomben auf Kohlenstadt*, a 1935 "novel that could be reality," it was Frau Hellman who provided competent leadership during an imaginary air raid on the Ruhr. As sirens screamed, she surveyed the mounting disorder on the street. "There will be no more speeches. This is serious!" "Be quiet"; "Be quick"; "You know what you have to do"—Hellman directed her male neighbors—including the cynical academic, the overcurious young boy, and the crippled old man upstairs—into the cellar and restored order single-handedly.<sup>61</sup> That a woman played this lead role was no accident. Nazi civil-defense officials emphasized the degree to which women in the air age had to become warriors alongside the men. Women had to understand that the weapons of war were no longer trained simply on armed men along the front lines but on an entire people. The threat posed by air war required "unlimited readiness" and unprecedented service. For this reason, the Nazis kept open auxiliary gliding courses for women and encouraged schoolgirls to build model airplanes, the pressing requirements of training male Luftwaffe personnel notwithstanding. Women would even have to be ready to sacrifice their lives for family and fatherland, air-defense officials concluded. Experts warned German women not to see their responsibilities restricted to house and home, as had been the case in the past. That sort of parochialism would prove disastrous in a future war.<sup>62</sup> The idealized national community, alert, vigilant, and armed, did not respect gender divisions.

Encouraged by Nazi officials and genuinely alarmed by Germany's inadequate defenses, thousands of men and women joined the Reich Civil Defense League and enrolled in air-defense courses. In the midst of the Great Depression, in the summer of 1932, an astonishing 300,000 people visited Cologne's air-defense exhibition. This public concern provided a firm foundation for Nazi organizational efforts. In 1934 and 1935, air-defense shows were visited by a remarkable 28 percent of the population in twenty-one selected cities; the proportions

<sup>60</sup> Hampe, *Der zivile Luftschutz*, 17–22, 76–79; and Heinz Bardua, *Stuttgart im Luftkrieg*, 2d rev. edn. (Stuttgart, 1985), 14–15.

<sup>61</sup> Ernst Ohliger, *Bomben auf Kohlenstadt* (Oldenburg, 1935), 39.

<sup>62</sup> "Die Frau im Luftschutz," *Die Sirene*, no. 2 (February 1935). See also "Die Frau in der Luftschutzfront," *Die Sirene*, no. 14 (June 1941); "Frauenpsyche und Gasmasken," *Der Flieger*, 7 (September 1933): 6–7; Gertrud von Willich, "Luftschutz—die Dienstpflicht der Frau"; and Arthur Rathje, "Die Frau im Luftschutz," both in *Die Sirene*, no. 11 (June 1935), an issue that also featured a female civil-defense official on the cover.



increased considerably in border areas, to 40 percent in Heidelberg, 46.7 percent in Frankfurt an der Oder, and 48 percent in Düsseldorf.<sup>63</sup> Evidently, the threat of air war was very much on the minds of Germans living within range of French or Polish bombers. By January 1936, more than 7,000 branches of the Reich Civil Defense League enrolled 8.2 million members, a figure that included one in every six Berliners and well over 10 percent of all Germans living in Hesse, the Palatine, and Baden. It thus constituted one of the largest civic organizations in Nazi Germany.<sup>64</sup> As many as 350,000 block wardens surveyed the civic vigilance of their neighbors. In some form, most urban Germans participated in air-defense work, although many did so to avoid joining even more obnoxious Nazi organizations. Nonetheless, the popular scope of civil-defense activities and thus the mobilization behind central political assumptions of Nazism was impressive.

As a new European war appeared ever more likely, the Nazis undertook ambitious attempts to locate precisely the psychological vulnerabilities and technical skills of citizens. Just how qualified the public had become for imperial war was ascertained by a "national file" (Volkskartei), an exhaustive 1939 census that evaluated every citizen according to his or her special skills, including gliding, flying, motoring, and first-aid and air-defense training.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, the results of this national survey are not known, although it is clear that all members of the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls had received special air-defense training. There is little doubt, however, that compared to their counterparts in England or France, who established public air-defense precautions late in the 1930s and only then in response to the Third Reich's war-mongering, German civilians were better prepared for war and more resigned to its inevitability.<sup>66</sup> "War fatalism" was the valuable dividend of the campaign to make Germany airminded, which acknowledged the terror but emphasized the nation's ability to survive the modern air war. This fatalism facilitated acceptance of the authoritarian state. Mustered into the Reich Civil Defense League, outfitted with gas masks, practiced in air-raid procedures, registered to drive a car, and perhaps licensed to fly a plane or a glider, Germans appeared increasingly able to meet the technical, psychological, and political requirements of the air future.

When Allied bombers struck German cities in large numbers after 1942, civilians responded well, according to contemporary air-defense experts and subsequent historians. In the words of Hans Rumpf, "the idea that the civilian population huddled together in the shelters in fear and trembling, waiting for each new attack is quite wrong . . . At the beginning of the main British air offensive, Germany's towns were reasonably well prepared to withstand attack."<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 2 (December 1932): 283–84; and *Die Sirene*, no. 6 (March 1936).

<sup>64</sup> See Reichsluftschutzbund memoranda collected in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin-Dahlem, Rep. 151, no. 2048; and Hugo Grimme, *Der Reichsluftschutzverband: Aufgaben, Organisation, Tätigkeit*, 2d rev. edn. (Berlin, 1937), 20.

<sup>65</sup> Götz Aly and Karl Heinz Roth, *Die restlose Erfassung: Volkszählen, Identifizieren, Aussondern im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1984), 45–46.

<sup>66</sup> Wette, "NS-Propaganda und Kriegsbereitschaft." On Allied civil defense, Stephen Spender, *Citizens in War—and After* (London, 1945), 18–19; Terence O'Brien, *Civil Defense* (London, 1955); Robert J. Young, "The Strategic Dream: French Air Doctrine in the Inter-War Period, 1919–39," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 9 (1974): 57–76; and Kennett, *Strategic Bombing*, 81.

<sup>67</sup> Hans Rumpf, *The Bombing of Germany*, Edward Fitzgerald, trans. (London, 1963), 183, 187–88.





FIGURE 4: Air-raid exercises in school (from *Die Gasmaske*, May–June 1937). Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Except at the very end, after late 1944, civilians gave the Reich Air Defense League and other Nazi party agencies high marks for their emergency relief efforts.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, Jill Stephenson argues that the difficult years of air war added up to a heroic epoch for Nazi women, who served as house and block wardens throughout the Reich and provided valuable neighborhood aid after bomber attacks. Nowhere was the scale of air-defense preparation more apparent than in the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of women in the civilian ranks, although many female workers ignored appeals to operate anti-aircraft batteries once Hitler sanctioned women's recruitment in 1943 and others deeply resented

See also Hampe, *Der zivile Luftschutz*, 182–83; and Earl R. Beck, *Under the Bombs: The German Home Front 1942–1945* (Lexington, Ky., 1986); Marlis G. Steinert, *Hitler's War and the Germans: Public Mood and Attitude during the Second World War*, Thomas E. J. de Witt, ed. and trans. (Athens, Ohio, 1977), 167, 235; and Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), 132–35.

<sup>68</sup> Beck, *Under the Bombs*, 9; and Jill Stephenson, *The Nazi Organization of Women* (Totowa, N.J., 1981), 203.

their second-class status in the war effort, which limited womens' share of home-front service medals to 5 percent.<sup>69</sup> Even without medals, however, women played leading roles in the local civil-defense activity surveyed in the air-defense magazine, *Die Sirene*. Throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s, air-defense propaganda routinely featured competent women such as Frau Hellman as models for Germany's air defenders. The limp woman in the arms of a uniformed Red Cross man is a Weimar image.<sup>70</sup> And it was a young girl from Berlin, Erika Wilske, who won first prize in a 1941 nation-wide contest to test air-defense knowledge. (Nearly 40 percent of the 300 honorable mentions went to women.)<sup>71</sup> At least on paper, the air age demanded not only new measures of technical competence and social discipline from civilians but also the acceptance of new civic roles for women. Gender served to express the novelty of twentieth-century technology.

GAS MASKS, AIR-RAID EXERCISES, AND SENSATIONAL STORIES about bomber attacks all played parts in everyday life in 1930s Europe. Newsreel shorts depicting the devastating effects of air power in Spain and China added urgency to the forebodings of apocalypse that had echoed in the whirl of modern machinery since the beginning of the industrial revolution. By the fall of 1938 and with the Sudeten crisis, the end-of-the-world scenarios that air war had evoked seemed on the verge of becoming grimly real. Visiting London on September 27, Charles Lindbergh, who believed Germany fully capable of launching a massive bombing strike against the Allies, watched lines of people waiting to be fitted for gas masks and hurried to find his own. Around London, wardens undertook air-raid precautions and volunteers dug trenches in municipal parks. Across the English Channel, one in three Parisians quit the city entirely, an ominous glimpse of the pandemonium that air-power theorists had predicted.<sup>72</sup> In 1938, there seemed to be only two sorts of people, the unseen lords in the air and the earth-bound victims of these lords.<sup>73</sup> In post-World War I Nazi Germany, however, a third type emerged clearly, the collaborator, who negotiated between the utter capacity of the lord and the utter paralysis of the victim.

German nationalists did not deny how forbidding the landscape of war had become. Air-power theorists left no doubt that long-range bombers would be able to lay waste much of Germany: "There is no refuting the world of objects," reflected Ernst Jünger.<sup>74</sup> But Jünger and other "airminded" observers insisted

<sup>69</sup> Beck, *Under the Bombs*, 73, 88–89; Stephenson, *Nazi Organization of Women*, 206. That women did not want to work following a call for "Fraueneinsatzes" is confirmed by "Bericht des SD-Abschnitts Würzburg (Gau Mainfranken), 1.7.40," and "Bericht der SD-Aussenstelle Königshofen (Gau Mainfranken), 28.3.41," in Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich, and Falk Wiesemann, eds., *Bayern in der NS-Zeit: Soziale Lage und politisches Verhalten der Bevölkerung im Spiegel vertraulicher Berichte* (Munich, 1977), 600, 609.

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, *Die Gasmaske*, 2 (December 1930); and 4 (October 1932): 166.

<sup>71</sup> *Die Sirene*, no. 4 (April 1941): 94–95.

<sup>72</sup> Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Wartime Diaries of Charles A. Lindbergh* (New York, 1970), 77–78; and Janet Flanner, *Paris Was Yesterday* (New York, 1972), 190–95.

<sup>73</sup> Laurence Goldstein, *The Flying Machine and Modern Literature* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 39.

<sup>74</sup> Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter* (Hamburg, 1932), 109.

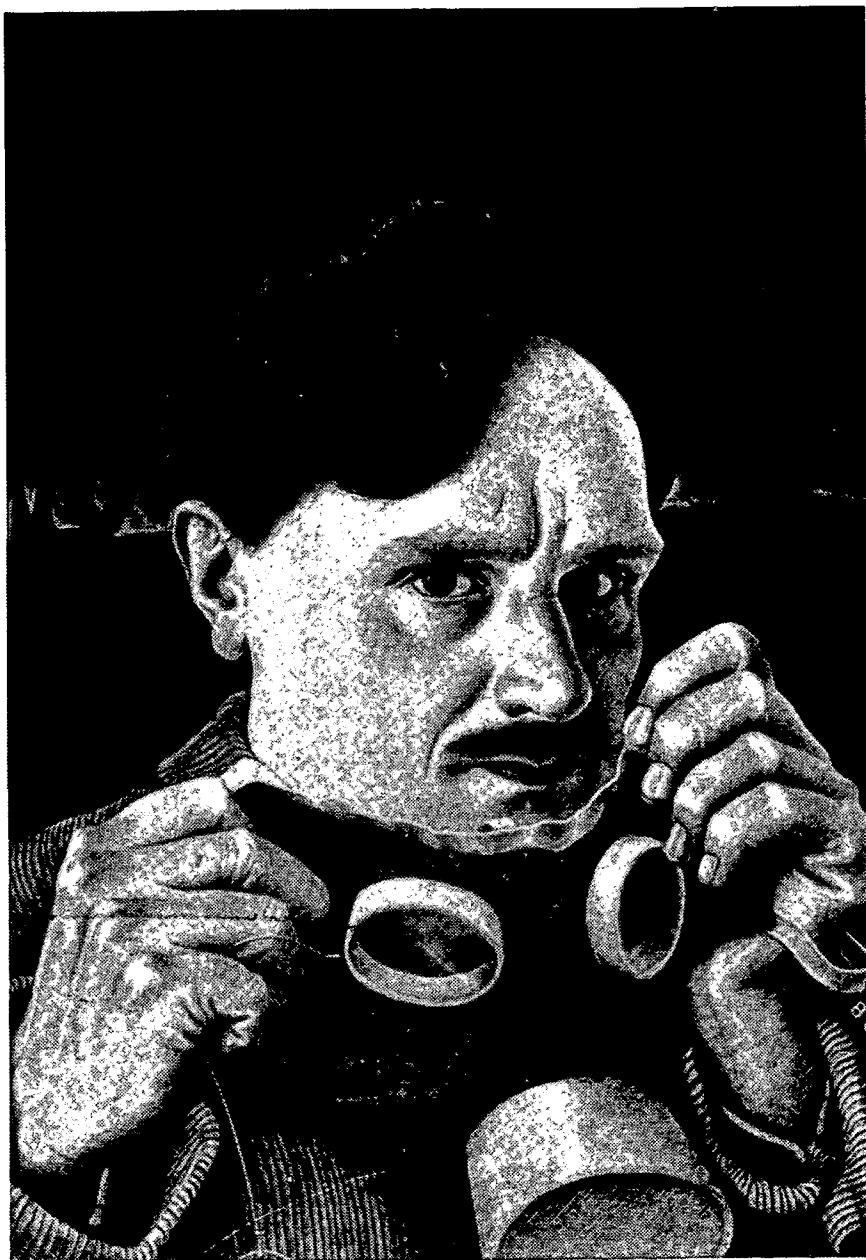


FIGURE 5: A portrait of the collaborator, without illusions about the horrors of air war but ready and able to survive and meet its demands. The artist, Barthel Gilles, used himself as a model. *Die Gasmaske*, 3 (February 1931).

that Germany could prosper in these perilous conditions. The appropriate answer to “the splintering, exploding, collapsing quality” of modern times was renewed vigilance.<sup>75</sup> A portrait of a man ready to pull on his gas mask identified the air-minded survivor that Germany’s air-defense officials hoped to mold. Against a

<sup>75</sup> Eliel, *Apocalyptic Landscapes*, 45.

background of searchlights exploring the black sky, the figure appears competent and alert. Recognizing the futility of escape, he willingly collaborates in the disciplinary regime of the authoritarian state. To be air-minded was to enlist in communal air-defense efforts, to acknowledge the social bonds of national solidarity, and to accept the primacy of the state that mobilized society in the name of national security. The threat of air war gradually pulled together a community of risk beyond the divisions of class and status. Mobilization for total war thus prescribed the national consensus and national will that had eluded Germany in earlier periods of peace. As one air-defense slogan summed up, "One People, One Danger, One Defense."<sup>76</sup>

Nazi Germany was unable to build a fleet of long-range bombers for lack of wartime resources, but strategic bombardment was a central element in the political imagination of the Third Reich.<sup>77</sup> German nationalists grasped the images of planes and pilots because they thought about the future in terms of national mobilization. In their hands, the notion of air war came to resemble a social myth, which described the dangerous crisis and the opportune redemption of the German nation. What made the myth powerful was its description in terms of the logic and autonomy of technology.<sup>78</sup> The hazardous but survivable air future was one aspect of the modern condition of tension and watchfulness that the Nazis claimed they could best manage. It provided further tools for Germany to renovate itself in a racial compact, able at once to reestablish political authority at home and to seek imperial advantage abroad, this time on a more deadly plane of technological possibility. Defining itself in these machine-age terms of crisis and reclamation, National Socialism should be considered a modernist phenomenon.<sup>79</sup> What distinguished Nazi Germany in particular, however, is the way the regime made chaos the governing principle of national politics: after 1933, the idea of jeopardy served to justify the construction of a new political order that was pitiless but itself merely provisional, a precondition for further mobilizations and further occupations.

<sup>76</sup> Teetzmann, *Luftschutz*, 268. The portrait is on the cover of *Die Gasmaske*, 3 (February 1931).

<sup>77</sup> The debate on Germany's commitment to strategic bombing is outlined in Williamson Murray, "The Luftwaffe before the Second World War: A Mission, A Strategy?" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 4 (1981): 261–70; Posen, *Sources of Military Doctrine*, 95–97, 196, 213; and Overy, *Air War*, 10–14.

<sup>78</sup> Langdon Winner, *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

<sup>79</sup> On this question, see Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Hamburg, 1991); Michael Prinz and Rainer Zitelmann, eds., *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung* (Darmstadt, 1991); and Thomas Childers and Jane Kaplan, eds., *Re-evaluating the Third Reich* (New York, 1992).

---

## The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan, 1900–1945

---

SHELDON GARON

ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1900, THE OFFICES OF THE *Nijūroku shimbun*, a Tokyo daily, received a desperate letter from a twenty-one-year-old prostitute named Nakamura Yae. A resident of the famed licensed quarters of Yoshiwara, Nakamura beseeched the socially progressive newspaper to assist her in leaving her occupation. Because vigilant keepers and police regulations made it difficult, even dangerous, for licensed prostitutes to venture outside the confines of the brothel quarters, the daily dispatched a lawyer to ascertain the woman's intentions. Two days later, the newspaper's president, the lawyer, and several staff members proceeded to the Asakusa police station to file Nakamura's report that she had ceased her trade and wished to have her name removed from the list of registered prostitutes. The station chief refused to accept the report on the grounds that the ordinances of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police required the brothel owner to countersign a prostitute's request for cessation of trade. When representatives of the newspaper returned to the brothel to urge the owner to sign, they confronted several angry toughs in the employ of the brothel keepers. Bolstered by reinforcements, the newspapermen fought back, sustaining several injuries. Just one day earlier in another one of Tokyo's five licensed quarters, ruffians had severely beat Ensign Yamamuro Gumpei and a British major from the Japanese headquarters of the Salvation Army while the pair was on a similar rescue mission.

The incidents of 1900 brought home to Japanese officials that the regulation of prostitution could no longer be considered simply an administrative manner. The state's policies toward prostitutes threatened to embarrass the government domestically and internationally. The top brass of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police reacted swiftly to the melee in Yoshiwara. Protected by a contingent of some sixty policemen, Nakamura Yae was permitted to leave the quarters so that she could personally file the report of cessation. The vehement protests of brothel owners notwithstanding, the commissioner of the Metropolitan Police also revised police

Following East Asian practice, Japanese surnames precede given names, excepting those of Japanese whose English-language works have been cited. An earlier version of this essay was presented to the Seventh Biennial Conference of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia, Canberra, July 12, 1991. The author wishes to thank the following for their helpful comments: James Bartholomew, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Sherrill Cohen, Samuel Coleman, Mark Elvin, Laura Engelstein, Andrew Gordon, Marius Jansen, Bill Mihalopolous, Mark Ramseyer, Miriam Silverberg, Lawrence Stone, and the three anonymous readers for the *AHR*. Research in Japan during 1988 was funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Social Science Research Council, and the Program in Women's Studies, Princeton University.



ordinances to permit a prostitute to cease her trade even if the proprietor did not countersign the application.<sup>1</sup> In retrospect, the battle over “free cessation” (*jīyū haigyō*) was but an opening skirmish in a protracted struggle over the fate of the system of licensed prostitution itself—a struggle that continued until the abolition of licensed prostitution in 1946 and the enactment of the Anti-Prostitution Law in 1956. Violent incidents in the brothel quarters did not cease, yet the conflict moved increasingly into parliamentary chambers, prefectural assemblies, and bureaucratic offices, as well-organized groups of abolitionists and brothel keepers pressed their claims.

The discourse over the proper relationship between prostitution and the state may well be one of the world's older debates, dividing thinkers in ancient Greece, Rome, China, and India.<sup>2</sup> As one classic study put it, prostitution has been such a universal phenomenon that in the range of official responses over time and across geographical boundaries, “the old adage holds—‘There is nothing new under the sun.’” Authorities in a variety of polities have typically moved to and fro among policies of repression, *laissez-faire*, and regulation.<sup>3</sup>

This essay analyzes the Japanese debate both within a comparative context and in terms of what it tells us about the interrelationships between the imperial state and various groups in Japanese society from 1900 to 1945. The defenders of licensed prostitution made many assumptions about sexuality and gender roles for young women, wives, and male customers that were muted or absent in European societies. The issue of licensed prostitution was also important in establishing new relationships between the state and a key segment of the emerging women's movement that was determined to bring about abolition.

The history of licensed prostitution in imperial Japan, moreover, bespeaks the state's fervent commitment to “social management.” In area after area, the Japanese government attempted to shape how ordinary people thought and behaved to a degree that would have been unthinkable in Anglo-Saxon societies and would have strained the limits of continental European statism. During the early twentieth century, the Japanese state actively regulated religious organizations, mounted pervasive “diligence and thrift” campaigns to increase savings, and mobilized local women to improve social mores.<sup>4</sup> Prior to 1946, elite bureaucrats similarly approached prostitution as part of larger managerial programs aimed at “regulating public morality” and achieving economic development.

It is equally significant that the state did not act alone in defining public morality and managing society. Few abolitionists sought to remove the government from the realm of regulating extramarital sexuality. Rather, these middle-class reformers—no less than their opponents in the brothel trade—actively looked to the authorities to propagate their own particular conceptions of public morality. There has been an understandable reluctance to examine such patterns of

<sup>1</sup> Itō Hidekichi, *Nihon haishō undōshi* (1931; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1982), 169–78.

<sup>2</sup> Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History*, rev. edn. (Buffalo, N.Y., 1987), 45–46, 55–56, 59–61, 91–93; Itō Hidekichi, *Kōtōka no kanojo no seikatsu* (Tokyo, 1931), 34–35.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe* (Montclair, N.J., 1914), 4; see also John F. Decker, *Prostitution: Regulation and Control* (Littleton, Colo., 1979), 74–76.

<sup>4</sup> See Sheldon M. Garon, “State and Religion in Imperial Japan, 1912–1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 12 (Summer 1986): 273–302.



interaction between the imperial state and groups within civil society. Seeking to explain Japan's disastrous drift toward authoritarianism in the years before World War II, Japanese scholars—like many historians of Europe and North America—have generally painted the picture of top-down “social control” by a narrowly constituted military-bureaucratic regime.<sup>5</sup> It has been especially difficult to discuss the abolitionists' participation in the official regulation of morality during the 1930s, for the abolitionist movement was led by several of Japan's best-known Christian and progressive politicians, educators, and social reformers. Indeed, American observers emerged from World War II determined to represent these Christian leaders as American-style liberals whose influence had “been rigidly suppressed and silenced since 1931.”<sup>6</sup> Such externally defined labels are not particularly useful, however. By examining the areas of both contention and consensus among the moral reformers, the brothel owners, and the state, this study endeavors to present a more complete portrait of social management than those offered by elite or state-centered theories of “social control.”<sup>7</sup>

BRITISH AND AMERICAN COMMENTATORS in the early twentieth century often condemned the licensed quarters as a relic of traditional Japan, but other Westerners recognized familiar features from their own societies. The modern system of regulated prostitution grafted European models onto various schemes for licensing and concentrating prostitution that had been adopted by the Tokugawa shogunate and the domains during the early modern period (1600–1868).<sup>8</sup> In the three decades following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the newly created Home Ministry and prefectural governments had emulated many of the regulatory practices of the Paris police.<sup>9</sup> To strengthen surveillance and check the spread of venereal diseases, Japanese prefectures similarly required registered prostitutes to submit to periodic medical inspections, and they restricted the brothel trade to designated areas. Regulation of the prostitutes themselves became the province of the central government in 1900, when the Home Ministry issued the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes. That same year, the Administrative Enforcement Law (*Gyōsei Shikkōhō*) gave police extensive powers to arrest unlicensed prostitutes and order them to undergo medical examinations.<sup>10</sup> Although this essay is primarily concerned with licensed prostitutes (*shōgi*), the authorities also regulated the geisha and the barmaids-cum-prostitutes known as *shakufu*. As trained entertainers, geisha were prohibited from engaging in acts of

<sup>5</sup> Garon, “State and Religion,” 275–76.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Borton, “Memorandum Prepared by the Inter-Divisional Area Committee on the Far East” (May 9, 1944) in Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1944*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1965–67), 5: 1258–59.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent critique of “social control,” see F. M. L. Thompson, “Social Control in Victorian Britain,” *Economic History Review*, 34 (May 1981): 189–208.

<sup>8</sup> See Yamamoto Shun'ichi, *Nihon kōshōshi* (Tokyo, 1983), 3–362.

<sup>9</sup> D. Eleanor Westney, *Imitation and Innovation: The Transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 50; Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 88–93.

<sup>10</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 163, 292, 296, 365.

prostitution, but one knowledgeable official estimated that three-fourths of all geisha in 1929 did so in fact.<sup>11</sup>

For all its similarities to the "French system," the Japanese system of licensed prostitution went much further in restricting the liberties of the prostitute in the interests of effective regulation. Although the authorities in nineteenth-century France and Italy would have preferred to concentrate all prostitutes in the licensed houses, they resigned themselves to allowing registered independent prostitutes to work outside the brothels. During the last decades of the century, the numbers of the independent *filles en carte* rapidly outstripped those of the brothel prostitutes in France. The sharp decline in the brothels reflected, according to Alain Corbin, a "European and even a worldwide phenomenon."<sup>12</sup>

Brothel prostitution may have been declining throughout Europe but not so in Japan before the 1920s. The number of registered prostitutes in brothels increased by nearly 100 percent, from 28,432 in 1884 to 54,049 in 1916, although the population increased by less than 50 percent.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in contrast to Western European regulations, the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes effectively bound the women to the licensed houses and their keepers. Licensed prostitutes could neither work nor live outside the brothels. In addition, Article 7 barred them from venturing outside the licensed quarters at any time without permission of the police, unless prefectural rules specified otherwise.<sup>14</sup> Commenting on similar prefectural rules that immediately preceded the Home Ministry's Rules, the Nagoya District Court in 1900 found that "even at the death of parents it is with difficulty that [prostitutes] can get away," concluding that "there is scarcely no [*sic*] difference between their treatment and that accorded to convicts."<sup>15</sup> The press more commonly likened licensed prostitutes to "birds in a cage."

The autonomy of prostitutes was further constrained by their indentured relationships to the brothel owners. In marked contrast to recruitment practices in Western European brothels, Japanese licensed houses by 1900 were offering sizable monetary advances to the young women or, in most cases, to their parents.<sup>16</sup> If the prostitute quit without the keeper's permission before repaying the advance, her parents or guarantor was contractually liable for the debt.<sup>17</sup> Although the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes explicitly recognized the right of free cessation in 1900, it remained difficult for prostitutes to leave the trade at will. Earlier that year, the Supreme Court (*Daishin'in*) invalidated the provisions of contracts that bound prostitutes to continue their trade, but it upheld the obligation of the prostitute, family, or guarantor to repay the advance money and other debts that had accumulated during the term of service. The

<sup>11</sup> Kusama Yasoo, "Wagakuni ni okeru kōshō oyobi shishō no genjō," *Shakai jigyō*, 15 (June 1931): 62.

<sup>12</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 115, also 11, 37–38, 85–86, 115–17; see also Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860–1915* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 33, 223–24.

<sup>13</sup> Nishimura Miharū, "Baishun mondai ni kansuru chōsa—senzen," *Shakai jigyōshi kenkyū*, no. 8 (November 1980): 112; Kusama, "Wagakuni ni okeru kōshō," 65.

<sup>14</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 370.

<sup>15</sup> Ruling of May 21, 1900, translated in U. G. Murphy, *The Social Evil in Japan and Allied Subjects*, 3d edn. rev. ([Tokyo], 1908), 142.

<sup>16</sup> For the more limited role of indebtedness in French brothels, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 78–79.

<sup>17</sup> Murphy, *Social Evil*, 118–19, 132.

court's decision stood until 1955.<sup>18</sup> Because many prostitutes who opted out of prostitution could not earn enough in other jobs to pay off their debts, policemen often inhibited acts of free cessation after 1900. According to Yamamuro Gumpei, the leading figure in the Japanese Salvation Army before World War II, when a young woman sought to quit, the police commonly called in the brothel keeper and her anxious parents. The officer might intimidate her into an out-of-court settlement, or he applied "a little persuasion" to cause her to change her mind about leaving.<sup>19</sup>

THE SYSTEM FOR LICENSED PROSTITUTION established in 1900 affected thousands of young women. The number of licensed prostitutes peaked in 1916 at 54,049 and remained around 50,000 during the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>20</sup> If we include the 79,348 geisha and 48,291 registered barmaids, as measured against the female population ages eighteen to twenty-nine, 1 out of approximately every 31 young women was working as a prostitute in 1925.<sup>21</sup> The licensed prostitutes worked in brothels in 550 licensed areas, which were located throughout the nation, although their numbers—even relative to population—were greatest in the big cities and areas surrounding ports and military bases.<sup>22</sup>

Unquestionably, the prostitutes came from the poorest strata of society. Although 98 percent of school-age girls in Japan were attending school by 1913, 13 percent of the registered prostitutes in 1924 had never attended school, and only 28 percent had completed six years of compulsory elementary education.<sup>23</sup> Most were the daughters of farmers and laborers.<sup>24</sup> Surveys of Tokyo prostitutes, licensed and unlicensed alike, commonly reported disproportionately large numbers of women recruited from the rural northeast, Japan's poorest region.<sup>25</sup> In a telling comment on the impact of class on options for young women, one missionary observed that more females worked as licensed prostitutes, geisha, and barmaids in 1925 (180,174) than attended the secondary-level higher girls' schools (176,808).<sup>26</sup>

They entered the brothels for a variety of reasons, but it is striking the degree to which licensed prostitutes echoed the authorities and abolitionists alike in asserting that they had "sold themselves" to assist their impoverished families. In

<sup>18</sup> Yonekura Akira, "Hōritsu kōi (part 17)—Kōjo ryōzoku ihan no hōritsu kōi," *Hōgaku kyōshitsu*, no. 60 (September 1985): 34–35; part 16, no. 59 (August 1985): 35–40. For a thought-provoking reinterpretation of these indenture contracts, see J. Mark Ramseyer, "Indentured Prostitution in Imperial Japan: Credible Commitments in the Commercial Sex Industry," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 7 (Spring 1991): 90.

<sup>19</sup> Yamamuro Gumpei, "Kyūseigun Kieko-ryō kaisetsu ni saishite," *Kakusei*, 25 (January 1935): 6.

<sup>20</sup> Nishimura, "Baishun mondai," 112.

<sup>21</sup> Kusama Yasoo, *Tomoshibi no onna, yami no onna* (1937), reprinted in Kusama, *Kindai kasō minshū seikatsushi*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1987), 2: 807.

<sup>22</sup> Ichikawa Fusae, ed., *Nihon fujin mondai shiryō shūsei*, 10 vols. (Tokyo, 1976–81), 1: 516–17.

<sup>23</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 389.

<sup>24</sup> League of Nations, *Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East: Report to the Council*, Series of League of Nations Publications, IV.Social.1932.IV.8 (Geneva, 1932), 104–07.

<sup>25</sup> Yoshimi Kaneko, *Baishō no shakaishi* (Tokyo, 1984), 142; Ichikawa, *Nihon fujin mondai*, 1: 509–10.

<sup>26</sup> Mark R. Shaw, "Temperance and Purity Notes," *Japan Christian Quarterly*, 2 (January 1927): 93.

one typical survey of 809 licensed prostitutes by an Osaka prefectural official in 1918, 665 (82 percent) replied that they took up their trade either to rescue their families from poverty, bail out failed family ventures, care for parents or siblings, or because of death or illness in the family. Another 130 (16 percent) singled out their own economic circumstances, mentioning indebtedness and child-related costs. A mere 4 (0.5 percent) asserted that they had “personally wanted” to be prostitutes.<sup>27</sup> The police, for their part, reinforced the message of filial obligation at the time of registration. As a matter of policy, the Home Ministry did not permit applicants to become prostitutes unless they listed poverty as the reason. There are, however, grounds to question the representation of the prostitute as necessarily a passive victim of family poverty. In surveys of other categories of prostitutes in Tokyo in 1926 and 1927, 18 percent of geisha and 19 percent of unlicensed prostitutes asserted that they had personally wished to enter their trades. Licensed prostitutes might have given similar replies, had the regulations permitted them to list reasons other than poverty on the registration form.<sup>28</sup> Other surveys revealed that relatively few newly registered prostitutes in Tokyo in the mid-1920s were novices, freshly separated from their families; most had already worked as barmaids, geisha, or licensed prostitutes in other brothels. More than half of those surveyed in the Sūsaki quarter stated that they became licensed prostitutes to repay their own debts or to improve their own circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

Abolitionists commonly portrayed Japanese prostitutes as sinking deeper and deeper into a morass of debt and moral degradation. Yet the reality came closer to the social investigator A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet's findings for Paris that “for the majority of public women prostitution is a transitory estate; . . . very few indeed remain until death.”<sup>30</sup> Most Japanese licensed prostitutes left the trade before the expiration of their contractual terms, usually six years. According to one Home Ministry survey, 67 percent of Japan's licensed prostitutes in 1921–1923 had been working less than three years and another 26 percent between three and six years. The average prostitute was in her early twenties, whereas those aged thirty or older constituted a mere 5 percent of all licensed prostitutes.<sup>31</sup> Many a successful prostitute repaid the advance money and quit before the term's end, and contracts in Tokyo by the 1920s typically released the remaining women upon completing their terms, even if they had not fully repaid the advance money. In a survey of 685 prostitutes who removed their names from the police register in the Sūsaki quarter between 1925 and 1927, 27 percent had completed their terms with some debts outstanding, 20 percent had earlier repaid their advance money, 15 percent were redeemed by customers or in some cases by parents, and 14 percent simply quit without the consent of their keepers.<sup>32</sup> In some cases, however, prostitutes who became sick or could not otherwise attract

<sup>27</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 833–34; for other surveys, see 2: 831–38; Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 520.

<sup>28</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 838, 841–43, 846.

<sup>29</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 834–35.

<sup>30</sup> Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, 3d edn. (1857), 1: 584, quoted in Flexner, 21.

<sup>31</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 389–90.

<sup>32</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 1069–71.

many customers worked beyond six years in an effort to repay the advance money, as well as the brothel's monthly charges for food, clothing, room rental, and other items. Twenty-four percent of those who removed their names from the register in the above survey in fact transferred to another brothel or quarter and then reregistered with the police. Some transferred by choice, but officials believed that many were unprofitable prostitutes, whose contracts and debts had been sold to other houses.<sup>33</sup>

What happened to the women who ceased their trade is not clear, but evidence suggests that most of them left lives of full-time prostitution to blend into the working classes. A governmental investigation of 1,563 former licensed prostitutes in 1931–1932 discovered that less than 19 percent returned to prostitution in any form, while another 7 percent became employees in brothels.<sup>34</sup> The Salvation Army, surveying the whereabouts of 304 licensed prostitutes who had been rescued between 1931 and 1933 (a skewed sample, to be sure), found that only 3 of the women reverted to prostitution, whereas 51 had secured factory jobs or other employment. Japanese prostitutes incurred some social stigma, but half (150) of the women in this sample went on to marry into or above their class. Their husbands were typically workers and petty merchants, but they also included several white-collar employees, a reporter, and a policeman.<sup>35</sup> American ethnographers working in the village of Suye Mura in 1935 similarly reported that women who left that village to become prostitutes could return home if they wished.<sup>36</sup>

It is likewise difficult to generalize about the quality of life within the brothels. Because the police required all customers to register at the brothels, we know that the sexual work load of a Japanese licensed prostitute was relatively light. In France, surveys in the 1890s estimated the average work load in the licensed houses to range between 4 and 8 customers per day, whereas licensed prostitutes in Tokyo averaged only 2.5 customers per day in 1924.<sup>37</sup> Nationwide, Japanese prostitutes on average took in only 1.2 customers per day in 1929, 1.6 in 1935, and approximately 1.9 in 1937.<sup>38</sup> Compared to ordinary prostitutes in many other societies, licensed prostitutes in Japan apparently spent more time eating, drinking, and flirting with clients.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that the prostitute's life was dangerously insecure. Venereal diseases and subsequent hospitalization were an ever-present threat, endangering health and hindering the ability to repay debts. If one averages the number of deaths over three years between 1921 and 1923, 649 prostitutes died annually, or 13 per 1,000 licensed prostitutes (compared to 11.4 per 1,000 in the general female population ages eighteen to thirty). Of this total,

<sup>33</sup> Kusama Yasoo, "Zegen to yūkakugyōsha no jitsujō," *Taisei*, 8 (March 1927), reprinted in Kusama, *Kindai toshi kasō shakai*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1990), 1: 199–200; Kusama, "Kaihō sareta shōgi no yukue," *Kaizō*, 16 (July 1934), in Kusama, *Kindai toshi kasō shakai*, 1: 526; compare Ramseyer, 102.

<sup>34</sup> League of Nations, *Commission of Enquiry*, 105.

<sup>35</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 1172–75.

<sup>36</sup> Robert J. Smith and Ella Lury Wiswell, *The Women of Suye Mura* (Chicago, 1982), 140–42.

<sup>37</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 81; Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 1004–05.

<sup>38</sup> Calculated from figures for annual customer-visits in Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 518; Ichikawa, *Nihon fujin mondai*, 1: 516–17; Wakita Haruko, Hayashi Reiko, and Nagahara Kazuko, eds., *Nihon joseishi* (Tokyo, 1987), 261.



496 succumbed to illnesses, notably tuberculosis. Another 93 women committed “double suicides” with lovers, and 60 fell victim to “unnatural deaths”—including individual suicides and murders by customers and others.<sup>39</sup>

Symbolic of the system's general dehumanization of the women was the practice of *harimise*, or displaying prostitutes behind gratings in rooms fronting on the thoroughfares of Yoshiwara and other big-city quarters. The keepers used these “cages” to entice customers, who would then make their selections. The displays also attracted gawkers and often the public. Regulationists in nineteenth-century Europe generally strove to make “vice invisible.” Italian laws prohibited brothel prostitutes from standing in windows or doors, and the windows had to be covered with smoked glass.<sup>40</sup> Yet in Yoshiwara, as one Western lawyer observed at the turn of the century,

To Europeans and Americans it is a strange sight to see family parties, including modest young girls, wending their way through the crowded streets on the night of the *Tori-no-machi* [festival], buying various knick-knacks and gazing at the painted beauties in their gorgeous dresses of glossy brocade and glittering gold.<sup>41</sup>

Many former prostitutes recalled feeling like animals in a zoo. Writing in a noted women's journal, one summed up her five years of sitting inside the grating as “the greatest humiliation a woman can suffer.”<sup>42</sup> Bowing in large part to foreign criticism, the authorities in Tokyo, Osaka, and other cities banned the practice of *harimise* in 1916.<sup>43</sup>

THE AUTHORITIES IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN had regulated prostitution for various reasons, but it was the emergence of a potent abolitionist movement in the late nineteenth century that called forth the modern state's comprehensive defense of licensed prostitution as a vital element in its policies to manage the economy, sexuality, and gender roles. From the start, Japanese Christians formed the core of the abolitionist forces. Protestants led the crusade, while Japanese Catholics generally accepted the need for regulated prostitution, as did most people in the Catholic nations of Europe. Comprising less than one half of one percent of the population, Japanese Protestants nonetheless enjoyed considerable influence because of high levels of organization, interest in social reform, and international ties through missionaries to the two powers, the United States and Great Britain. Indeed, Japanese moral reformers were directly inspired by the international abolitionist and social purity movements that emerged during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Like abolitionists in France and the United States, they took their cues from Josephine Butler's successful campaign against

<sup>39</sup> Ujihara Sukezō, *Baishōfu oyobi karyōbyō* (Tokyo, 1926), 134–35.

<sup>40</sup> Gibson, *Prostitution and the State*, 33.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Ernest De Becker, *The Nightless City, Or the “History of the Yoshiwara Yūkwaku,”* 3d edn. rev. (Yokohama, [1905]), 202–03.

<sup>42</sup> Tanabe Hisa, “Harimise no kōshi no naka kara,” *Fujin kōron*, 6 (July 1921): 43; see also Takemura Tamio, *Haishō undō* (Tokyo, 1982), 60–61.

<sup>43</sup> Takemura, *Haishō undō*, 60–64.





The practice of *harimise* (displaying brothel prostitutes behind a grating) in a licensed quarter, circa 1915. From Takahashi Tetsu, *Kinsei kindai 150 nen seifuzoku zushi*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1969), 2: 156.

regulation that culminated in the repeal of Britain's Contagious Diseases Acts in 1886.<sup>44</sup>

The first Japanese organization to oppose licensed prostitution consisted solely of women. In 1886, middle-class Japanese women established the Tokyo branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the American organization that was at the time fighting attempts to regulate prostitution in several cities in the United States. The Tokyo branch was expanded in 1893 into the Japanese WCTU (*Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai*), with branches throughout the country. The WCTU was joined in 1895 by the newly founded Japanese headquarters of the Salvation Army. By 1900, both groups had set up homes to rescue and reform prostitutes.<sup>45</sup> And in the protest to stop the rebuilding of the Yoshiwara quarters after a devastating fire in 1911, a group of predominantly male abolitionists formed the Purity Society (*Kakuseikai*) as a brother organization to the WCTU.

The abolitionists attacked licensed prostitution from a number of perspectives. The liberal or humanitarian critique attracted the broadest following among progressive politicians and thinkers, Christian and non-Christian alike. Abolitionists branded licensed prostitution a "system of slavery" in its fundamental "violation of human rights." The system, they charged, denied prostitutes the civil liberties guaranteed to Japanese subjects, particularly the freedoms to cease trade, choose one's customers, move about at will, and communicate unhindered with the outside world. What most offended the abolitionists was that the state lent its police powers to brothel keepers to suppress these liberties.<sup>46</sup> As in mid-Victorian Britain, many Japanese abolitionists concurrently championed a variety of other liberal causes—including universal suffrage and the freedom to organize labor unions.<sup>47</sup> The Japanese WCTU had, moreover, been agitating for the right of women to participate in political activities since 1890.<sup>48</sup> The Purity Society's leadership included several of Japan's most prominent progressive politicians—notably, the social democratic party leader Abe Isoo (the Purity Society's second president), Katayama Tetsu (who became Japan's only socialist prime minister in 1947), and the liberal mavericks Shimada Saburō (the Society's first president), Nagai Ryūtarō, and Ozaki Yukio.

Nonetheless, the abolitionist campaign should not be reduced to a purely liberal struggle, for the movement was not content merely to reform the licensed system so as to guarantee the liberties of prostitutes. The crusade against the "Social Evil" must also be seen as part of a conscious drive by Japanese Protestants to modernize the sexual mores of the populace along the lines of contemporary British and American societies. Prostitution challenged their religious beliefs that sexual relations should be confined to the institution of marriage.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 214–20; David J. Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900* (Westport, Conn., 1973), 67, 85, 96–98, 118–19.

<sup>45</sup> *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai*, ed., *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi* (Tokyo, 1986), 35–37, 93, 98–110; Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, Calif., 1983), 92–98.

<sup>46</sup> Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 257–59, 275–76.

<sup>47</sup> See Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 99–101.

<sup>48</sup> *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai*, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 70.

<sup>49</sup> Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 332–34.

Japanese abolitionists struggled not simply to make society conform to its declared norms, as in Western nations, but to change the norms and laws of a non-Christian society that regarded marriage and the respective obligations of husband and wife in a different light. From its formation in 1886 until World War II, the leaders of the WCTU tirelessly petitioned the government to legislate and propagate the principle of strict monogamy. The problem, from their perspective, was that early modern Japanese customs and the government's new legal code in 1870 granted a concubine the same status as the wife. The Civil Code of 1898 eliminated the concubine's legal status and barred the children of concubines from inheriting the family name and property ahead of legitimate children. However, a husband could sue for divorce if his wife committed adultery, whereas adulterous actions by the husband did not constitute grounds for divorce.<sup>50</sup> The criminal codes similarly stipulated prison terms for wives who committed adultery, while permitting a husband's infidelities, unless his lover were a married woman.<sup>51</sup> The women of the WCTU demanded that the criminal and civil codes punish both husbands and wives for adultery, further insisting that the husband's liaisons with prostitutes, geisha, and concubines be considered adultery.<sup>52</sup>

Prostitution and concubinage further clashed with the fervent desire of Japanese Protestants to establish equality in gender relations. Few Protestants endorsed full political equality and women's suffrage until the 1920s, but in its opening statement of principles in 1887 the Tokyo WCTU vowed to eliminate the "evil customs" by which "men are respected and women despised." By becoming "playthings of men," prostitutes and concubines unwittingly contributed to the overall "denigration of women."<sup>53</sup> Condemning the subordination of the wife in the early modern Japanese family, Protestant abolitionists portrayed the modern marriage as "a freely concluded union between those equal in human character [*jinkaku*]."<sup>54</sup> In their first petition to institute monogamy in 1889, WCTU members argued that the "essence of marriage is love between a man and woman." When a husband followed his "carnal desires" and shared his love with other women, he destroyed the conjugal relationship and the peace and prosperity of the family itself. Asserting that the indigenous beliefs of Confucianism and Buddhism blessed the keeping of concubines and the denigration of women, the Protestant women proclaimed that Christianity alone could "save [Japan] from the evils of polygamy."<sup>55</sup>

Their opponents responded to the abolitionist challenge with an equally confident defense of licensed prostitution based on reasons of public policy, as well as markedly different assumptions about sexuality and gender roles. In addition to police and public-health officials in the Home Ministry and local governments, the proponents of regulation included many medical experts,

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Ernest De Becker, *Annotated Civil Code of Japan*, 4 vols. (London, 1909–10), 3: 73–75, 4: 11–13, 41–42; Wakita, Hayashi, and Nagahara, *Nihon joseishi*, 193–94.

<sup>51</sup> Japan, *The Criminal Code of Japan*, William J. Sebald, trans. (Kobe, 1936), 132.

<sup>52</sup> Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 51, 62–65, 331–32.

<sup>53</sup> Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 52–53.

<sup>54</sup> Uemura Masahisa, *Gyokuseki shū* (1887), quoted in Harada Kiyoko, "Kirisutokyō to sono shūhen no jōsei-kan," in *Jōsei kaihō no shisō to kōdō: Senzenhen*, Tanaka Sumiko, ed. (Tokyo, 1976), 64; also, Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 332–33.

<sup>55</sup> Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 62–64.

politicians, publicists, and scholars. They consistently cited two reasons for maintaining the licensed system—the regulation of public morals and public hygiene—which also had deep roots in European societies. To Japanese officials, tightly regulated and segregated vice districts served as a “breakwater” or “public latrine,” protecting society and the “daughters of good families” from foulness. Just as St. Augustine in the fourth century proclaimed, “suppress prostitution, and capricious lusts will overthrow society,” Japanese proponents warned that repressing the sexual desires of men would lead to increased rape and other sex crimes.<sup>56</sup>

Although Tokugawa-era officials had seldom used regulation to prevent the spread of venereal diseases, public-health bureaucrats of the modern state became convinced of the effectiveness of medical inspections by the 1890s. Surveys by the Home Ministry's Bureau of Hygiene subsequently demonstrated that licensed prostitutes posed a significantly lower risk of contagion to customers than their unregistered rivals. Physicians carried out nearly 3 million weekly examinations of licensed prostitutes in 1927 and found venereal disease in only 2 percent of the cases—compared to the rate of 32 percent for unlicensed prostitutes who were arrested and examined that year.<sup>57</sup> Abolitionists countered that the licensed system itself was ultimately responsible for Japan's relatively high rates of venereal disease in the early twentieth century: its licit, deceptively safe nature vastly expanded the number of carriers by attracting otherwise risk-averse customers, and the licensed quarters encouraged the growth in adjacent areas of cheaper clandestine prostitution with its attendant health hazards.<sup>58</sup> Bureau of Hygiene officials remained confident, however, that licensed prostitution was the best defense against the specter of hundreds of thousands of unregulated prostitutes transmitting diseases throughout society.<sup>59</sup>

The government also valued the licensed system for other reasons that appear more specific to Japanese society and derived from the government's managerial impulses. In many respects, both the abolitionists and regulationists were engaged in reformulating constructions of sexuality and gender in the context of Japan's modernization and Westernization after 1868. To the regulationists, rapid military-industrial modernization called for new types of men. Several remarked that conscription, expanded higher education, and the migration to the cities of large numbers of male workers—together with the low-wage nature of Japan's economic development—forced young men to postpone marriage or not to marry at all. The average age of marriage for men rose from 27.59 in 1899 to 28.68 in 1910, and it continued to rise during the 1920s.<sup>60</sup> Leading officials regarded the ready availability of “professional prostitutes” for these men as vital to maintaining the socioeconomic order.<sup>61</sup> Even the cosmopolitan thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi,

<sup>56</sup> Yoshimi, *Baishō no shakaishi*, 48; Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 334; Kataoka Shōichi, ed., *Haishō ka, sonshō ka* (Tokyo, 1925), 58–59; Augustine, quoted in Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society: A Survey*, 2 vols. (London, 1961–63), Vol. 2: *Prostitution in Europe and the New World*, 25.

<sup>57</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshihi no onna*, 2: 1072, 1075.

<sup>58</sup> Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 377–81; Gunpei Yamamuro, “The Social Evil in Japan,” *Missionary Review of the World*, 46 (October 1923): 801–04.

<sup>59</sup> Ujihara, *Baishōfu*, 144–45, 352–53.

<sup>60</sup> Fukumi Takao, *Teitō ni okeru baiin no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1928), 6–8.

<sup>61</sup> Hasegawa Yasushi, “Haishō ronsha ni tadasu,” in *Shōgi sompai no dan'an*, Saka Tsunesaburō, ed. (Tokyo, 1900), 94–95.

who introduced Western concepts of monogamy and the equality of the sexes, asserted in 1885 that prostitution was “the only way to preserve social peace,” considering the expected rise in the number of single men who lacked the wealth to marry.<sup>62</sup> Other proponents spoke of the licensed system’s contribution to Japan’s rise as a major power. Referring to the naval race with the United States in 1935, one member of parliament boasted that the ample supply of prostitutes made it possible for Japanese officers to be away from home on naval maneuvers for extended periods. In the American navy, he noted scornfully, officers refused to be at sea longer than three months, complaining that “I’ve lost touch with what my wife and children are doing.”<sup>63</sup>

As numerous regulationists explained, licensed prostitution maintained the Japanese “family system” and the unambiguous gender roles that permitted the nation to function efficiently. Hasegawa Yasushi, chief of the Bureau of Hygiene in 1900, considered prostitution to be necessary but hardly an evil, for the male body needed to satisfy sexual lust to maintain itself, just as a train would come to a halt if it did not burn coal. Distinguishing sexuality from marriage, he insisted that consorting with prostitutes was no more immoral than sex in marriage; the only differences related to time and place and whether a child was produced.<sup>64</sup> The regulationists did not necessarily deny the innate sexuality of the wife, but they held that her physical desires needed to be restrained in the interests of the family. This imperative was based not simply on traditional Japanese values but also reflected a significant reformulation of gender ideology that occurred during the 1890s. Inspired by the pronatalist programs and theories of domestic science of their Western rivals, Japanese officials increasingly rejected the early modern subordination of the wife to the household head, her in-laws, and concubines. The government instead encouraged wives to become primarily responsible for managing the household and rearing children.<sup>65</sup> The emergence of these new “duties” to the household and nation made it all the more important to prevent married women from taking on potentially subversive sexual roles. Such thinking explains why the Criminal Code of 1908 punished wives for committing adultery in all cases but only penalized a husband when his partner was someone else’s wife. Whereas Protestant abolitionists blamed philandering husbands for family disharmony, the responsibility for the stability of the modern Japanese family, by law and by convention, rested solely with the wife and mother.

Officials likewise sought to manage the sexuality of young women while reinforcing familial control. In the eyes of nineteenth-century European regulationists, women became prostitutes because of “libidinous” temperaments, criminal tendencies, laziness, or because they had fallen outside familial authority as they migrated to the cities.<sup>66</sup> Japanese authorities similarly feared the emergence

<sup>62</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Hinkon ron” (1885), translated in *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, Eiichi Kiyooka, ed. and trans. (Tokyo, 1988), 87–88.

<sup>63</sup> Funada Naka, speech to the National Federation of the Brothel Trade, February 19, 1935, in Ichikawa, *Nihon fujin mondai*, 1: 500.

<sup>64</sup> Hasegawa, “Haishō ronsha,” 93–94, 97–98.

<sup>65</sup> See Sheldon Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890–1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 19 (Winter 1993): 11–12.

<sup>66</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 19; Gibson, *Prostitution and the State*, 19–23.



of a huge class of hedonistic women, as daughters left home to become factory workers or housemaids in the rapidly modernizing society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet, in the Japanese case, such fears prompted the state to construct the category of the licensed prostitute, the paradoxically asexual daughter who honored the country's traditions of filial piety. As Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi explained to an English reporter in 1896, the woman who worked in the licensed brothel "does so often from a lofty desire to help her poor parents or relations; and, when she forsakes the life, by good conduct she is readmitted to society."<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, the practice of bonding the licensed prostitute through advance money paid to parents or relatives necessitated the recruitment of daughters directly from relatively stable families. The great strength of the licensed system was that the Home Ministry's centralized registration procedures effectively screened out any women who *personally desired to be a prostitute*, according to Kusama Yasoo, a noted reformist official in Tokyo City's Bureau of Social Affairs.<sup>68</sup> The looser regulations governing geisha and barmaids failed to do so, observed Kusama, resulting in significant numbers of "fallen women—lascivious, lazy, and frivolous—who embark on the road of prostitution not to help their poor parents or siblings; they immerse themselves in the mire because they personally want to."<sup>69</sup>

Responding to the abolitionists' liberal critique, regulationists were equally forthright about revealing the statist assumptions that underlay the licensed system. In the words of Ujihara Sukezō, the Home Ministry's leading spokesman on prostitution during the 1920s: because abolitionists in Western societies

put the freedom of the individual first and regard the maintenance of public morals as of secondary importance, they judge those nations which have retained licensed prostitution and have placed the maintenance of public morals ahead of the freedom of the individual . . . to be backward. It is not easy for the Western savants of individualism to comprehend our distinctive system, which, even as it retains the licensed system, strictly regulates unlicensed prostitution and succeeds in preserving public morals.<sup>70</sup>

Another group of defenders similarly dismissed the abolitionists' charge that licensed prostitution demeaned women: "The State's objectives are to maintain order and improve the welfare of the greatest number, and if the interests of a few [women] must be sacrificed, this is truly inevitable in terms of the existence of the State."<sup>71</sup>

In other areas of social management, the pleasure quarters became central to the government's policies of crime control. The brothels attracted criminals, many of whom freely spent the proceeds of their misdeeds. Patrolmen and detectives relied on the keepers as informants. The authorities further required the brothels to register all customers for reasons of public security and monitoring of taxable

<sup>67</sup> *The Daily News* (London) (July 2, 1896): 7.

<sup>68</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 846, italics mine.

<sup>69</sup> Kusama Yasoo, *Furōsha to baishōfu no kenkyū* (1927), reprinted in Kusama, *Kindai kasō minshū seikatsushi*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1987), 1: 126.

<sup>70</sup> Ujihara, *Baishōfu*, 355.

<sup>71</sup> Kataoka, *Haishō ka*, 50.

profits, and those who gave false names were subject to harsh penalties. Close relationships developed between the police and the managers of the houses. Policemen would regularly eat and drink, free of charge, at the quarters' restaurants and bars. In exchange, the ordinary policeman returned runaway prostitutes, and he was loathe to enforce reformist changes in an institution that made his life easier.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, officials conceived of their managed system as the state's bulwark against the evils of clandestine prostitution. Confronted by rising numbers of unlicensed prostitutes, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police in 1916 attempted to eradicate illicit prostitution, while expanding the licensed system to woo customers back. Tokyo authorities proposed lowering the minimum age for licensed women from eighteen to fifteen to divert the supply of adolescent girls from clandestine vice to the public sector. The minimum age was never lowered, but the police did simplify the building codes to encourage entrepreneurs to establish new houses. In addition, emergency exits of Yoshiwara were opened to "make it easier for customers to come and go."<sup>73</sup> Although a prime rationale for the licensed quarters was to sequester vice and protect the "daughters of good families," the logic of the system made regulated prostitution increasingly central to Japanese urban life. The annual number of visits by customers to the licensed houses rose from 22,360,000 in 1929 to approximately 30 million in 1937, considerably more than the 21 million Japanese males aged sixteen years or older in 1935.

BETWEEN 1909 AND 1923, THE ABOLITIONIST ASSOCIATIONS mounted several well-organized but generally unsuccessful campaigns to stop the rebuilding or relocation of Yoshiwara and other quarters. In 1926, however, the chief of the Police Bureau, Matsumura Giichi, instructed the annual conference of prefectural police chiefs to consider the question of reforming or abolishing the licensed system. This unexpected development was related to the rise of a socially reformist clique of higher civil servants within the Home Ministry, several of whom had already championed labor reform.<sup>74</sup> The bureaucracy was also responding to international abolitionist pressures emanating from the League of Nations. In 1925, Japan ratified the League's 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. Few of the assembled police chiefs in fact favored abolition, but they did resolve to implement several reforms that centered on "respecting the liberties of prostitutes." For the first time, elite bureaucrats focused on the treatment of the women themselves from the standpoint of social policy. Matsumura directed prefectural authorities to enforce strictly the protections granted by the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes of 1900 and to remove the local restrictions on the freedom of movement. He also

<sup>72</sup> Takemura, *Haishō undō*, 45–46.

<sup>73</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 423–24.

<sup>74</sup> See Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), chap. 3.

ordered that police no longer obstruct the prostitute's freedom to cease her trade.<sup>75</sup>

The Home Ministry's reforms, moreover, reflected long-term changes in Japanese society. The 1920s witnessed a dramatic rise in the public's concern for the "Women Question." Young women were becoming better educated, and many, in their capacities as journalists, educators, nurses, and doctors, called for improving the status of women.<sup>76</sup> Working-class women found new opportunities in manufacturing, services, and clerical work that appeared preferable to a career in the brothels. The Japanese WCTU, like many other women's groups, began to focus its energies on gaining the vote for women as a means to abolition.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, many Japanese were beginning to question traditional conceptions of sexuality that exploited women for the pleasure of males. In the early 1920s, the literary feminist Hiratsuka Raichō and her proto-suffragist organization, the New Woman's Association (Shin Fujin Kyōkai), attracted widespread support from women's groups of various types when they lobbied the parliament for a bill that would protect wives from venereal diseases picked up by their philandering husbands. Under this proposal, evidence of venereal disease in the male would be grounds for the authorities to forbid a marriage or for the wife to sue for a divorce.<sup>78</sup> In addition, conservative and semi-official women's organizations placed new emphasis on safeguarding the chastity of young unmarried women. The Patriotic Women's Association (Aikoku Fujinkai), which was affiliated with the Home Ministry, engaged in major relief and rescue efforts in northeastern Japan, where devastating crop failures in 1934 compelled many farmers to sell their daughters into prostitution.<sup>79</sup>

Momentum for abolition grew rapidly during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Abolitionists organized several petition campaigns at the prefectural level, for the first time rallying major non-Christian organizations made up of Buddhists and social workers, as well as "moral suasion groups" (*kyōka dantai*) and semi-official associations for young men, young women, and adult women.<sup>80</sup> By 1934, half of Japan's forty-seven prefectural assemblies had either voted to abolish licensed prostitution in their locales or passed resolutions urging the centrally appointed governors to do so. After a report by the League of Nations' commission on traffic in women and children condemned Japan's system of licensed houses in 1932, the ever-sensitive Japanese government replied that abolition was under review. In May 1934, the Home Ministry announced that it would abolish licensed prostitution in the near future.<sup>81</sup>

It soon became clear, however, that the Home Ministry could not or would not draw up a viable plan to eliminate the licensed quarters. The abolitionists had

<sup>75</sup> *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (April 26, 1926): 2; (April 26, evening edition): 2; (April 30, evening edition): 2; (May 4, 1926): 2.

<sup>76</sup> Chino Yōichi, *Kindai Nihon fujin kyōikushi* (Tokyo, 1979), 167–68.

<sup>77</sup> *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai*, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 512–32.

<sup>78</sup> [Hiratsuka] Raichō, "Karyūbyō danshi kekkon seigenhō seitei ni kansuru seigan undō," *Josei dōmei*, no. 1 (October 1920): 30–36.

<sup>79</sup> Itō Hidekichi, "Miuri bōshi undō to sono shisetsu gaiyō (part 1)," *Kakusei*, 25 (January 1935): 27.

<sup>80</sup> Itō, *Kōtōka no kanojo*, 609–10, 616–25.

<sup>81</sup> Matsumiya Yahei, *Saikin no haishō undō* (Tokyo, 1934), 3–5, 15–16; League of Nations, *Commission of Enquiry*, 96.

done an impressive job of gaining influence among elite bureaucrats, but they proved no match for the well-organized political lobby mounted by the brothel trade. As one abolitionist bitterly observed, those who profited from the labor of prostitutes could be flogged in England, whereas in Japan brothel owners were considered "fine businessmen" and upstanding taxpayers who "may be municipal assemblymen, prefectural assemblymen, or members of parliament."<sup>82</sup> The state-licensed trade associations of keepers united in 1924 to form the National Federation of the Brothel Trade.<sup>83</sup> Brothel owners made large contributions to the political parties, and they were not shy about offering free favors to the many politicians who frequented the quarters.<sup>84</sup>

Nor were the friends of the brothels within the Imperial Diet (parliament) shy about defending one of Japan's "beautiful customs," in contrast to the reluctance of French parliamentarians to discuss the question of prostitution openly.<sup>85</sup> When Purity Society members in 1931 introduced a bill in the Lower House that would abolish licensed prostitution, Yamazaki Dennonosuke responded with a speech laced with obscenities and graphic language. Since lust was absolute, he argued, to try to repress it would only bring on masturbation, the chief cause of respiratory problems. Besides, he continued, was it not true that some of the "gentlemen" in the Lower House kept concubines? Would this practice, too, be abolished? he asked mockingly.<sup>86</sup>

Provoked by the Home Ministry's declared intention of abolition, the brothel industry and their supporters in the Diet struck back. In March 1935, 270 members or a majority of the Lower House co-sponsored a bill that would have strengthened the Home Ministry's Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes of 1900 by making them a statute. Supporters let the bill die in committee, content to make the point, in the words of one newspaper, that "with a Lower House majority of 270 names, *our* position is public opinion."<sup>87</sup> Confronted by political pressures, Home Ministry bureaucrats quickly disavowed that they were committed to abolition. Some historians of women and the antiprostitution movement have argued that Japan's entry into World War II arrested the drive toward abolition, as the government mobilized thousands of young women to attend to the sexual needs of the troops.<sup>88</sup> However, it is abundantly clear that abolition was already a dead issue by the time Japan invaded China in 1937.

MOST JAPANESE SCHOLARS who have chronicled this story dwell on the rise and fall of a liberal-minded popular movement that nearly persuaded the government to quit the business of managing prostitution. That depiction, I believe, ignores the complexities of the abolitionists' relationship with the imperial state. It also fails to recognize that licensed prostitution was simply one of several forms of extramar-

<sup>82</sup> Itō Hidekichi, "Sekai no baishō seisaku," *Kakusei*, 26 (December 1936): 10–12.

<sup>83</sup> Itō, *Nihon haishō undōshi*, 329.

<sup>84</sup> Ichikawa, *Nihon fujin mondai*, 1: 43.

<sup>85</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 315–16.

<sup>86</sup> *Teikoku gikai shūgin giji sokkiroku*, 59th Diet, February 14, 1931, 295–96.

<sup>87</sup> *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (March 23, 1935): 13.

<sup>88</sup> Murakami Shigehiko, *Nihon no fujin mondai* (Tokyo, 1978), 105.

ital sexuality of concern to officials and moral reformers alike. During the 1930s, leading abolitionists joined with unlikely allies, the licensed brothel owners, to pressure the government to suppress dance halls, cafés, and clandestine prostitution. While they attacked the licensed system for suppressing human freedom, the abolitionists frequently looked to the state to rectify immoral behavior.

During the 1910s and 1920s, abolitionists such as the WCTU's Kubushiro Ochimi insisted that they did not seek to eradicate clandestine prostitution.<sup>89</sup> The real problem, they argued, was the enormous system of licensed prostitution, by which the state sanctioned immorality and the exploitation of young women. Yet the abolitionists' attitudes toward both the state and the regulation of unlicensed prostitution began to change in the early 1930s. The precipitant was the emergence of café culture. Whereas the number of licensed prostitutes remained around 50,000 during the interwar era, the police counted 51,559 café waitresses in 1929, the number soaring to 111,700 in 1936.<sup>90</sup> The symbol of the new culture was the Ginza area of Tokyo, where a number of large neon-lit cafés, some employing tens of waitresses, mushroomed during 1930.<sup>91</sup> Higher civil servants and educators had expressed concern about reported visits by many students to unregistered prostitutes in areas such as Tamanoi and Kameido in Tokyo during the 1910s and early 1920s. But the rise of cafés and dance halls constituted a bolder threat to the Japanese state and society. Most Japanese considered sexuality in the licensed quarters, symbolized by the Tokugawa-era district of Yoshiwara, to be traditionally Japanese, aesthetic, and for the sole pleasure of males.

Cafés and dance halls, on the other hand, were associated with modernism, individualism, and Western-style romantic relations between the sexes. The sexuality of waitresses could not be easily managed. In contrast to the filial daughters who became licensed prostitutes for reasons of poverty, complained the Tokyo official Kusama Yasoo, many waitresses chose their own jobs, concluded contracts directly with employers, and "abandoned themselves" to "the pursuit of pleasure."<sup>92</sup> Contemporary literature and the press popularized the phenomenon with such phrases as *ero-guro-nansensu* (eroticism, foolishness, and nonsense) and *moga* (modern girls) and *mobo* (modern boys).<sup>93</sup> Waitresses and dancers were not necessarily prostitutes, but their casual mingling with "modern boys" of roughly the same age seemingly offended a society that believed in arranged marriages and patriarchal authority. Many of the Ginza-type cafés in fact promoted an atmosphere of eroticism. To attract customers, waitresses were encouraged to entice male passers-by, sell kisses, and sleep with the clientele after hours. Their employers' practice of compelling the women to live on tips in lieu of wages was an added inducement to cater to the whims of customers.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Kubushiro Ochimi, "Tsutsushimite kishū ryōin ni uttau," *Fujin shimpō*, no. 337 (March 1926): 7.

<sup>90</sup> Nishimura Miharū, "Kaisetsu," in rpt. edn. of Ōbayashi Munetsugu, *Jokyū seikatsu no shin-kenkyū* (1932), *Kindai fujin mondai meichō senshū: Shakai mondai hen*, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1983), 9.

<sup>91</sup> Takemura, *Haishō undō*, 178–79.

<sup>92</sup> Kusama, *Tomoshibi no onna*, 2: 850.

<sup>93</sup> See Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, Gail Lee Bernstein, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 239–66.

<sup>94</sup> Kanō Mikiyo, *Onnatachi no jūgo* (Tokyo, 1987), 37–38.



The police and Home Ministry conducted the first campaign against the cafés and dance halls between 1928 and 1930. The commissioner of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, Maruyama Tsurukichi, in July 1929 pledged to "deal a devastating blow" to "the red lights and jazz world that pervade the capital." The Tokyo morals police, who had already arrested more than 300 waitresses and dancers in the first months of 1929, began also rounding up 40 to 50 "delinquent modern boys and girls" in nightly raids in August.<sup>95</sup> In 1934, the Home Ministry's Police Bureau and the Metropolitan Police mounted a second morals campaign that continued unabated through World War II.<sup>96</sup> Behind the crackdown lay a pervasive concern with the spread of urban decadence and unregulated relations between young men and women. Tokyo's metropolitan government prohibited students from entering any café, bar, coffee or tea house that so much as employed waitresses.<sup>97</sup> Police in rural Iwate prefecture began "expelling" cafés from the villages with an eye toward uplifting the morals of youth.<sup>98</sup>

Middle-class Protestants had long preached the virtues of the modern mores and gender relations of nineteenth-century Western societies, yet they fully shared the anxieties of the authorities toward the new modernity of café culture. Abolitionists not only applauded the anti-café crusade of the mid-1930s, they demanded more state suppression. The Christian social reformer Kagawa Toyohiko in 1936 expressed concern that youth were flocking to cafés and bars, and he recalled writing earlier that the evils of cafés were "frightening," for they represented the influx of "French-style things" not found in Protestant countries. As the causes of the rising sexual "looseness" of the Japanese people, Kagawa singled out "literature, which has grown erotic, and the authorities who simply wink at erotica."<sup>99</sup> Ieda Sakichi bemoaned the import of "Western lewd thought," which included notions of companionate marriages and trial marriages.<sup>100</sup> And the progressive Buddhist Takashima Beihō blamed the alleged widespread demands of women for "sexual liberation" on "queer foreign thought."<sup>101</sup>

The abolitionists greeted the outbreak of war against the Western powers in 1941 as a "fine opportunity" for a "great sweep-up" of immorality, in the words of Abe Isoo, the Purity Society's president and leader of the country's social democratic party.<sup>102</sup> Despite their denominational affiliations with North Americans and the British, other leaders of the Purity Society had earlier welcomed the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in 1937, portraying the two authoritarian states as models for having taken "extremely strict positions toward the morals problem." The crisis brought on by the war in China that same year offered the long-awaited chance for the state to "wield a sharp knife at the morals problem."<sup>103</sup> Abolitionists exploited the wartime atmosphere to agitate for restricting the hours of cafés and bars, all the

<sup>95</sup> Ōbinata Sumio, *Tennōsei keisatsu to minshū* (Tokyo, 1987), 203–05.

<sup>96</sup> *Tōkyō asahi shimbun* (December 25, 1934, evening edition): 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Kakusei*, 24 (October 1934): 39; 24 (November 1934): 31.

<sup>98</sup> *Kakusei*, 25 (March 1935): 38.

<sup>99</sup> Kagawa Toyohiko, "Haishō undō no kompon seishin," *Kakusei*, 26 (January 1936): 7–8.

<sup>100</sup> Ieda Sakichi, "Junketsu Nihon no fukkō to kensetsu," *Kakusei*, 26 (January 1936): 27.

<sup>101</sup> Takashima Beihō, "Gendai josei o hihansu," *Kakusei*, 26 (June 1936): 13.

<sup>102</sup> Abe Isoo, "Jinkō mondai to danjo mondai," *Kakusei*, 32 (March 1942): 3.

<sup>103</sup> Murakami Yūsaku, "Jiji hyōron," *Kakusei*, 27 (December 1937): 26–27.

time criticizing the laxness of the Metropolitan Police.<sup>104</sup> Takashima Beihō praised the police for deciding on a program for the total “eradication of the dance halls” in early 1938, even though he judged it to have come “rather late.”<sup>105</sup> Pre-war Japan’s best-known liberal politician, Ozaki Yukio, urged the state to place “national morality” under “unified regulation.” Commenting on the mass round-ups of students in cafés and mah-jongg parlors in 1938, Ozaki demanded that the police also arrest their fathers, who frequented hostess bars.<sup>106</sup>

In short, a new consensus had emerged by the mid-1930s between the bureaucrats and the “moral suasion” groups, including the abolitionists. The abolitionists privately recognized that, although licensed prostitution would continue, they would realize several of their objectives if they cooperated with the state in campaigns to stamp out cafés and educate youth in the virtues of chastity. The officials, for their part, would not have rushed into the morals crusade had they not discerned sizable support from community, education, and religious leaders. Completing the list of strange bedfellows were the licensed brothel keepers themselves. In 1933, Purity Society leaders and representatives of the brothel industry negotiated a settlement, though never implemented, whereby the houses would lose their licensed status but would retain *de facto* official recognition. The two sides further agreed to urge the Home Ministry to crush unlicensed prostitution.<sup>107</sup>

To mark the shift away from the focus on licensed prostitution, the League to Abolish Licensed Prostitution changed its name to the National Purification Federation (Kokumin Junketsu Dōmei) in 1935. Its nationalistic, eugenic emphasis on “purification of blood” (*junketsu*) complemented the state’s needs for healthy recruits and mothers who were untouched by venereal diseases. Abandoning her *laissez-faire* position toward unlicensed prostitution, Kubushiro Ochimi, president of the Japanese WCTU, called on the state to eradicate all forms of prostitution. She had been inspired by her study of the U.S. government’s crusade against prostitution in World War I.<sup>108</sup> In 1938, Kubushiro began coordinating discussions among educators, politicians, and Education Ministry and Metropolitan Police officials concerning the problem of students and the cafés.<sup>109</sup> As Japan’s “Fifteen Years’ War” (1931–1945) intensified, the abolitionists preached sexual continence and temperance to young men and women with the full support of the government.<sup>110</sup>

THE HISTORY OF LICENSED PROSTITUTION, while marginalized in most accounts of imperial Japan, reveals a great deal about relations between the state and society. The regulation of prostitution represented more than a vexing problem for urban police departments. It formed part of the national government’s well-

<sup>104</sup> *Kakusei*, 27 (August 1937): 24; 27 (November 1937): 31; 28 (March 1938): 27.

<sup>105</sup> Takashima Beihō, “Kokumin seishin sōdōin to fūkyō mondai,” *Kakusei*, 28 (February 1938): 4.

<sup>106</sup> Ozaki Yukio, “Kokumin dōtoku no kōjō o hakare,” *Kakusei*, 28 (September 1938): 5.

<sup>107</sup> Takemura, *Haishō undō*, 183–88.

<sup>108</sup> Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenshi*, 652–55.

<sup>109</sup> Kubushiro Ochimi, *Haishō hitosuji* (Tokyo, 1982), 258.

<sup>110</sup> Takemura, *Haishō undō*, 189–90.

conceived program of managing society so that men would postpone the decision to marry, young women would employ their sexuality in a socially efficient and orderly manner, and wives would endure their husbands' infidelities in the interests of family stability. Although officials proved willing to reform the system of licensed prostitution at its edges, they continued to regard the regulation of prostitution as an indispensable instrument of state policy.

Perhaps the most telling case of the continuities in official thinking occurred at the end of World War II. On August 18, 1945, just three days after the Japanese government announced its decision to surrender, the chief of the Police Bureau sent an urgent directive to prefectural governors. He instructed them to recruit geisha, licensed and unlicensed prostitutes, waitresses, barmaids, and "those who have committed the crime of habitual prostitution." In keeping with the tendency to marginalize the prostitute, the chief explained that these women would serve to "protect the Japanese people" against the foreign occupying forces. The directive did not conceal the fear of racial contamination, warning governors to prevent "Japanese" from consorting with these prostitutes. Eight days later, the women were organized into the Recreation Amusement Association (RAA).<sup>111</sup> As one bureaucrat later recalled, officials reasoned that because the victorious American forces did not travel with their own "comfort women," the soldiers would engage in widespread rape and create unimaginable disorder, if not supplied with prostitutes.<sup>112</sup> The U.S. command soon placed the "amusement centers" off-limits to military personnel, and the RAA, as an officially sponsored project of the Japanese state, was terminated. In February 1946, Occupation authorities forced the Japanese government to repeal the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes of 1900, the legal basis of licensed prostitution, but not before the Home Ministry made one last attempt to save the system and guarantee the validity of the prostitute's contractual obligation to repay the advance money.<sup>113</sup> A looser system of regulation continued until the enforcement of the Anti-Prostitution Law in 1958.

It is also clear that the Japanese state did not formulate the social management of prostitution and sexuality in isolation. The pre-war Japanese "state" was more than a small body of autonomous elite bureaucrats. The government's partners in regulating prostitution, the brothel keepers, not only assisted officials in articulating a defense of the system but also demonstrated their power to block the reformist efforts of higher civil servants. On the other side, abolitionist groups enjoyed close relationships with high-ranking bureaucrats. In the realm of social and educational policy, there existed seldom-discussed networks of discussion groups and other organizations that brought together higher civil servants, outside experts, and leaders of private associations.

Christians and other moral reformers played particularly prominent roles in this policy-making community. Committed to a small, inexpensive bureaucracy, the interwar Japanese government actively supported and sometimes subsidized the efforts of Christian social work organizations, such as the Salvation Army and

<sup>111</sup> Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 632–33.

<sup>112</sup> Katsuo Ryūzō, cited by Nishi Kiyoko, *Senryōka no Nihon fujin seisaku* (Tokyo, 1985), 111.

<sup>113</sup> Yoshimi, *Baishō no shakaishi*, 196–97; Yamamoto, *Nihon kōshōshi*, 634–37.

the Women's Christian Temperance Union, to run shelters for the poor and rescue missions for ex-prostitutes. Because of their knowledge of the West, Christians were also frequently consulted about social and educational policy innovations abroad. Yamamuro Gumpei of the Salvation Army was, for example, employed by the Home Ministry in 1917 to survey poverty programs in the West.<sup>114</sup> The result was that many progressive Japanese, including social democrats, helped to formulate the state's definitions of orthodoxy and public morality. Indeed, Home Ministry bureaucrats would probably have never contemplated the abolition of licensed prostitution had they not been associated with Christian social reformers. Similarly, the crusade against cafés and dance halls resulted from cooperation between the moral reformers and the state.

The close association between the moral reformers and the state is not surprising. The abolitionists and the bureaucrats of the Home and Education ministries shared a strong commitment to social management, and both groups worried about threats to social cohesion and moral standards. Many have viewed the abolitionists as philosophical liberals because they decried the restrictions placed on prostitutes. Yet their ultimate goal was neither a more humane licensed system nor the liberation of women from sexual double standards but rather the "rectification of morals" (*kyōfū*). For "moral rectification work" to succeed, observed several abolitionists long before the 1930s, the movement needed to cooperate with sympathetic officials to replace licensed prostitution with laws and programs designed to enforce the new moral standards.<sup>115</sup> The WCTU and other Christian groups also avidly participated in the government's periodic moral suasion campaigns, which aimed at cultivating the spirit of thrift, discouraging the purchase of imported luxuries, and eliminating the bad habits of smoking and drinking.<sup>116</sup>

In comparative terms, Japanese moral reformers were hardly alone in embracing state intervention. Yet in few Western nations did antiprostitution movements press for the official repression of illicit sexuality with as little internal dissent or with as profound consequences for state-society relations as in Japan during the 1930s and early 1940s. In France, although evangelical morality societies agitated for the prohibition of extramarital relations in the late nineteenth century, the abolitionist movement remained under the domination of radicals and socialists, who recognized the right of prostitutes to practice their trade, if done discreetly. What these liberal abolitionists most detested were the arbitrary actions of the police and medical establishments in regulating prostitution.<sup>117</sup> In pre-Fascist Italy, another strong bureaucratic state, the abolitionist movement similarly insisted on eliminating governmental intervention in the areas of prostitution and extramarital sexuality.<sup>118</sup> Following the repeal of regulated prostitution in

<sup>114</sup> Sally Ann Hastings, "The Government, the Citizen, and the Creation of a New Sense of Community: Social Welfare, Local Organizations, and Dissent in Tokyo, 1905–1937" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1980), 63–65, 81–82; *Kirisutokyō jimmei jiten*, 1986 edn., s.v. "Yamamuro Gumpei."

<sup>115</sup> Masutomi Masasuke, "Ōkuma naikaku to Kyōfūkai," *Fujin shimpō*, no. 202 (May 1914): 13–14.

<sup>116</sup> For example, "Kokusan aiyo shijō zadankai," *Fujin shimpō*, no. 389 (August 1930): 26–33.

<sup>117</sup> Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 218–20, 226.

<sup>118</sup> Gibson, *Prostitution and the State*, 48–51, 91–92.

Britain in the 1880s, many rank-and-file members of the Ladies' National Association joined vigilance societies and social purity alliances in pressuring the police to crack down on brothel keepers and prostitutes alike. But Josephine Butler and several other repeal leaders soon attacked the social purity movement for abusing the civil liberties of prostitutes.<sup>119</sup>

The experience of purity reformers in the United States most closely resembles that of the Japanese abolitionist movement. Compared to English and French abolitionists, American reformers from the 1880s more readily lobbied governments at various levels to carry out censorship and "the purification of society itself."<sup>120</sup> During the first two decades of the twentieth century, reformers successfully influenced municipal governments to suppress red-light districts in several big cities. At the height of World War I, many female leaders of Progressive movements actively participated in the federal government's repressive campaign to protect soldiers from venereal diseases. Thousands of women found near training camps were detained as suspected prostitutes.<sup>121</sup>

Nonetheless, the statism of the Japan's moral reformers stands out, compared even to the American case. In the United States, the popular hysteria over venereal disease and allegedly promiscuous women was largely confined to the two years of American involvement in World War I, and it did not recur during World War II. Moreover, both before and after World War I, prominent American feminists and liberals criticized the war on vice for targeting the prostitute, not her customers or pimp. Above all, the full consequences of the moral reformers' intolerance in the United States and Britain were tempered by their reliance on relatively weak states that lacked central control over education and the police.

In Japan, on the other hand, moral educators frequently turned to a state that had the capacity to inculcate values and suppress deviance on a nationwide basis. For Japanese reformers, there was a much hazier line between moral suasion and suppression. The abolitionists hoped to teach youth the virtues of chastity and temperance, but in the meantime café waitresses and customers would be arrested and the dance halls shut down. If those Protestant activists who are widely held to have represented the flower of Japanese liberalism before World War II so strongly endorsed the techniques of social management, we must seriously reconsider the conventional portrayal of an autonomous, omnipotent regime that posits a sharp divide between the imperial Japanese state and civil society. Examining the politics of regulating prostitution and illicit sexuality thus offers valuable insights into understanding how many progressive middle-class groups helped shape the state's intervention into the lives of ordinary Japanese before 1945. And it may provide new ways of conceptualizing the relationships between moral reformers and the state in other societies, as well.

<sup>119</sup> Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 245–52; Brian Harrison, "State Intervention and Moral Reform in Nineteenth-Century England," in *Pressures from Without in Early Victorian England*, Patricia Hollis, ed. (London, 1974), 313–14.

<sup>120</sup> Pivar, *Purity Crusade*, 7, 97–98, 210–12.

<sup>121</sup> Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York, 1987), 139–53, 165–83; Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 141–43.



---

## The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising

---

VALERIE A. KIVELSON

ON THE FIRST OF JUNE 1648, IN THE CITY OF MOSCOW, a peaceful crowd of townspeople attempted to hand petitions of grievances to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich Romanov. When their efforts to communicate with their tsar were rebuffed, the supplicants turned into a violent and bloodthirsty mob. Twelve days later, the uprising subsided. Half the city lay in charred ruins, hundreds or even thousands of people had burned to death in the fire, three top advisers to the tsar had been killed by popular demand, and the reigning clique of boyars at court had been temporarily toppled. This toll does not begin to take into account the large number of people who suffered in the repressions that followed.

Through a seemingly insignificant gesture, the refusal of a petition, the tsar and his governing circle exposed their departure, and that of the growing tsarist state, from traditional Muscovite ways. By rejecting the petition, Aleksei Mikhailovich took a dangerous step toward undermining his own authority. From at least the mid-sixteenth century on, Muscovite tsars had based their legitimacy on a carefully developed political-religious ideology that bound tsar and people together in a divinely sanctioned covenant. Aleksei Mikhailovich relied on this traditional foundation for his rule, and yet the demands of state building and contacts with the Western states increasingly overwhelmed the traditional patterns and mores of a political culture based on personal connections and divine mercy.<sup>1</sup> The rebellion of 1648 erupted at a critical moment in Muscovite history, when traditional and bureaucratizing discourses clashed and remade themselves

I would like to thank Edward Keenan for his critical and informed reading of an earlier version and particularly for his help in pointing out problems of source use and translation. Also thanks to Cathy Potter, Nancy Kollmann, Richard Hellie, and the Chicago Russian History Workshop for their many valuable suggestions. The conclusions expressed here remain my own.

<sup>1</sup> I use the term "traditional" throughout to refer to the set of beliefs and practices that had come to be accepted, by the mid-seventeenth century, as traditional and as defining what was distinctively Muscovite. Much of this perceived tradition was of relatively recent origin and much had been deliberately created by the Muscovite political elite, but by 1648 questions of origin were essentially irrelevant, given the broad perception of these traditions as ancient and integral to the culture. On the invention of tradition in Muscovy, see Gustave Alef, "The Adoption of the Muscovite Two-Headed Eagle: A Discordant View," *Speculum*, 41 (1966): 1–21; David B. Miller, "The Coronation of Ivan IV of Moscow," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 15 (1967): 559–74; and Miller, "The Velikie Minei Chetii and the Stepennaia Kniga of Metropolitan Makarii and the Origins of Russian National Consciousness," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, 26 (1979): 263–382; Michael Cherniavsky, "Ivan the Terrible and the Iconography of the Kremlin Cathedral of Archangel Michael," *Russian History*, 2 (1975): 3–28; Paul Bushkovitch, "The Formation of a National Consciousness in Early Modern Russia," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 10 (1986): 355–76.

in opposition to and combination with each other. The words and actions of the various participants in the uprising allow us to establish the outlines of traditional Muscovite political culture, as well as the ways in which a new, bureaucratic culture quietly arose in state circles behind a carefully maintained façade of traditionalism. The conflagration of 1648 was sparked when the effects of innovation could no longer be hidden, and the fierce conflict pitted an old vision of social order against the new.

In this article, I use the term "political culture" to signify the complex of beliefs, expectations, and practices, both consciously formulated and unconsciously followed, that set the limits of what was politically conceivable in the Muscovite cultural context.<sup>2</sup> A single, fairly homogeneous political culture appears to have pervaded the society, from top to bottom, with variations in interpretation or accent but not in basic vocabulary among different classes. Political cultures do not remain static, however, and by the mid-seventeenth century the governing circles in Moscow, facing the need to administer a rapidly expanding state, were developing the forms and assumptions of a very different, impersonal, bureaucratic political culture. In this period, Aleksei Mikhailovich and his governing elite appear ambivalent, their contradictory actions manifesting their simultaneous adherence to two different sets of principles. The populace, by contrast, retained its commitment to the old ways as long as there was any possibility of belief in a good and merciful tsar. Inevitably, each side kept strong elements of the old political culture while adapting in part to the new, but their trajectories diverged. This clash of principles and expectations set the stage for discord.

Violent uprisings frequently shook the towns of the tsardom of Muscovy in the seventeenth century, and the accounts of them provide material for inquiry into popular conceptions of politics. The dramatic events of June 1648 are both representative of the issues and tensions underlying other seventeenth-century rebellions and unique in their timing and intensity. In other urban uprisings, from the riots during the Time of Troubles at the beginning of the century through the musketeers' revolts in 1682 and 1698, rebels expressed anxiety about similar issues: growing bureaucratization, rampant corruption, loss of contact with their tsar, and transgressions against religious norms and ancient customs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For more on political culture, see Keith M. Baker, ed., *The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Oxford, 1987); and my "Community and State: The Political Culture of Seventeenth-Century Muscovy and the Provincial Gentry of the Vladimir-Suzdal' Region" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> For comparison with other uprisings, see S. F. Platonov, *Ocherki po istorii Smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1937); R. G. Skrynnikov, *Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba v russkom gosudarstve v nachale XVII veka* (Leningrad, 1985); Sonia E. Howe, ed., *The False Dmitri: A Russian Romance and Tragedy Described by British Eye-Witnesses, 1604–1612* (1916; rpt. edn., Cambridge, 1972). On riots in other parts of the country in 1648–1650, see E. V. Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia v Rossii v pervoi polovine XVII veka (30–40-e gody)* (Voronezh, 1975); N. N. Pokrovskii, "Sibirskie materialy XVII–XVIII vv. po 'slovu i delu gosudarevu' kak istochnik po istorii obshchestvennogo soznaniia," in *Istochniki po istorii obshchestvennoi mysli i kul'tury epokhi pozdnego feodalizma*, N. N. Pokrovskii, ed. (Novosibirsk, 1988), 24–61; and his "Nachal'nye chelobitnye Tomskogo vosstaniia 1648–1649 gg.," in *Literatura i klassovaia bor'ba epokhi pozdnego feodalizma v Rossii*, E. K. Romodanovskaia, ed. (Novosibirsk, 1987), 70–104; M. N. Tikhomirov, *Pskovskoe vosstanie 1650 g.: Iz istorii klassovoi bor'by v russkom gorode XVII veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935). Grigorii Kotoshikhin's contemporary account of the 1662 Copper Riot duplicates much of the Russian commentary on 1648 almost verbatim. See Benjamin Phillip Uroff, "Grigorii Karpovich Kotoshikhin, *On Russia in the Reign of Alexis Mikhailovich: An*

The 1648 rebellion, however, came at a crucial juncture in the process of Muscovite state building. As the growing Romanov state moved rapidly in the first half of the century to extend and consolidate its authority through a burgeoning bureaucracy and an ever-expanding network of rules, laws, limits, and prohibitions, the people reacted with increasing dismay to the loss of the world they had known. After the disruptions of the 1648 rebellion, the state produced the great new codification and expansion of accumulated laws, the *Ulozhenie* law code of 1649. This document provided the basis for state building for the remainder of the century and served as the fundamental law code in Russia until the nineteenth century. Later rebellions thus occurred in a very different milieu, in which the principles of an absolutist, interventionist state functioned through established, codified laws. In 1648, by contrast, rules were still in flux. The rebels rose up at a time when the old ways were visibly breaking down but the new had not yet been consolidated. Because it occurred at this important moment in the formation of an absolutist state, the uprising of 1648 expresses the conflict of old and new conceptions with force and clarity. It also marks a watershed in popular political perceptions and behaviors.

The 1648 uprising has attracted the interest of both Russian and Western historians, who have investigated its causes, participants, and outcomes. As a topic, Russian rebellions received most attention in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from Marxist scholars interested in demonstrating the intensity of class struggle in Muscovy and from Slavophile polemicists engaged in showing the Russian people's "naïve monarchism," their unshakable faith in their tsar-*batiushka* (little father) even in the midst of rebellion. Historians of both schools have generally explained early modern Russian rebellions as spontaneous, unthinking responses to material conditions and class tensions, with violence bursting forth in sudden, uncontrollable explosions or as the manipulated products of vanguard leadership directing a passive and unthinking population.<sup>4</sup>

---

Annotated Translation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), 187–98; K. V. Bazilevich, *Denezhnaia reforma Alekseia Mikhailovicha i vosstanie v Moskve v 1662 g.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936); V. I. Buganov, *Moskovskoe vosstanie 1662 g.* (Moscow, 1964). The 1682 musketeers' rebellion is different in many ways, since the population had already become accustomed to the new, post-Ulozhenie order, but still many of the same traits recur. See V. I. Buganov, *Moskovskie vosstaniia kontsa XVII veka* (Moscow, 1969); V. I. Buganov, ed., *Vosstanie v Moskve 1682 goda: Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> For discussions of class struggle and material causes, see P. P. Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi i ikh klassovaia bor'ba do serediny XVII veka*, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947–48), 2: 158–95; and his "Chelobitnye dvorian i detei boiarskikh vsekh gorodov v pervoi polovine XVII v., " *Chteniiia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (henceforth, *ChOIDR*), 254 (Moscow, 1915), no. 3: 1–73; Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 21–105; I. L. Andreev, "'Sil'nye liudi' Moskovskogo gosudarstva i bor'ba dvorian s nimi v 20–40-e gody XVII veka," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5 (1990): 77–88. Along somewhat different lines, see Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971); Hans-Joachim Torke, *Die staatsbedingte Gesellschaft im Moskauer Reich: Zar und Zemlja in der altrussischen Herrschaftsverfassung, 1613–1689* (Leiden, 1974); A. Zertsalov, "O miatezhakh v gorode Moskve i v sele Kolomenskom, 1648, 1662, i 1771 gg.," *ChOIDR*, 154 (1890): 1–440.

For a discussion of the Slavophile view, see Daniel Field, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (Boston, 1989), 1–27, esp. 1. See also I. D. Beliaev, *Zemskie sobory na Rusi*, 2d edn. (Moscow, 1902). Interestingly, S. V. Bakhrushin accepts the idea of popular naïve monarchism. See Bakhrushin, "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," in his *Nauchnye trudy*, 4 vols. in 5 (Moscow, 1952–59), 2: 78–79. For rebellion as an outgrowth of boyar leadership, see Bakhrushin, "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," 59–68; Robert O. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 82–106.

Few historians have dignified the rebels as rational beings "whose will and reason constituted the praxis called rebellion."<sup>5</sup> Little attempt has been made to understand the circumstances, logic, consciousness, and deliberate decisions that led Muscovite subjects to choose the path of revolt.

The present study attempts to do just that by investigating the complex relationship between state and society and by placing the material causes for discontent into their ideological and cultural contexts.<sup>6</sup> This relationship involved constant dialogue and unstable rules. I examine the contestatory spaces within the tsar-centered and God-centered political culture in which pious Russian Orthodox subjects could express and legitimize resistance to the tsar. A pervasive perception of the divinely sanctioned status of the tsar operated powerfully on Muscovite political behavior, generally encouraging acceptance of the established order but simultaneously creating a logically and theologically consistent basis for resistance to the crown, especially in the mid-seventeenth century as Muscovite political culture faced profound changes initiated by the court and state administration.

Descriptions of the June events survive mainly in the accounts of foreign visitors and in Russian chronicles, commissioned officially at court and in monasteries or compiled by lesser clerks and clerics and family scribes for private purposes.<sup>7</sup> Judicial records from suits arising in the aftermath of the uprising provide some additional material.<sup>8</sup> A number of collective petitions, submitted in the name of the military servitors, merchants, musketeers, and townspeople,

<sup>5</sup> Ranajit Guha's observation in the context of Indian rebellions, in "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty-Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988), 46–47. My thanks to Edmund Burke III for allowing me to see his unpublished paper, "Reactionary Rebels? Janissaries, Artisans and the Roots of Anti-Modern Protest in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire" (paper presented to the Social Science Seminar, Institute for Advanced Studies, 1990), which is very insightful on this subject. See also Juan R. I. Cole, "Mafia, Mob and Shiism in Iraq: The Rebellion of Ottoman Karbala 1824–1843," *Past and Present*, no. 112 (1986): 112–43.

<sup>6</sup> This approach has not yet been applied specifically to uprisings. Bakhrushin took an important first step in this direction: "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," 78–88. For a general examination of ideology and politics, see Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review*, 45 (1986): 138–48. For a different approach to the intersection between bookish ideology and actual politics, see Daniel Rowland, "Did Russian Literary Ideology Place Any Limits on the Power of the Tsar (1540s–1660s)?" *Russian Review*, 49 (1990): 125–55. For an earlier effort along these lines, see Michael Cherniavsky, "The Old Believers and the New Religion," *Slavic Review*, 25 (1966): 1–39.

<sup>7</sup> More work needs to be done to establish the provenance of each of the various chronicle accounts of the uprising. Of the chronicles used in this analysis, the work called *Novyi letopisets* (New Chronicle) was produced in court circles by official commission, the Mazurinskii chronicle was a product of the patriarchal court under Ioakim and Adrian, and the *Pskovskaia pervaiia letopis'* ("Pskov First Chronicle") probably represents a monastic endeavor. Information on chronicles from A. P. Bogdanov, "Letopisnye i publitsisticheskie istochniki po politicheskoi istorii Rossii kontsa XVII veka" (Candidate dissertation, Moscow, 1983), 2 vols. Thanks to Cathy Potter for this information.

<sup>8</sup> The most convenient and comprehensive collection of source materials is K. V. Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVII v.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936). On the Assembly of the Land, see P. P. Smirnov, "Neskol'ko dokumentov k istorii Sobornago Ulozhen'ia i Zemskago Sobora 1648–1549 godov," *ChOIDR*, 247 (1913), book 4, pt. 4, 1–20. See also V. I. Buganov, "Opisanie moskovskogo vosstaniia 1648 g. v arkhivnom sbornike," *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 3 (1957): 227–30. Available in English are Leo Loewenson, "The Moscow Rising of 1648," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 27 (1948); *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, Samuel H. Baron, ed. and trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1967); Samuel Collins, *The Present State of Russia* (London, 1671), 104–05.

recount the grievances of these middling segments of the Muscovite population.<sup>9</sup> These petitions pose peculiar problems of source study. The one generally accepted as the first petition, submitted on June 2, survives only in a copy smuggled out to Queen Christina of Sweden in a numerical cipher by Karl Pommerening, Swedish representative in Moscow, decoded ineptly by Swedish clerks, and available to the non-Swedish reader in a haphazard Russian translation by K. Iakubov. Fortunately, Heinz Eberhard Ellersieck's doctoral dissertation devotes some space to cracking the original code of Pommerening's missives and revising the Iakubov version.<sup>10</sup> The second petition, presumably that of June 10, 1648, survives in a Russian text discovered by M. V. Shakhmatov in Estonia in the Tartu archives. Some scholars question the identification of this petition as distinct from the Pommerening petition. Linguistic evidence suggests that it may even have passed through the same convoluted Russian-Swedish-Russian translation process as Pommerening's.<sup>11</sup> The two do display striking similarities, but Muscovites routinely copied large segments of previous petitions into later versions, and so the duplication of large sections is not surprising. Significant differences support the argument that Shakhmatov's is indeed the June 10 petition described in other contemporary sources. Although some of the rhetoric and ideological elaboration of the two petitions may have been introduced in translation, many other documents of the time express the same demands and viewpoints, sometimes using precisely the same wording, thus validating the use of the June petitions as representative sources.<sup>12</sup>

SOME CONFUSION REMAINS ABOUT THE PRECISE DATES and sequence of events, but the various accounts agree on the major points. The story of the uprising necessarily begins well before June 1, 1648, with some causes deeply embedded in the social and economic structure and others more immediately located in actions and policies carried out by state officials. Since the end of the previous century,

<sup>9</sup> For the June 2 petition, see Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," nos. 4–5, 50–65; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 46–51; K. I. Iakubov, "Rossiia i Shvetsiia v pervoi polovine XVII veka," *ChOIDR*, 182 (1897), no. 3, pt. 1: i–x, 1–240; 183 (1897), no. 4, pt. 1: 241–88; 184 (1898), no. 1, pt. 1: 289–494. For an English translation of Pommerening's petition, see Richard Hellie, trans. and ed., *Readings for an Introduction to Russian Civilization: Muscovite Society* (Chicago, 1970), 198–205. For the June 10 petition, M. B. Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia 'mira' moskovskago tsariu Alekseiu Mikhailovichu 10. iunia 1648 g.," *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk: Třída filosoficko-historická; Ročník 1933* (Prague, 1934), 1–23.

<sup>10</sup> Heinz Eberhard Ellersieck, "Russia under Aleksei Mikhailovich and Feodor Alekseevich, 1645–1682: The Scandinavian Sources" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955), 6–29, 79–89. For the Scandinavian context of Muscovite politics, see Andrew Lossky, "The Baltic Question, 1679–1689" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1948).

<sup>11</sup> Edward L. Keenan, personal communication, September 28, 1991. A debate continues in the literature about the dating of the various petitions. See Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, 135–36; P. P. Smirnov, "O nachale Ulozheniia i Zemskogo sobora 1648–1649 gg.," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, 47 (1913): 36–66; Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 78.

<sup>12</sup> See esp. "Nakaz Vladimirtsev vybrannomu imi iz svoei sredy dvorianinu . . ." (June 28, 1648), *Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii SSSR* (henceforth, *LOII*), sobranie A. M. Artem'eva, no. 2; V. A. Borisov, *Opisanie goroda Shui i ego okrestnostei* (Moscow, 1851), no. 3: 239–40; Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," nos. 1–3. For close parallels in the 1642 Assembly of the Land, see Iu. V. Got'e, *Akty, k istorii zemskikh soborov* (Moscow, 1902), 51, 54–56. For somewhat later examples, see V. N. Storozhev, "Dva chelobit'ia," *Bibliograficheskii zapiski* (1892), no. 1: 8–15.



gentry landholders, cavalrymen in the tsar's army, had agitated for the abolition of a statute of limitations on the recovery of runaway peasants (which had made it difficult for petty landowners to retrieve peasants hidden on great magnates' estates) and for restrictions on great landowners' ability to kidnap or entice peasants off small estates and onto large ones. Townspeople fostered similar longstanding grievances against boyars and monasteries because of the existence within town limits of tax-exempt "white places," districts owned by great magnates. Taxpaying townspeople resented what they perceived as unfair trade advantages enjoyed by magnates' tenants, artisans, and shopkeepers, who could undersell taxpaying competitors.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to these long-term irritants, discontent in the city of Moscow crystallized around several more immediate issues in the early years of the reign of the young tsar, Aleksei Mikhailovich. In an effort to cut state expenses and build financial reserves, the head of the treasury, Aleksei's brother-in-law and chief adviser Boris Morozov, instigated an austerity policy, which inevitably served the state and its chief officials at the expense of the petty gentry and taxpayers. In compliance with the budget-cutting policy, Petr Trakhaniotov, Morozov's ally and head of one of the provincial regional chancelleries, withheld monetary grants owed to military servitors, particularly to musketeers and other soldiers. Nazarii Chisty, a prosperous merchant serving as a high-level bureaucrat, introduced a number of onerous indirect taxes in 1646. With these two maneuvers, the new regime managed to alienate both military servitors (gentry and musketeers) and the taxpaying townspeople. The administration of Levontii Pleshcheev, another Morozov crony in charge of courts and commerce in the city of Moscow, added yet another irritant. Pleshcheev's malfeasance, excessive even by the standards of the day, provoked angry townspeople to petition the tsar for protection. The rejection of that petition sparked the rebellion.

The commotion began when nineteen-year-old Tsar Aleksei, returning from his annual pilgrimage to the Trinity-St. Sergei Monastery, refused the petitions proffered by his subjects. Violence rapidly ensued. An anonymous Swedish informant wrote:

Meanwhile His Tsarist Majesty . . . returned from [the Trinity Monastery] to the city of Moscow, upon which, as usual, from both sides musketeers [*strel'tsy*] accompanied him and took him to the city. The common people, according to local custom, came out to meet him some distance from the city with bread and salt, with wishes for all good fortune, asked [him] to accept [these gifts] and petitioned about Pleshcheev; however, the crowd was not only not heard out, but the musketeers even chased them away with shots. By order of Morozov, . . . sixteen people from the ranks of the petitioners were put in prison.

When further efforts to submit the petitions met similar refusal, "the people seized stones and sticks and began to throw them at the musketeers."<sup>14</sup> On the day after the initial encounter, when the tsar emerged from the Kremlin to attend church services, a crowd of townspeople pursued him with new petitions, now containing complaints not only against Pleshcheev but also against all "those who

<sup>13</sup> Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, 77–150.

<sup>14</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 53 (Anonymous Swede).

suck out their blood and torture them without cause.”<sup>15</sup> Alarmed when the crowd followed the tsar back from church to the Kremlin and pushed their way in with him, Morozov ordered the musketeers “to lock the Kremlin gates and not to allow anyone in, but they could not carry this out in consequence of the large gathering of people; several thousand people penetrated into the Kremlin square and persistently and with loud shouts demanded a final settlement of their wishes and expressed complaints.”<sup>16</sup> Demands grew to include not only the release of the captives from the day before but also the handing over of Pleshcheev.

Until this point, the uprising involved primarily middle-level members of the taxpaying urban commune of Moscow, artisans, workers, and small traders, from the point of view of tsar and boyars, a threatening but unarmed mass.<sup>17</sup> At this moment, Morozov made his major mistake, turning the armed musketeers from loyal supporters into dangerous opponents. He summoned the musketeers and “ordered them to chase the mutinous crowd out of the Kremlin square and to put down the uprising.”

But the musketeers resisted such an order from Morozov, and some of them went to His Tsarist Majesty and announced that they, according to the oath they carried and their duty, willingly would oblige and serve His Tsarist Majesty and protect him but that they did not want to stand in antagonistic relations with the crowd for the sake of the traitor and tyrant Pleshcheev. Then they turned to address the crowd and said that they had nothing to fear, that they [the musketeers] in this matter would not show them [the crowd] any opposition but, on the contrary, would even extend to them a helping hand.<sup>18</sup>

When the armed forces joined the rebels, their hostile firepower converted a minor expression of discontent into a serious threat to the ruling elite. Together, townspeople and musketeers invaded the sacrosanct walls of the Kremlin, massed in Kremlin Square outside the royal palace, battered and “dishonored” the tsar’s representatives, including religious leaders and the patriarch himself, and forced the tsar to negotiate with them in person. The tsar appealed to the loyalty, piety, and sympathy of the crowd and tried to convince them to spare the lives of his advisers, especially Morozov, “who was like a second father to [him], who had educated and raised him,” “but nothing came of it.”<sup>19</sup> The crowd stood its ground, firm in its resolve to have the heads of Morozov and his most visible partisans.

While the crown temporized, the crowd surged into wealthy districts on destructive rampages, looting and demolishing the homes of hated boyars, bureaucrats, and merchants. They began their pillaging at Boris Morozov’s house within the Kremlin walls and then proceeded to the house of the merchant-chancellor Nazarii Chisty. They found the terrified Chisty cowering in hiding and beat him to death.<sup>20</sup> In their initial assaults, the crowd plundered the homes

<sup>15</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 35 (Pommerening’s account).

<sup>16</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 54 (Anonymous Swede).

<sup>17</sup> Bakhrushin, “Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.,” 68–78. For a survey of the debate on the subject of who participated in the uprising, see Torke, *Die staatsbedingte Gesellschaft*, 229–31. See also Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi*, v. 2, 138–85; Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 62–63, 82–102.

<sup>18</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 54–55 (Anonymous Swede). Richard Hellie informs me that the number of musketeers should be 600, but in Bazilevich’s version it is 6,000.

<sup>19</sup> Baron, *Olearius*, 214; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 57 (Anonymous Swede).

<sup>20</sup> Loewenson, “Moscow Rising of 1648,” 154; Baron, *Olearius*, 209.

of all of their key targets, Morozov, Pleshcheev, Trakhaniotov, as well as "many places of the Great ones, and Russy merchands, who had some relation unto the other, about 36 in number."<sup>21</sup> This dramatic violence persuaded the terrified tsar to send Pleshcheev out into the crowd accompanied by official executioners, "to bee beheaded. But the Commons being extreamely enraged, could not have any patience, but drackd him on the market place, where they cuggelld him so black & blew and with axes they cut him asunder like a fish, the pieces they let lye nacked here & there."<sup>22</sup> Further, some accounts attest, the sovereign "kissed the image of the Savior" and kissed the cross to confirm his promise to banish Morozov and Trakhaniotov from Moscow, "to wherever suits the pleasure of the community [*mir*]."<sup>23</sup> Having gravely sealed this oath, the tsar then stalled in carrying it out. A new development, however, prompted the tsar to make good on his promise: immediately after Pleshcheev's dismemberment, raging fires broke out in many parts of the city. Estimates in both foreign and Russian sources place the number of casualties in the thousands. At least half the city burned to the ground.<sup>24</sup> Rumors, in all likelihood started by the strongest anti-Morozov grouping at court, the Cherkasskii-Romanov faction, flew around the city, asserting that Morozov's men had started the fires to distract the rebels.<sup>25</sup> The deadly blazes, together with the ominous rumors, fueled popular rage. While the city burned, the crowd renewed its demands for Morozov and Trakhaniotov, Pleshcheev's "accomplices" and "protectors." In the face of popular outrage, the sovereign on June 5 ordered Trakhaniotov publicly beheaded. Trakhaniotov escaped the dismemberment that Pleshcheev had suffered, dying instead by the executioner's axe.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, the gentry cavalry militia added its voice to the general protest. Regiments of provincial gentry-servitors had been summoned to the capital from all ends of the country for routine military duty just before the outbreak of violence. The militia contributed a decade of valuable experience in formulating petitions. Indeed, the two petitions that survive from this period claim to represent the gentry, merchants, "and people of all ranks." The placement of the gentry at the head of the list of supplicants, as well as the similarity in both substance and phraseology to earlier gentry petitions, suggests that the gentry formulated the petitions, while the absence of the concrete, particularist demands of previous gentry petitions probably indicates that the petitions were written in

<sup>21</sup> Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 154. The "Pskov First Chronicle" records the names of the owners of many of the houses that were looted and burned. Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 76.

<sup>22</sup> Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 154.

<sup>23</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 74 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library).

<sup>24</sup> The "Leyden Brochure" says 1,700 people died. Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 155; the anonymous Swede says 24,000 homes and 2,000 people perished, in Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 57. All accounts agree that more than half the city burned. Chronicles catalog the specific regions of the city that burned. See Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 36 (Pommerening); 57 (Anonymous Swede); 74 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library); 76 (Pskov First Chronicle); 77 (New Chronicler).

<sup>25</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 74 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library). Another Swede, named Peter Loofeldts, reported more subversive rumors that accused the tsar himself of ordering the fires started. Ellersieck, "Russia under Aleksei Mikhailovich," 326, n. 16, cites Peter Loofeldts, "Initium Monarchia Ruthenicae," Riksarkivet, Manuscriptsamlingen 68.

<sup>26</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 74 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library); 36 (Pommerening). On Trakhaniotov, see also the miracle tale of sin and redemption in Simon Azar'in's "Kniga o chudesakh" (Book of Miracles), in Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 79–81.

genuine consultation with members of other groups. Members of the gentry cavalry did not join in the violence against the tsar but neither did they take arms in defense of their besieged monarch.

With the passive support of the gentry militia, and half the capital in ashes, the now formidable front of discontent forced the ultimate concession. The tsar agreed to exile his brother-in-law from Moscow and promised that neither Morozov nor any member of his clan would ever occupy public office again. On June 12, an armed guard of 400 musketeers and gentry-servitors accompanied Boris Morozov into "perpetual" exile at the distant Kirill-Beloozero Monastery.<sup>27</sup> To all appearances, the rebels had won. All top positions in the Kremlin were reassigned, with the most important jobs going to Nikita Romanov, Prince D. M. Cherkasskii, and others of their circle. Formerly powerful magnates found themselves posted to obscure positions, "sent hither and yon around the country."<sup>28</sup> Taxes were reduced to satisfy the townspeople. A nervous peace settled on the capital. In the months following the initial disturbances, the musketeers and gentry cavalymen, whose salaries were chronically several years in arrears, received not only their salaries but also bonuses in money and liquor from both the tsar and the patriarch.<sup>29</sup> The treasury handed out tens of thousands of rubles. The Service Land Chancellery (Pomestnyi Prikaz) undertook large distributions of land to poor and landless servitors, and the estates and peasants confiscated from Morozov and others during the riots were apportioned among the service classes.<sup>30</sup> In addition to granting material rewards, the state conceded a number of other points raised in the petitions. In response to specific requests made in the later petition, the government called an Assembly of the Land (*zemskii sobor*), that is, an assembly of top churchmen and boyars, along with delegates from the gentry, merchants, and townspeople from the provincial centers.<sup>31</sup> An initial assembly convened in July, soon after the rebellion subsided, but the real business was carried out in a second, broader-based assembly beginning in September of that year. Out of this second assembly emerged the new law code, the *Ulozhenie* of 1649. Among other issues resolved in its many statutes were the heated questions of the statute of limitations on runaway peasants and the tax-exempt status of the magnates' "white places." On both issues, the new legislation satisfied the wishes of the gentry and townspeople, abolishing the statute of limitations and the tax-free zones.

The rebels' victory, however, was incomplete and short-lived. Many of them endured harsh reprisals. In July, a group of boyars' slaves agitated for freedom, for which six were executed and seventy-two arrested. Karl Pommerening

<sup>27</sup> Chistiakova, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 80; Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi*, 2: 195. The Dutch account reports 300 musketeers. Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 156. For the terms of the agreement and the response of the *mir* and all the land, see Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 75 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library).

<sup>28</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 37 (Pommerening).

<sup>29</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 40–42 (Pommerening).

<sup>30</sup> In 1648, Morozov ordered his stewards to return more than 300 peasant families to their owners, but owners of fugitives continued to sue him over the years for the return of many others. Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, 138; D. I. Petrikee, *Krupnoe krepostnoe khoziaistvo XVII v.: Po materialam votchiny boiarina B. I. Morozova* (Leningrad, 1967), 172–75.

<sup>31</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 18–19; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 37–38 (Pommerening).

reported to Queen Christina in his letter of September 19, 1648 that many people, "in spite of the promise of His Tsarist Majesty, were sent away for participating in the past mutiny, although they are charged with selling tobacco, vodka, and so forth."<sup>32</sup> The final blow to the rebels followed scarcely four months after Morozov's banishment. On October 26, Boris Morozov returned to Moscow. Very soon thereafter, Prince Cherkasskii and Nikita Romanov receded from the center of politics, and Morozov and his supporters resumed where they had left off.

Thus to all appearances, the riot of June 1648 only disturbed the equanimity of the Muscovite court and capital briefly. It unleashed great violence, but its limited complaints against a few corrupt individuals, complaints that contained no systemic critique of the existing political order, seemed to pose no lasting threat. By sacrificing a few scapegoats and paying off its debts, the Romanov government apparently succeeded in reasserting the timeless order of traditional Muscovite society and, in time, even reinstated some of the individuals whose rule had sparked the violence. However, the popular discontent that fueled the uprising involved more fundamental issues than the conduct of corrupt individuals or specific taxes and imposts. Intensifying the people's agitation was the clash of a traditional, highly personalized, and theocratic ideological system with a newly arising, impersonal, rationalizing state order.

THE ARGUMENT THAT AN IDEOLOGY OF UNITY AND HARMONY under God and tsar held sway throughout Muscovite society is an old one, but it has been tainted by its affiliation with the mystical and not always scholarly Slavophiles who originally introduced the cliché in their polemics on the Russian soul in the nineteenth century. Recently, a number of Western historians have discovered, upon reading attentively the documents Muscovy itself produced, that the Slavophiles had a point: Muscovy did present itself officially, in literary, visual, and ceremonial representations, as a pious, integrated society, united in serving God's earthly agent, the tsar. Although this ideology could not eliminate pettiness, rivalry, or violence (which is precisely what the Slavophiles asserted it did), it provided the vocabulary for discussing politics and the lens through which politics was viewed at the time.<sup>33</sup> Muscovite writers represented their political world in terms consistent with this theocentric, patrimonial construction, however conflictual or violent the reality. Religious devotion and piety intermeshed inseparably with political loyalty and obedience. The tsar was chosen and anointed by God in his

<sup>32</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 39 (Pommerening).

<sup>33</sup> Recent works that look at the vocabulary and imagery used in Muscovite literature and court ritual include Daniel Rowland, "The Problem of Advice in Muscovite Tales about the Time of Troubles," *Russian History*, 6 (1979): 259–83; and Rowland, "Limits"; Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Paul Bushkovitch, "The Epiphany Ceremony of the Russian Court in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Russian Review*, 49 (1990): 1–18; Robert O. Crummey, "Court Spectacles in Seventeenth-Century Russia," in *Essays in Honor of A. A. Zimin*, Daniel Clarke Waugh, ed. (Columbus, Ohio, 1983), 130–57; Michael S. Flier, "Breaking the Code: The Image of the Tsar in the Muscovite Palm Sunday Ritual," in *Medieval Russian Culture II*, Michael Flier and Daniel Rowland, eds. (forthcoming); and Michael Flier, "The Iconology of Royal Ritual in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," *Byzantine Studies: Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century*, Speros Vyronis, Jr., ed. (New York, 1992), 53–76.



exalted status. With his office, he accepted the responsibility to rule the Orthodox flock in piety, humility, and justice. The 1648 petitions are full of examples of this conception of authority: "God chose Your Sovereign Father of blessed memory and You, Great Sovereign, . . . and entrusted to You, Sovereigns, the tsarist sword for the punishment of evildoers and the praise of the virtuous."<sup>34</sup> Aleksei Mikhailovich himself wrote in a letter just a few years after the riot: "[W]e, the great Tsar, daily pray to the Lord God and His Most Pure Mother and all the saints that the Creator should accord it to us, the great Tsar, and you, the boyars, to be of one mind and rule the people in fairness and justice to everyone."<sup>35</sup>

Surviving source materials consistently indicate that a tsar should rule over his people as a shepherd over his flock, as a stern yet beneficent father, "with threats and mercy," as Tsar Aleksei phrased it in a letter.<sup>36</sup> All interactions with the state, whether legal disputes in court or communications between provincial and central offices, were framed as humble petitions addressed directly to the tsar. Elite servitors of all degrees used demeaning diminutive forms of their own names and called themselves "slaves" of the tsar in their petitions: "I, little Ivashko, Your slave, petition You." Townspeople and peasants addressed the tsar as his "orphans," emphasizing even more the paternal, protective role of the tsar in relation to his helpless children: "We, Your miserable orphans, townspeople of Moscow, petition You." The "naïve monarchist" view finds support in this language of faith and dependency. Yet this interpretation must be accepted cautiously, for formal invocation of the tsar as protector of orphans may prove only that scribes recorded official stock phrases; it does not necessarily reveal any deeply held popular belief.<sup>37</sup>

In general, little evidence survives to test whether or not the ideology discernible in official documents and literary texts held sway over the minds and cultural practices of the various levels of society.<sup>38</sup> The records of mass uprisings, and particularly those of 1648, provide a rare opportunity to see not only how the rebels and the gentry framed demands in formal petitions but also how they acted, how they conducted their protest when open rebellion freed them from any encumbrances of legal, official forms. In words and actions, the uprising demonstrates that the urban taxpayers and gentry petitioners did indeed share many of the assumptions of the political culture of the church and court and had internalized the officially propagated image of the tsar as stern father and pious shepherd. In conformity with these ideas, the protesters repeatedly differentiated in their complaints between their good tsar and his evil advisers, a distinction

<sup>34</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 14.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1907), vol. 3. Translation from V. O. Kliuchevsky, *A Course in Russian History: The 17th Century*, Natalie Duddington, trans. (Chicago, 1968), 346.

<sup>36</sup> Kliuchevsky, *Course in Russian History*, 346.

<sup>37</sup> The phrase "to petition" in Russian carries even more graphic imagery. The words "bit' chelom" mean literally "to beat one's brow [to the ground]," or to kowtow. On formula in Russian petitions, see H. W. Dewey and A. M. Kleimola, "The Petition (Celobitynaja) as an Old Russian Literary Genre," *Slavic and East European Journal*, 14 (1970): 284–301.

<sup>38</sup> Edward Keenan has presented the provocative hypothesis that none of the religious language and imagery of high literary sources had any practical impact on Muscovite politics or ideology, because of a sharp separation of language, personnel, and culture between the religious and secular world. ("Muscovite Political Folkways," esp. 152–54.)

common to the language of rebellion throughout early modern Europe.<sup>39</sup> The June petitions complain about the interference of unscrupulous "powerful people" (*sil'nye liudi*) between tsar and people: "By their destructiveness and greed they are fomenting trouble between You, the Sovereign, and the whole land, and they have almost accomplished this."<sup>40</sup> According to the petitioners, boyars and chancellery officials deliberately obstructed communication: "Because we brought to Your Tsarist Majesty such a righteous complaint [against administrative corruption], these above-mentioned chancellery people and powerful people try with great craftiness and slyness to . . . ruin us, so that before the above-mentioned [complaint] would reach Your Tsarist Majesty's ears, it would be forgotten."<sup>41</sup>

Foreign observers noted the distinction the rebels maintained between the tsar and his advisers. Both the anonymous Swede and Pommerening remark that the musketeers insisted on their continued loyalty to the tsar even as they turned against Morozov: "The musketeers refused to obey Morozov's order to fire on the crowd, saying that 'they recognize only His Tsarist Majesty alone and no other 'favorites.''"<sup>42</sup> Even when the rebellion reached its fiercest pitch, according to foreigners' accounts, the crowd respected certain symbolic limits. Adam Olearius, ambassador to Moscow from the duke of Holstein, heard reports that, while screaming for Morozov's death, pillaging his home, and killing his servants, the people left Morozov's wife, the tsar's sister-in-law, alone. They departed with the none-too-comforting words: "Were you not the sister of the grand princess, we would hack you to bits." The same account reports that after falling upon the hated Pleshcheev and tearing his body to pieces, the crowd cried, "Thus will all such scoundrels and thieves be treated. God preserve His Tsarist Majesty's health for many years!"<sup>43</sup> The people's distinction between tsar and boyars suggests a strong commitment to paternalist monarchism or perhaps the lack of a conceivable alternative.

Emphasizing the crowd's pious devotion to the tsar, one branch of both Western and Russian writing interprets the uprising as a fundamentally conser-

<sup>39</sup> The literature on popular uprisings in Western Europe is enormous. See, for example, Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on Political Violence*, Joseph Bergin, trans. (Manchester, 1987); Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons for Misrule," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975); Christopher Hill, "The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor and Early Stuart Political Thinking," in *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation*, C. H. Carter, ed. (New York, 1965); Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 2d edn. (London, 1973); Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1982); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans*, Mary Feeney, trans. (New York, 1979); E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, no. 50 (1971): 76–136; Robert Forster and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1970); Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); R. J. Holton, "The Crowd in History: Some Problems of Theory and Method," *Social History*, 3: 219–33.

<sup>40</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 15. My thanks to Edward Keenan for his improvements on this translation and others.

<sup>41</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 47; Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 13.

<sup>42</sup> Bakhrushin, "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," 35.

<sup>43</sup> Baron, *Olearius*, 208, 210, 211, 212. Although Olearius himself was not in Moscow at the time of the uprising and must have reported hearsay, I rely on him as a fairly reliable source because of his generally scrupulous reporting and the proximity of his account to other accounts by Western eyewitnesses. See also Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 155.

vative expression of solidarity with the tsar and the social hierarchy, a move to preserve the Orthodox tsardom from the distortions of evil advisers. Even within such an Orthodox, paternalist political culture, however, the tsar was not immune to criticism. Commonality of language and understanding did not guarantee harmony or submissiveness. The rebels' actions expressed an ambiguous message of loyalty and menace, for the same ideological vocabulary that fostered harmony and social integration could also serve as a destabilizing force, turning the urban populace against the tsar himself. The Orthodox community was obliged to correct or even depose the tsar if necessary to restore the divine order as they conceived of it.<sup>44</sup>

BOTH THE REBELS WHO SURGED UNINVITED INTO THE KREMLIN and the more restrained petitioners who took advantage of the regime's moment of weakness to press their demands used the power of the dominant moral discourse to advance their own interests, even going so far as to turn that discourse against the tsar himself. The petitions called for punishment of corrupt officials and "powerful people" by invoking the tsar's accountability to God. "Remember that You, Sovereign, were called to the tsardom by God Himself, not by Your own wish." They drew a direct connection between the uprisings and the tsar's failure to punish the wicked. "And thus today, as a consequence of the fact that Your Tsarist Majesty is so patient, evil people . . . accrue all sorts of advantages and riches from serving on state business, regardless of the fact that through them destruction overtakes the entire people."<sup>45</sup> They hinted at the possibility that the bond between tsar and people might be irrevocably severed by the tsar's toleration of evildoers, who had turned "Your Tsarist Majesty against the people, and the people against Your Tsarist Majesty."<sup>46</sup> They reminded the tsar in no uncertain terms of his oath sworn on the cross at his coronation to protect the poor and weak, and added that his standing in public opinion was suffering: "we hear among all the people moaning and wailing because of the injustices of the powerful people . . . and everyone is weeping to the Sovereign that the Sovereign, they say, does not stand up for us poor people, for the lowborn and the defenseless, having handed over His realm to thievery."<sup>47</sup> With this catalog of faults, the petitioners demonstrated that they found the tsar's performance wanting.

Mutinous townspeople and musketeers supplemented their words with more violent modes of communication, but the message, condemnation of the tsar himself, came across as clearly as in the petitions. The tsar's own actions forced the mutineers to recognize that the fault lay not only with evil boyars but also with the tsar. The uprising began when the tsar or his entourage unexpectedly and inexplicably refused to accept his subjects' petitions.<sup>48</sup> Then the townspeople, in

<sup>44</sup> Rowland, "Limits."

<sup>45</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 48.

<sup>46</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 48.

<sup>47</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 19–20.

<sup>48</sup> Most historians attribute his refusal to his youth and inexperience and say that he was frightened to take the petition. Even if this were true, his sense that he had a choice in the matter indicates a change in general cultural expectations. The sources are unclear about whether the tsar himself

collusion with the musketeers, burst into the Kremlin, the hallowed sanctuary of church and state. That nonverbal action alone demonstrated the mob's willingness to transgress against the supposedly unquestioned sanctity of the tsar. The authorities understood the significance of the intrusion and attempted to circumvent any repetition by devoting the very first chapters of the new law code to asserting and protecting the inviolability of that sacred space.<sup>49</sup> Once in the Kremlin, the crowd manhandled the tsar's emissaries and demanded to speak with the tsar himself. When the popular Nikita Romanov addressed the crowd in the tsar's name and asked them to disperse, Olearius writes, "the people answered that they were very satisfied with His Tsarist Majesty. They wanted very much to quiet down, but not before those responsible for their misery . . . were turned over to them."<sup>50</sup> An implied threat, an alternate scenario of what might happen if the tsar did not satisfy their demands, lay behind this statement.

Relations between tsar and people grew overtly hostile on June 5, when the tsar failed to fulfill his promise to banish Morozov. Again, quoting from the anonymous Swedish account:

the people even rose up openly against the patriarch. *They were prepared to consider even His Tsarist Majesty a traitor at this point*, until they achieved, in accordance with his promise, the exile of Morozov from court and from the city. They [the Muscovites] even decided if His Tsarist Majesty did not decide to do this voluntarily, *to coerce him to this by force*, so that He would have to swear by oath again to send him away the following day, which was done.<sup>51</sup>

The same willingness to condemn the actions of the tsar himself surfaces in Pommerening's notation in July, during the repression in the wake of the uprising: "[the musketeers] dare . . . audaciously to come out against His Tsarist Majesty, pointing out how His Tsarist Majesty, in spite of his promise and oath sworn on the cross, banished their leaders and others."<sup>52</sup> Repeated threats to use

---

refused the petition on June 1 or whether his musketeer bodyguard or even his boyar entourage was responsible. Pommerening says that "His Tsarist Majesty himself did not want to accept the petition" (Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 35). The anonymous Swede is vague on the subject: "not only was the crowd not heard out, but the musketeers even chased them away with shots" (Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 53). It seems unlikely that the musketeers would have taken such an action without orders from above. The Leyden Brochure states: "The Bojates, environing his imperial Majesty, got these petitions, tore ye same not onely into pieces, flung the pieces into the petitioners faces, rayling at them mightilie" (Loewenson, "Moscow Rising of 1648," 153).

<sup>49</sup> Chapter 1 of the *Ulozhenie*, "Blasphemers and Church Troublemakers," protects the sanctity of the church and of church services, highly relevant to the events of 1648 because petitioners followed the tsar to church and back on June 2, after the initial rejection of the petition. Chapter 2 deals explicitly with "The Sovereign's Honor, and How to Safeguard His Royal Well-Being," and Chapter 3 discusses "The Sovereign's Palace Court. [A Law to Ensure] That There Will Be No Misconduct or Fighting by Anyone at the Sovereign's Palace Court." Richard Hellie, ed. and trans., *The Muscovite Law Code (Ulozhenie) of 1649* (Irvine, Calif., 1988-), 1: 1-9. For commentary on precedent and sources of these chapters, see Richard Hellie, "Ulozhenie Commentary," *Russian History*, 15 (1988): 202-22; and his "Commentary on Chapter 3 of the 'Ulozhenie,'" *Russian History*, 17 (1990): 65-70.

<sup>50</sup> Baron, *Olearius*, 210.

<sup>51</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 58-59 (emphasis mine).

<sup>52</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 41. Not only foreign sources testify to this kind of willingness to seek popular justice if the tsar's justice failed. In Pskov in 1664, gentry petitioners threatened "and if the tsar is not merciful, . . . we will gather the Iversk monks and hack them to pieces and destroy the whole monastery." *Akty Iverskogo Sviatozerskogo monastyria* (St. Petersburg, 1878), cols. 356-57; cited in D. A. Vysotskii, "Kollektivnye dvorianskie chelobitnye XVII v. kak istoricheskii istochnik," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 19 (1987), 133.

force against the tsar himself and to view him as a traitor undermine the "naïve monarchist" characterization of the Russian people as unquestioningly and unwaveringly loyal to their tsar. When the behavior of the tsar departed too obviously from his image as divinely ordained protector, an opposing biblical image, Tsar-Tormentor or Tyrant, was available in the cultural repertoire. By the middle of the seventeenth century, sermons, frescoes, and historical tales included this dread alternate image of the ruler. If not the most holy representative of God on earth, the ruler had to be judged a traitor to God and people.<sup>53</sup>

Evidence from court cases prosecuted in the aftermath of the rebellion further supports the notion that the common people saw past the division of guilt inherent in the good tsar/bad advisers rhetoric. The tsar by no means stood above reproach. In a case brought to trial after the uprising, a group of soldiers accused a certain Savinka Korepin, a bondsman of Prince Nikita Romanov, of threatening to renew the "confusion and bloodshed." Witnesses attributed to Korepin the following seditious words: "the tsar is young and stupid, and everything [actually] comes from the mouths of the boyars Boris Ivanovich Morozov and Il'ia Danilovich Miloslavskii. They manage everything and the Sovereign knows this and keeps silent. The devil stole his mind."<sup>54</sup> This radical statement leaves no room for shifting responsibility onto evil advisers. Moreover, the word "stupid" (*glup*) does not sound like a word of praise. If the poor bondsman was still employing the vocabulary of "good tsar, bad advisers" when he called the tsar stupid and said the devil stole his mind, then that ideological gambit had worn thin. The reference to the devil skirts dangerously close to the ultimate accusation against a tsar: not only is he a fool, but his mind is in the hands of Satan.

Muscovite political culture, with its emphasis on consensus, the tsar's direct link to God, obedience, and acceptance of the divine order, would at first glance seem to rule out any culturally legitimate basis for serious opposition to the tsar himself. Yet, as the examples above illustrate, the Muscovite gentry, merchants, musketeers, and townspeople did question the propriety of the tsar's conduct without compromising their standing as loyal subjects and pious Christians. The expectations and alternatives available within Muscovite political culture made the concept of overturning the divinely ordained hierarchy unthinkable. The very sanctity of the divine order, however, gave protesters a set of criteria by which they could judge the tsar and to which they could hold him responsible. The earthly ruler could be overturned to preserve the divinely ordained hierarchy. Protesters derived the force of their critique from the tenets of Orthodox political culture. When armed with a mandate from God, Muscovite rebels possessed almost irrefutable legitimacy.

<sup>53</sup> See Rowland, "Limits," 125–55; Ju. M. Lotman and B. A. Uspenskij, "The Role of Dual Models in the Dynamics of Russian Culture (Up to the End of the Eighteenth Century)," in *The Semiotics of Russian Culture*, Ann Shukman, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984), 3–35. Cherniavsky makes a strong case using this biblical dualism in views of the tsar to explain the intensity of the church schism that divided Russian Orthodoxy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ("Old Believers and the New Religion").

<sup>54</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 87. Bakhrushin examines this evidence and concludes that this description let the sovereign off the hook because of his youth and meekness (humility being a positive trait in an Orthodox ruler), and the blame fell squarely on the evil viziers, Morozov and Miloslavskii. Bakhrushin, "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," 79–81.



Several of the chronicle accounts of the uprising reinforce the legitimacy of the protesters' actions. The chronicles, produced in well-educated circles, whether by chancellery personnel of various levels, monastic writers, or members of the nascent secular literati, describe the uprising in surprisingly sympathetic terms. They accept as true the popular charges against Pleshcheev and repeat without question the popular rumor that Morozov and Trakhaniotov, "by the devil's instruction, sent their bondsmen around all of Moscow and ordered [them] to burn down all of Moscow."<sup>55</sup> Russian chronicles also sanction the crowd's violence metaphorically, by presenting it as a rude but still legitimate way of calling the sovereign's attention to grievances. The "New Chronicler" account, an official product of the court, reports that "the townspeople and various taxpaying people came together to the palace with great impertinence and petitioned the tsar with a cruel petition." Elsewhere, the people are said to approach the tsar with "an impolite petition."<sup>56</sup> Because petitions, together with occasional Assemblies of the Land, provided the only acceptable means of communication between people and tsar, this conceptual equation of the riot with a petition lends the rioters a significant degree of justification. Little if any condemnation of the rebels appears in chronicle accounts. Because of the extreme corruption practiced by Morozov's ruling band and perhaps because of the tsar's egregious violation of norms of behavior in rejecting the petitions, people in high places apparently acknowledged the validity of the rebels' grievances.

The state itself, in an astonishing admission of its own impropriety and the legitimacy of the rebels' actions, exacted almost no direct retribution from the mutineers. Six boyars' slaves who joined the rebellion toward the very end were summarily executed and seventy-two arrested, but otherwise the extant documents make little mention of punishing rebels, at least in the immediate aftermath of the uprising. This silence did not translate, however, into true amnesty for the rebels. Foreign accounts confirm that the state executed, imprisoned, or exiled many musketeers and townspeople in connection with the rebellion, but it did so on trumped-up charges of gaming or illegal sale of tobacco or vodka.<sup>57</sup> In this way, Tsar Aleksei sought to maintain traditional forms. Evidently, he or his inner circle recognized that the rebels had the force of tradition on their side and that he had best mask punishment of the rebels behind fictive charges.

IF THE REBELS FOUND THE LANGUAGE AND JUSTIFICATION for their opposition in the moral cosmology of Russian political culture, the question remains, what exactly precipitated their revolt? The most straightforward explanation takes the content of the townspeople's original complaint as full and sufficient cause for discontent. As one chronicle explains, "All the land petitioned the sovereign about Moscow City Chief [*zemskii sud'ia*] Levontii Stepanovich Pleshcheev, that from him the

<sup>55</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 74, 75 (*Sbornik of the Leningrad Public Library*).

<sup>56</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 77 (*New Chronicler*); *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov*, *Prikaznye dela starykh let*, 1648, d. 60; quoted in Bakhrushin, "Moskovskoe vosstanie 1648 g.," 54. For a discussion of this issue, see Bakhrushin, 79.

<sup>57</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 40 (*Pommerening*).

taxpaying community suffered heavy taxes and they were groundlessly charged with all sorts of robberies and thefts at his, Levontii's, instruction."<sup>58</sup> In other words, corruption and abuses of power precipitated the revolt, at one level. Corruption, in its many ingenious forms, appears over and over again among the people's complaints. In their petitions, they describe bribes, forced gifts, excessive fees, slander, violence, graft, and injustice:

Chancellery officials are inclined to bribery and to craftiness. No one is allowed out of the chancelleries anywhere without paying a fee, and no one anywhere is given the Sovereign's service payment without [officials] taking a cut. Everything is being sold for high prices, and in the towns, because of these chancellery people, the taxpaying community has perished and is currently perishing.<sup>59</sup>

The people themselves, from gentry and merchants to ordinary taxpayers, identified corruption as the immediate cause of their discontent.

Profound corruption was not new in the middle of the seventeenth century, however, and along with the themes of bribery, violence, and extortion, other refrains ring just as loudly through the protests in 1648, refrains that extol a past golden age hallowed by Orthodoxy and Muscovite tradition. Pommerening detected resentment of innovation when he described the Muscovites' desire "to regain their old freedom." Hostility to Western innovation in particular can be heard in Pommerening's report that the rebels demanded the exile of D. Ia. Miloslavskii, the tsar's father-in-law, "because he introduced new taxes and other institutions from Holland."<sup>60</sup> Nostalgia for a purer Orthodox past resounds throughout the petitions. They place the current "radiant sovereign tsar" in his rightful place in the procession of "Orthodox tsars and grand princes in the memory of eternal generations." They remind him that his father "of blessed memory" and he himself in the past had devoted their attention to helping the people with their "stern but merciful hands." They complain of arrogance and presumption, "which of old, under previous sovereigns," did not occur.<sup>61</sup> In their protest, the rebels and petitioners inveighed against changes taking place at a deep and sweeping level: the rise of the bureaucratic state and the concurrent depersonalization of relations with the rulers and representatives of state power.

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, ordinary Muscovites probably had little contact with the state, aside from taxation or required service duties. In the seventeenth century, the state enlarged its aspirations and attempted to control the lives of its subjects to an astonishing degree: new laws itemized the consequences for gambling, brewing liquor, or consulting an herbalist; and a special category of laws regulated what was known in Russia as Sovereign's Word and Deed, that is, any hint of disloyalty to the tsar, including singing an off-color ditty or making an ill-considered remark while drinking in a tavern. Other decrees targeted vagrants, wandering minstrels, free Cossacks, and any others who moved spontaneously about the land in violation of the newly emerging

<sup>58</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 74 (*Sbornik* of the Leningrad Public Library).

<sup>59</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 18.

<sup>60</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 38, 40 (Pommerening).

<sup>61</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 11, 13; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 46 (Petition).

vision of a static social order. Official legislation marks an effort to register these undisciplined groups, tax them, and recast them into one of the officially acknowledged categories of people: peasants, townspeople, or soldiers. Numerous edicts prohibited cavalrymen's sons, townspeople, or musketeers from joining the bureaucracy, thus limiting social movement.<sup>62</sup> A series of decrees bound peasants and townspeople more and more tightly to their tax units. This trend culminated in the *Ulozhenie* of 1649 and the abolition of the statute of limitations on recovering runaway peasants, which established complete enservment in Russia.

At the same time that the state was attempting to force the variegated population into fixed strata, new categories of people cropped up, often undermining traditional notions about the correlation between birthright, occupation, and power. In the past, military service had been exclusively an elite occupation. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, when Muscovite horsemen encountered Western infantrymen, the state introduced conscription from among the peasantry and established "New Formation Regiments" following Western models. Military service became increasingly the domain of the ordinary taxpayers. Provincial gentry, whose poverty left them little enough to distinguish themselves from their own peasants, must have felt this blow to their prestige sharply.<sup>63</sup> Lines of birth and authority grew confused in administrative spheres as well. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a professional bureaucracy developed alongside the traditional, small ruling clique of warrior-lords. The presence of new clerks and state secretaries, people without noble blood yet vested with tremendous authority as agents of the tsar, threw off previous calculations about power and upset the assumptions of the reigning political and social order. The ostentation of such non-noble upstarts aroused indignation, as seen in the ire of the petitions: "Your Sovereign's state secretaries and clerks . . . have bought many estates and have built themselves many houses, masonry palaces and such, which are beyond description, and where they are unworthy to live. In the times of previous sovereigns, of blessed memory, even the great and well-born did not have such homes."<sup>64</sup> Low-born merchants and administrators, such as the unfortunate Nazarii Chisty and his fellow merchant-official Vasilii Shorin, suffered the consequences of popular resentment of the disrupted social order. *Gosti* (leading merchants) and chancellery staff were the chief victims of uprisings all over the country, in 1648 and later.

Along with the new, unfamiliar bureaucrats was a new, unfamiliar system of laws and impersonal, bureaucratic regulation. In earlier centuries, the Muscovite state administration had been negligibly small, but it developed recognizable institutional structures in the sixteenth century and its staff grew ten-fold, from

<sup>62</sup> N. F. Demidova, "Prikaznye liudi XVII v. (sotsial'nyi sostav i istochniki formirovaniia)," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, 90 (1972): 347–52. On social legislation, see Russell Zguta, *Russian Minstrels: A History of the Skomorokhi* (Philadelphia, 1978).

<sup>63</sup> Hellie, *Enservment and Military Change*, 223–25.

<sup>64</sup> Smirnov considers this passage, from a 1642 petition, closer to the original text of the 1648 petition than Pommerening's scrambled Swedish version. Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 4: 53. This same complaint of grandeur above their station is leveled against chancellery personnel in 1642 and against coiners and metalsmiths in 1662; Got'e, *Akty*, 51; Uroff, "Kotoshikhin," 188–89.

hundreds to thousands, in the seventeenth.<sup>65</sup> To facilitate standardization of procedure and centralization of control, the state sponsored the first printing press in Muscovy, under the auspices of the Patriarchal Court. Although the amount of material printed remained small until the time of Peter the Great, the seventeenth century saw the first relatively large-scale printing and dissemination of laws and decrees. The *Ulozhenie* reached all provincial governors' offices; Muscovites of all ranks, with the assistance of the local town square clerk or scribe, were then able to refer to its statutes when writing petitions. Printings of the law code sold out quickly, as not only officials but also individual buyers in the capital and in the provinces purchased their own copies.<sup>66</sup>

The intensification of state intrusion into people's lives was accompanied by a depersonalization of relations with authorities. The 1648 petitioners articulated their unhappiness about this bureaucratization. They complained not only about specific incidents, manifestations, or perpetrators of corruption but also about *volokita*, variously translated as red tape, delays, or bureaucratism. Most strikingly, the petitioners requested local administration of justice, so that men who were pillars of local society could mete out justice on the basis of compassion and understanding, rather than on the basis of inflexible regulations. Since at least 1637, the gentry had been submitting collective petitions advocating the establishment of local courts, staffed by familiar, local judges, who would know their constituencies and administer justice accordingly. In the petition of June 10, 1648, "people of all ranks" repeated this suggestion and requested that the tsar "should order that unjust and incapable judges be removed, and He should choose righteous [people] as judges, whomever God informs Him, or else the Sovereign should place [responsibility] on all ranks of the people, and the people would choose judges among themselves—righteous, reasonable, sober-minded people."<sup>67</sup> They advocated a return to godly justice, administered by judges designated by God through the agency of the tsar, or judges selected by the people, the other receptacle of Orthodox tradition and piety. As an integral part of their proposal for more intimate local justice, the petitioners suggested dismissing the entire boyar bureaucracy. They explained, with specious concern, that "the boyars could much more easily know and direct their household business if they were to give up and renounce Your Tsarist Majesty's judicial and various military matters so that they would not have to burden themselves with such public business."<sup>68</sup> They condemned "all chancellery officials," not just notorious

<sup>65</sup> Demidova, "Prikaznye liudi XVII v.," 347. See also A. A. Zimin, "O slozhenii prikaznoi sistemy na Rusi," *Doklady i soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii (Akademii Nauk)*, 3 (1955): 164–76.

<sup>66</sup> Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 19; S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii XVII veka* (Moscow, 1971).

<sup>67</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 19; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 51 (Petition). For earlier petitions, see also E. D. Stashevskii, *K istorii dvorianskikh chelobitnykh* (Moscow, 1915), prilozhenie 1, 20–21; Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," nos. 1–3; Borisov, *Opisanie*, no. 3: 239–40; Got'e, *Akty*, 55–56. For an English version of the 1637 petition, see Hellie, *Readings*, 167–76, esp. 171.

<sup>68</sup> Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 51 (Petition); Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 20. See also "Nakaz Vladimirtsev" (*LOII*); Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 2.

ones. "And Moscow is the root of all of this terrible graft," states the later petition, implicating the bureaucratic system itself in creating such a web of iniquity.<sup>69</sup>

Although the evidence adduced thus far supports the proposition that impersonal regulation was antithetical to Muscovite political culture, the standard wisdom, that in the midst of the riot the protesters called for an Assembly of the Land to rationalize the disorderly accretion of laws and decrees on the books and to draw up a new law code, would seem to contradict this hypothesis. If the new *Ulozhenie*, that quintessentially bureaucratic document, was produced as a concession to and with the cooperation of the protesters, this would seem to undermine the argument that they held an aversion to the notion of abstract, routinizing rule. Appeals for justice in conformity with written law had appeared in petitions for decades. In the collective petition of 1637, the gentry of various towns asked the tsar to order "us, Your slaves, to be judged in the towns according to Your Sovereign decree, and according to Your Sovereign's legal statute book" (*Ulozhennaia sudebnaia kniga*), here referring to Ivan the Terrible's law code of 1550, a request repeated in another gentry petition in 1641.<sup>70</sup> In their instructions to their delegate to the July 1648 Assembly, the gentry of Vladimir province reiterated the hope that "the Sovereign would establish among us His Sovereign system of justice, and trials would be given to all people equally, whether they were great or insignificant."<sup>71</sup> A memorandum by Prince N. I. Odoevskii, who headed the commission that drafted the *Ulozhenie*, asserts that the delegates to the Assembly of the Land held on July 16 requested "that the Sovereign [should] order to be written up on all sorts of judicial matters a law code [*Sudebnik*] and statute book [*Ulozhennaia kniga*], so that henceforth all matters would be done and decided according to that statute book."<sup>72</sup>

While these calls for justice in accord with written law may sound like the appeals for a standardized and depersonalized system of justice, they must be read with care before their significance can be established. The same 1637 petition, which specifically asks that courts render justice according to the 1550 law code, simultaneously puts forth the request that judges be selected by provincial communities from among their own local notables, a step necessary to save the defenseless gentry from "perishing altogether because of losses inflicted by Moscow bureaucratism." In this context, the 1637 petition sounds a note of hostility to bureaucratic justice and ambivalence toward routinized procedure.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 18. For an earlier expression of the same sentiment, see Got'e, *Akty*, 54.

<sup>70</sup> Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 1, no. 2. For translations of these documents, see Hellie, *Readings*, 171–72, 182–83. See also discussion in Cherepnin, *Zemskie sobory*, 261.

<sup>71</sup> "Nakaz Vladimirtsev" (*LOII*). Their hope was restated in the preamble to the *Ulozhenie*: Hellie, *Muscovite Law Code (Ulozhenie) of 1649*, 1. Muscovites appreciated the merits of "equal justice" but only in the sense that all should be judged according to established procedure. The laws themselves and the sanctions applied were expected to vary according to social standing. See George G. Weickhardt, "Due Process and Equal Justice in the Muscovite Codes," *Russian Review*, 51 (1992): 463–80; Hellie, "Ulozhenie Commentary," 184–85; Daniel H. Kaiser, "Modernization in Old Russian Law," *Russian History*, 6 (1979): 230–42.

<sup>72</sup> Smirnov, "Neskol'ko dokumentov," 6. Two separate Assemblies met in the wake of the uprising, first in July 1648 and then again in September 1648. The latter remained in session for many months while the law code was worked out fully.

<sup>73</sup> Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 1: 39.



Along the same lines, the 1641 petition called for justice in accordance with the law code but asked that it be administered personally "by the tsar and boyars in council," not within the bureaucratically constituted chancelleries. The petition specified that the tsar himself should act as ultimate arbiter.<sup>74</sup>

Upon close reading, the story that the Odoevskii memorandum tells of the origins of the *Ulozhenie* is equally mixed. No evidence survives to suggest that either the rebels or the petitioners ever requested a law code during the uprising itself. They called instead for a public meeting with the tsar at which they could communicate with him and express their woes directly. Foreigners' accounts and the Odoevskii memorandum document this request, which appears fully in the June 10 petition:

If You would have mercy, Sovereign, having heard the weeping of all the people, You would summon to Yourself, Sovereign, Moscow-rank gentry and provincial gentry and petty gentry, and Moscow merchants . . . [of various degrees] and all the people . . . and He, the Sovereign, would question all the people about what graft and violence cause them to groan and weep, and they themselves will tell the Sovereign all about this.<sup>75</sup>

As this passage illustrates, the petitioners called for personal access to their tsar in order to reestablish communication and engage his pious mercy and righteous wrath. They made no mention of a new law code.

A law code was not a stated objective of the uprising at all. The Odoevskii memorandum states that interest in a law code arose not during the rebellion but rather in the course of the first Assembly, which gathered in the Kremlin dining chamber. Attending the Assembly were "the holy Iosif, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and the church hierarchs and boyars and *okol'nichie* [the next rank after boyars] and chancellery people, and also at the Assembly were *stol'niki* [other high-ranking servitors] and Moscow servitors," an assortment of lesser provincial servitors, merchants, foreigners, "and the best people of the urban tax-paying communes."<sup>76</sup> Delegates of middle ranks of the service and urban population proposed the compilation of a statute book. A suggestion raised by a relatively elite gathering, in the intimidating halls of the Kremlin palace, in the immediate presence of the assembled ecclesiastical and secular authorities, seems at most a distant echo of a genuinely popular demand. Even among the provincial gentry, the call for a new law code appears to have developed under the tutelage of the Assembly itself, not to have expressed a wellspring of existing sentiment. In June 1648, when the gentry of Vladimir province instructed their delegate about what he should do at the Assembly, they said nothing about a new law code but rather placed great hopes in unmediated discussion with their sovereign and his boyars. If forthright communication occurred, then "among us, the Sovereign's slaves, friendship and love will be our reward."<sup>77</sup> As the assemblies met, however, the

<sup>74</sup> Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 18–19. For other references to the request, see Smirnov, "Neskol'ko dokumentov," 6; Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 37–38 (Pommerening). For similar emphasis on the importance of direct communication, see "Nakaz Vladimirtsev" (LOII).

<sup>76</sup> Smirnov, "Neskol'ko dokumentov," 6.

<sup>77</sup> "Nakaz Vladimirtsev" (LOII).

delegates found themselves interacting far less with their revered sovereign than with a committee of boyars and bureaucrats who had drafted the new law code.<sup>78</sup>

What the delegates asked for in a new law code and what they ultimately received were worlds apart. The only models of formal law that most Muscovites were familiar with before 1649 were the edicts issued in response to individual cases and the earlier law codes, the *Sudebniki* of 1497 and 1550, which scantily outlined fees and trial procedures. Both previous codes had concentrated on regulating officials and official procedure, stipulating harsh penalties for corrupt judges and other agents of the law. This circumscribed experience with law could scarcely have prepared the petitioners for the new statute book, which differed fundamentally from the previous slim volumes on courtroom conduct. They could not have anticipated the massive, aggressively controlling *Ulozhenie*, a legal code strikingly innovative in its effort to regulate not only judicial procedure but also the conduct of society at large. The *Ulozhenie* answered popular calls for judicial reform, but the end product differed radically from what must have been the initial expectation. As the century progressed, Muscovites of all stripes became increasingly adept at using the bureaucratic and legal system to serve their interests. After 1649, petitioners began to beg for more enforceable regulations and increased state intervention, but in June of 1648, traditional and rationalizing conceptions of law and justice still had little in common. Gentry, merchants, musketeers, and townspeople turned to increased legal regulation only when their more familiar conception of merciful, personal justice proved untenable.<sup>79</sup>

The requests for code-based justice and a new statute book take on a new light if situated within the context of the present examination of Muscovite political culture and especially within the context of the petitioners' desire for personal, local justice. For a decade, petitioners had begged for a reform of the judicial system based on principles of mercy, derived from piety and familiarity. As is evident from the various options repeatedly suggested by exasperated petitioners, they learned through experience and failure. Over time, they had formulated three possible modes of reform for the corrupt legal system. Ideally, the tsar would appoint godly men, according to his divine mandate, who would judge in virtue and piety. When that route failed, as seen in the appointment of scoundrels such as Pleshcheev and Trakhaniotov, petitioners proposed that the tsar allow local selection of upstanding men to judge according to personal standards of mercy and righteousness. When for ten years that proposal garnered no response from the Kremlin, petitioners fell back on the third option, the only one

<sup>78</sup> On *zemskie sobory*, see A. I. Zaozerskii, "Zemskie sobory," in V. V. Kallash, ed., *Tri veka: Rossiia ot Smuty do nashego vremeni; Istoricheskii sbornik*, 6 vols. (Moscow, 1912), 1: 115–62; L. V. Cherepnin, *Zemskie sobory russkogo gosudarstva v XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1978); Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 1–11; I. I. Ditiatin, *Rol' chelobitnii i zemskikh soborov v upravlenii Moskovskogo gosudarstva* (Rostov-on-Don, 1905), 39–43; Smirnov, *Posadskie liudi*, vol. 2, 158–250; Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change*, esp. 137–40; V. O. Kliuchevskii, "Sostav predstavitel'stva na zemskikh soborakh drevnei Rusi," *Sochineniia v deviat' tomakh*, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1987–1990), 8: 277–374; Kliuchevsky, *Course in Russian History*, 142–53.

<sup>79</sup> Vysotskii, "Kollektivnye dvorianskie chelobitnye XVII v.," 125–38; A. A. Novosel'skii, "Kollektivnye dvorianskie chelobit'ia po voprosam mezhevanii i opisaniia zemel' v 80–kh godakh XVII v.," *Uchenye zapiski Instituta istorii RANION*, 4 (1929): 103–08; and Novosel'skii, "Pobegi krest'ian i kholopov i ikh sysk v Moskovskom gosudarstve vtoroi poloviny XVII veka," *Trudy Instituta istorii RANION*, 1 (1926): 325–54.

appearing to hold out any hope for reform: legal regulation of the tsar's officials. Petitioners and Assembly delegates made this concession to the new bureaucratic culture in a contradictory fashion, embedding it in the old language of divine mercy and piety. Their requests for justice by code sprang from the perceived breakdown of traditional norms and practices and a hesitant realization of the need to rein in the tsar's oppressive, irresponsible deputies. The events of 1648 marked a watershed in legal and political perceptions. The petitioners, like the state authorities, found themselves at a juncture between two political cultures and torn between the two.

A FINAL LOOK AT THE INCIDENT that triggered the 1648 uprising proves particularly revealing. With tensions high in the capital, the townspeople paraded out to welcome their pious tsar back from his annual pilgrimage. They also offered him petitions, along with their hopes that his personal mercy would intercede between them and bureaucratic red tape and corruption and would set everything to rights. Tsar Aleksei's unexpected refusal to take the petitions and the consequent disappointed faith in the tsar ignited the mob's violent response. The Moscow townspeople, who called themselves his "orphans" in petitions, had been acting on the well-defined conception of the fatherly role of the tsar and became enraged when the tsar did not fulfill his assigned role. They took seriously the divine contract that bound them to obey the tsar and obligated the tsar, in turn, to protect and defend them. When the monarch spurned his subjects' petitions and failed to respond with mercy and understanding to their legitimate grievances, those subjects, now truly orphaned, rebelled. In both the June 2 and 10 petitions, submitted after the tsar's initial act of rejection, the people harped on that sore point, reminding him that in the past, both he and his father before him "with Your awesome hand [*strashnoiū svoeiu rukoiū*] took care of us with gracious charity . . . You personally [*sami*] took our bloody-teared petitions from us" and listened to them and acted on them.<sup>80</sup> In their violent rebellion, the people protested that the tsar no longer played his role as refuge of last resort, as intercessor on behalf of the "poor, lowly, and defenseless" of his realm. The new law code of 1649 formalized this radical revision of traditional norms: chapter 10, article 20 states that people must submit their petitions to the appropriate official in whichever chancellery held jurisdiction in the case, not to the tsar. If someone attempted to by-pass this new, classically bureaucratic procedure and handed a petition to the sovereign himself without first petitioning the chancellery, the code stipulated: "punish such petitioners for that; beat [them] with bastinadoes."<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Shakhmatov, "Chelobitnaia," 12; Smirnov, "Chelobitnye," no. 4. See also Bazilevich, *Gorodskie vosstaniia*, 46 (Petition).

<sup>81</sup> Hellie, *Muscovite Law Code (Ulozhenie) of 1649*, chap. 10, art. 20, p. 27. Similarly, chap. 1, arts. 8 and 9, forbid the handing of petitions to the tsar or patriarch during church services. Until 1767, the sovereign still remained available as an avenue of appeal after the grievance had passed through proper channels. The refusal of petitions triggered the 1648 Tomsk uprising and also figured prominently in complaints leveled against Patriarch Nikon. On Tomsk, see Pokrovskii, "Nachal'nye chelobitnye," and "Sibirskie materialy," esp. 48. On Nikon, see Cathy J. Potter, "The Russian Church

These words, like the sovereign's actions, starkly summarize the changes in progress. By spurning the proffered appeals, the tsar had eloquently demonstrated that he had little interest in preserving the traditional image of a merciful ruler extending his personal protection to his people. The act reverberated with significance: the age of personal intercession had given way to the age of the law code and the civil servant. The Muscovite populace was right in suspecting that people at the top were betraying their traditional ways. A new form of authority had entered the corridors of the Kremlin, while the public still responded to authority as traditionally conceived, as the earthly incarnation of a moral, divine cosmology.

---

and the Politics of Reform in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1993), chaps. 3–4.

Labor History and Its Challenges:  
Confessions of a Latin Americanist

---

CHARLES BERGQUIST

ASKED TO PLACE THE TWO ACCOMPANYING ARTICLES on Latin American labor history in the broad context of the field, I began reflecting on what may first appear as a paradox. On the one hand, the world labor movement is arguably at its lowest ebb in this century. Rates of unionization, to take one important index, have been declining in many capitalist countries, most significantly in the United States, where union density today stands at roughly 16 percent of the nonagricultural labor force, down from about 29 percent as recently as 1975 and only half of the all-time high of 1953, when it reached 32 percent.<sup>1</sup> The collapse of the so-called “workers’ states” of Eastern Europe, especially the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself, has involved far more than the elimination of the Soviet bloc and the end of the Cold War. Ideologically, it has placed socialist goals and Marxist philosophy itself decidedly on the defensive.<sup>2</sup> For more than a century, Marxist socialism inspired much of the world labor movement and informed, or deeply influenced, much of the scholarship on labor, especially the field of labor history. Now, however, neo-liberalism, not Marxism, is the philosophy that is sweeping the globe. In the “new world order” of free trade and privatization, market forces are to unleash the productive potential of all human beings and sweep away inefficiencies of the bureaucratic, interventionist, social welfare state. In this new world, unions, the subject of traditional labor history, have no theoretical or practical place.

On the other hand, as this extraordinary historical transformation has been unfolding, Western Marxists have been fashioning a large body of innovative work on labor that ranks among the best scholarship of recent decades. Most historians, regardless of specialization, are aware of the contributions of British labor scholar Edward Palmer Thompson.<sup>3</sup> His work, in some sense a response to the Stalinist revelations of the 1950s, influenced a generation of Western social and labor historians. They have focused on the experience of unorganized as well

<sup>1</sup> David Brody, “The Enduring Labor Movement: A Job-Conscious Perspective,” *Working Papers in Comparative Labor History*, no. 1 (July 1992), Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The magnitude of the crisis of the Marxist Left in Latin America is revealed in two remarkable and moving recent books by long-time labor scholars and activists: Francisco C. Weffort, *Qual democracia?* (São Paulo, 1992); and Nicolás Buenaventura, *¿Qué pasó, camarada?* (Bogotá, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963).



as organized workers, incorporated study of workers' private, family, and community life into the story of labor's public activities, shifted the focus of labor history from economics and politics to the social and cultural spheres, and complicated the traditional preoccupation of labor historians with issues of class by emphasizing ethnic and gender perspectives. The quantity and quality of this "new" labor history shows no signs of abating. Recent studies in U.S. labor history, for example, have been showered with prizes by the historical profession.<sup>4</sup> And in my own field, Latin America, labor history has been judged to have "come of age," its conceptual and methodological contributions worthy of emulation by historians working in otherwise far more developed fields.<sup>5</sup>

The paradox is, of course, artificial, and it is easily explained. Labor historians have always empathized with the democratic struggles of working people.<sup>6</sup> In the post-World War II era, however, their optimism about the progressive gains made by organized labor in this century gave way to growing appreciation of the ways those advances were being distorted and even subverted in capitalist and socialist societies alike. By the 1960s, they had turned their historical attention to questions of "what went wrong," "what might have been," or "what still could be." As they did so, they challenged traditional labor history in ways that have implications far beyond that field. It can be argued, in fact, that these challenges contain within them clues to a new, post-Cold War democratic politics, one capable of confronting the ideology of neo-liberalism and its claim that the interests of capitalists are coterminous with the interests of humanity.

Generally speaking, the new social and labor history, as commonly understood in the profession, has not had this political effect. Its concern with the working majority in society and its claim to write history "from the bottom up" have been largely depoliticized and painlessly incorporated into mainstream liberal textbooks and the basic guides and syntheses distributed by the American Historical Association.<sup>7</sup> The challenges to traditional labor history to which I refer are more specific than this, and they are not well known outside the specialized field of labor history. The four sketched here—I will call them the challenges of control,

<sup>4</sup> Alex Keyssar, *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1986); Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> George Reid Andrews, "Latin American Workers," *Journal of Social History*, 21 (1987): 311–26; Emilia Viotti Da Costa, "Experience versus Structures: New Tendencies in the History of Labor and the Working Class in Latin America—What Do We Gain? What Do We Lose?" *International Labor and Working Class History*, 36 (Fall 1989): 3–24. See also the responses to Viotti Da Costa's essay in the same issue of *ILWCH* by Barbara Weinstein, Perry Anderson, Hobart A. Spalding, and June Nash. For an idea of the quantity of recent work on Latin American labor, see the bibliographies compiled by John D. French in 1989 and distributed as typescripts by the Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, Miami: "Latin American Labor Studies: An Interim Bibliography of Non-English Publications"; and "Latin American Labor Studies: A Bibliography of English Publications through 1989."

<sup>6</sup> By democratic, I mean greater participation in, and control over, decisions about production, reproduction, and distribution by the majority in society.

<sup>7</sup> Latin American labor history is an exception to this generalization. The best of the "new" labor history keeps questions of national political power at center stage. See, for example, the recent studies by Daniel James, *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976* (Cambridge, 1988); John D. French, *The Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yaurur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York, 1986); and Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Lead as Equals: Rural Protest and Political Consciousness in Chinandega, Nicaragua, 1912–1979* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

gender, globalism, and postmodernism—are in some sense interrelated and mutually reinforcing, and each bears on the question of constructing a democratic politics for the future. I subtitle these reflections “Confessions of a Latin Americanist,” because, like our colleagues in other fields of labor history, Latin Americanists have failed to realize and convey the full implications of these challenges for reconceptualizing labor history, for revitalizing the labor movement, and for constructing a viable democratic politics in the world today.

*Control.* This challenge emphasizes the centrality of the struggle between capitalists and workers over control of the labor process. Harry Braverman discussed this issue in powerful Marxist philosophical and theoretical terms in 1974. Following Marx, he argued that the ability to do purposeful, meaningful work is what defines us as human beings. Capitalist organization of production, he claimed, progressively shatters the unity of conceptualizing tasks and executing them, the unity of mind and hand. It then subdivides tasks into their simplest components, substituting cheap unskilled labor (often women or children) for skilled. Braverman argued that this dehumanizing process, inherent in capitalism, was no less characteristic of the Soviet organization of production, which had incorporated these principles in its effort to match Western standards of productivity.<sup>8</sup>

Labor historians have used the concept of control to fundamentally revise our understanding of worker protest in nineteenth-century Europe. It now appears more as resistance to proletarianization and loss of control over the labor process than it does, as orthodox Marxists would have it, a consequence of either.<sup>9</sup> Focus on the issue of control has also led to a radical recasting of the meaning of workers’ struggles in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>10</sup> This same perspective has demonstrated the similarities of the organization of production in industrial capitalist and socialist societies and probed the ways in which authoritarian factory regimes in both induce worker consent.<sup>11</sup>

Yet the full revisionist potential of the issue of control for labor studies is far from realized, and its importance for contemporary labor politics can hardly be overemphasized. Focus on the struggle for control over the work process blurs the conceptual categories that have customarily defined labor studies. Following Marx, labor history has traditionally defined its subject as the industrial proletariat, propertyless wage workers in manufacturing industry. Control issues force us to question the supreme utility of distinctions among workers based on access to

<sup>8</sup> Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capitalism: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, in addition to Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Most notably in the works of David Montgomery, *Workers’ Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles* (Cambridge, 1979); and *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (Cambridge, 1987). A marvelous case study of control issues is contained in Paul Krause’s analysis of labor’s struggle at the Carnegie-owned Homestead steelworks, *The Battle for Homestead, 1880–1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* (Pittsburgh, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production: Factory Regimes under Capitalism and Socialism* (London, 1985).

property. They ask us to rethink the usefulness of the binary opposites that structure traditional labor history—of free versus coerced labor, urban versus rural labor, industrial versus agrarian labor. The drive for control links motives and goals of artisans, so-called “peasants,” small producers, blue-collar and white-collar workers; it helps historians make theoretical sense, for example, of the remarkable unity of rural workers across property divisions documented by Lawrence Goodwyn in his study of Populism in the United States.<sup>12</sup> Students of Latin American labor have likewise documented the unity of workers’ struggles across these conventional dichotomies,<sup>13</sup> but they have yet to develop the issue of control to explain phenomena as diverse as the persistence and competitiveness of smallholder production in agriculture and the explosive contemporary development of the “informal” economy in urban areas.<sup>14</sup> Ideologically, emphasis on the issue of control subverts the normative bias against rural, preindustrial, “traditional” workers or “peasants” that informs much liberal and Marxist labor history.<sup>15</sup> Politically, control issues provide a labor perspective on the crisis and demise of the socialist experiments of this century. They also offer democratic concepts to recast current debates, dominated by neo-liberal assumptions, over productivity and international competitiveness. Control issues can thus contribute to a rethinking within the labor movement of how to construct a viable coalition politics (both domestic and international) able to contest the neo-liberal logic of the capitalist market in the world today.

*Gender.* Propelled by the development of the women’s movement and women’s studies programs in Europe and the United States in recent decades, work on gender calls into question the dichotomous privileging of production over reproduction and the public over the private in traditional labor history. In focusing almost exclusively on work in the formal economy of patriarchal societies, and on the public expressions of workers’ experience, consciousness, and action, traditional labor history effectively defined itself as men’s history. In marginalizing women, it virtually eliminated half its subject matter and deprived itself of crucial tools for analyzing some of its most important—and vexing—problems. These tools include the function of households in mediating conflicts between productive and reproductive imperatives, and the role of the family and the community in investing individual experience with collective meanings. Finally, gender perspectives yield patterns for analysis (such as the ebb and flow

<sup>12</sup> Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York, 1976).

<sup>13</sup> For example, Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru’s Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines* (New York, 1979).

<sup>14</sup> Clues for this kind of analysis of smallholder production can be found in Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); and Nola Reinhardt, *Our Daily Bread: The Peasant Question and Family Farming in the Colombian Andes* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988). The voluminous literature on the informal economy largely obscures the issue of control. See, for example, Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells, and Lauren A. Benton, eds., *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries* (Baltimore, Md., 1989).

<sup>15</sup> Although he often celebrated worker resistance to capitalist imperatives, the influential United States labor and social historian Herbert G. Gutman was very much under the influence of this liberal modernization theory paradigm. See his *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976). For a corrective, see James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

of women's participation in the industrial labor force) that cut across the periodization schemes of traditional labor history.<sup>16</sup>

But the issues posed by gender analysis for traditional labor history do not end here. As Joan Wallach Scott has demonstrated so convincingly, male historians, even the likes of E. P. Thompson himself, have often projected onto workers' actions gendered understandings that distort historical evidence. And historical evidence itself, even the seemingly "hard" data of, for instance, an industrial census, may be invested with gender perspectives that confuse categories of workers and their conditions of work.

The promise of gender analysis in labor history has been easier to articulate than to practice, however, and it is revealing that, for the most part, application of these ideas has been the work of women. Moreover, both promise and reality are far more developed in European and U.S. scholarship than in Latin American studies, where historians have been slow to follow the lead of social scientists working on contemporary issues.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of the power of gender perspectives in addressing the traditional concerns of labor history—and providing clues to a democratic politics for the future—is the study of the intersection of work place and community mobilization.<sup>18</sup> Latin Americanists have long grasped the importance of these issues in the mining enclaves and company towns of the region, but there are no historical studies emphasizing the role of gender in articulating union and community mobilization in cities. As Latin American social scientists have demonstrated, it is just this confluence of productive and reproductive issues that explains the phenomenal growth and political success of the Worker's Party in Brazil, an anomaly, to say the least, in the generally grim world of labor politics today.<sup>19</sup>

*Globalism.* This term refers to the interconnectedness of labor and its struggles in a world capitalist system. Emanating from theories of capitalist development pioneered by Latin Americanists in the post-World War II era, globalism questions the definition of labor history as solely the experience of workers in manufacturing since the advent of industrial capitalism in the late eighteenth century. It posits instead a definition that encompasses the experience of workers since the beginning of the capitalist transformation of the whole modern era (1500 to the present). Globalism thus challenges the definition of labor history as a simple story of free wage workers who emerge first in Europe, arguing instead that their history is inextricably bound up with that of coerced labor in Europe's colonies. In the era of industrial capitalism itself, this perspective questions the

<sup>16</sup> Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); Mari Jo Buhle, "Gender and Labor History," in J. Carroll Moody and Alice Kessler-Harris, eds., *Perspectives on American Labor History: The Problems of Synthesis* (DeKalb, Ill., 1989); Viotti Da Costa, "Experience versus Structures."

<sup>17</sup> This social science literature is synthesized in June Nash, "Gender Issues in Latin American Labor," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 36 (Fall 1989): 44–50.

<sup>18</sup> A fine example is Elizabeth Faue's study of labor struggles in Minneapolis, *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991).

<sup>19</sup> Gay Willcox Seidman, "Labor and Community Mobilization in Contemporary Brazil and South Africa," forthcoming, University of California Press; Sonia E. Alvarez, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); Margaret E. Keck, *The Workers' Party and Democratization in Brazil* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

idea of a labor history focused on the industrial working class in geographical regions such as Latin America whose primary function in the liberal international division of labor was to produce primary agricultural and mineral commodities for export. In the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, workers in export production played a primary role in the making of labor movements outside the industrial core of the world economy.<sup>20</sup>

The promise of this approach to labor history is far from realized. It is nevertheless clear that the integration of world manufacturing production under the aegis of multinational corporations in recent decades and growing pressure for the liberalization of international trade and investment (on a world or regional basis) will impel labor historians, like the labor movement itself, to forge analytical concepts, and informational and organizational networks, that transcend their traditional focus on the nation-state. The two accompanying articles on Latin American labor in this issue of the *AHR* illustrate this trend and reveal the rich analytical possibilities of this kind of research. Jonathan Brown shows how the racism of U.S. workers and Thomas O'Brien how U.S. corporate visions deeply influenced the nature and outcome of workers' struggles in Mexico and Cuba in the early twentieth century. The international dimensions of these two case studies are obvious and straightforward—they flow directly from the reality of U.S. foreign investment in Latin America. It is a measure of the parochialism of traditional labor history that, as both authors rightly point out, studies of this kind are still so rare.

Less obvious are the ways in which thinking about labor in global terms raises fundamental theoretical and interpretive questions. For example, labor-based theories of economic development—particularly the idea that in a world of relative capital mobility and labor immobility, trade between high-wage and low-wage economies is inherently unequal—challenge both classical liberal and Marxist assumptions and need to be tested through historical analysis.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to the ethnocentric cultural assumptions (and covert racism) that pervade much scholarly and popular understanding of American history, it is the legacy of coerced versus free labor that seems best to explain the divergent development of the European colonies of this hemisphere.<sup>22</sup> Lenin notwithstanding, the origins of imperialism, and of the global expansion of capitalism generally, may have their primary locus in the democratic struggles of working people.<sup>23</sup> The contemporary debate among European historians over the concept and timing of the Industrial Revolution, which turns on the notion that long before the late

<sup>20</sup> Here I will cite my own work, which can serve as a guide to that of many others: "Latin American History in World Perspective," in Georg G. Iggers and Harold T. Parker, eds., *International Handbook of Historical Studies: Contemporary Research and Theory* (Westbrook, Conn., 1979), 371–86; *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); "Latin American Labor History in Comparative Perspective," *Labour/Le Travail*, 25 (Spring 1990): 189–98.

<sup>21</sup> Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* (New York, 1972).

<sup>22</sup> Despite a formal commitment to liberal development theory, Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), provides much information and analysis to support this argument. See especially chaps. 15 and 16.

<sup>23</sup> I try to make this case for the United States in "The Social Origins of U.S. Imperialism, or, Linking Labor and LaFeber," in David M. McCreery, ed., *Latin American Labor History*, forthcoming, University of Alabama Press.



eighteenth century, Western Europe experienced a "proto-industrialization," including the proletarianization of labor, has developed as though the Atlantic trading system, built on coerced labor, virtually did not exist.<sup>24</sup> Labor historians could find inspiration to participate in this debate in the classic 1944 study by Caribbean scholar Eric Williams. Williams found the origins of British capitalism in slavery, and although his specific arguments have been much revised and amended, his initial vision remains remarkably intact.<sup>25</sup> To establish the links between the development of free labor in Europe and the history of labor degradation in the Third World is more than an exercise in establishing historical truth. Ideologically, it undermines the cultural chauvinism and racism that continue to divide world labor.

*Postmodernism.* "Historical truth" is a notion discordant with the postmodern assumptions that today challenge traditional labor history. Postmodernism deconstructs discourse to reveal the historically contingent, the contextual, the constructed, indeed, the autobiographical nature of all knowledge. For historians, these are not new ideas in themselves; in fact, they form the core of our disciplinary logic.<sup>26</sup> But many postmodernists carry historicism to the point of denying the possibility of knowing in any universal sense. More specifically, they deny the assumption of progress, including democratic progress, embedded in both of the "master narratives," liberalism and Marxism, that emerged out of the nineteenth-century European experience with industrialization. Not surprisingly, labor historians, whose field lies at the core of these master narratives, are often extremely chary of postmodernism and its implications.<sup>27</sup>

Clearly, however, postmodernism can have a democratic face. Its emphasis on discourse can be employed to discover and decenter the social bias in hegemonic discourse and legitimize understandings of the past generated by groups of the oppressed—workers, women, non-Westerners, ethnic and religious minorities, and gays. But to the extent that it denies the possibility that some stories about the past might be "better" or "truer" than others, postmodernism creates seemingly insoluble problems for a politics of the oppressed. What one otherwise sympathetic historian called the "terrifying relativist consequences" of postmodern assumptions<sup>28</sup> seem to lead to a politics and a history of unmediated, selfish group interest.

That some stories about the past prove to be "better" or "truer" over time than others may be clearer to historians of the Third World than it is to historians in the developed West. The experience of the oppressed reveals more starkly the reality of exploitative social relations than does the experience of their oppressors. Whose story about slavery proved, over time, to be accepted as truer? That of the

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Charles Tilly's synthesis, "Flows of Capital and Forms of Industry in Europe, 1500–1900," *Theory and Society*, 12 (March 1983): 123–42.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944); Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge, 1987).

<sup>26</sup> John Toews, "'Historicizing': Is the Historical Turn in the Human Sciences History's Turn?" typescript, May 1992; Charles Bergquist, "In the Name of History," *Latin American Research Review*, 25 (1990): 156–76.

<sup>27</sup> Bryan Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 54.

slave or the slaveowner? Whose story about European colonialism? In this sense, the history of the modern world is one of democratic progress. Will the fate of women's story about patriarchy be different? Or that of labor's story about capitalism or about the socialism we have known?

All of the challenges I have described work to democratize traditional labor history by exposing its urban, male, Eurocentric bias. As they decenter labor history, and question the binary opposites that have been used to define it, they mirror postmodern precepts. But the labor history described here need not renounce the idea of democratic progress in the modern world. In fact, it can provide essential elements for the renewal of democratic struggle.

Democratic struggle will prove futile, however, unless it challenges the other notion of progress embedded in the master narratives of the past, the idea of unlimited economic growth. Capitalism's great virtue, its awesome capacity to expand economic production and consumption, is also its great defect. Capitalism's health depends on expansion. And economic expansion (which, for all its human benefits, has always entailed great social and environmental costs) now obviously threatens our collective health and that of the planet itself. Clearly, the issues of production and consumption have different meanings for the developed and underdeveloped societies of the world and for the privileged and underprivileged classes within them. But as long as returns to labor are predicated solely on the logic of economic productivity and we continue to define human progress as ever greater consumption of material things, struggles for greater social equity and responsible environmental policy in a world of infinite capital mobility are destined to failure.

The history of workers' struggle for control over the way they work is replete with clues to a different, more democratic and sustainable, vision of human progress. Historically, workers have mixed labor and leisure and have resisted the fragmentation of production and speed-ups that capitalists pursue in the name of productivity and competitiveness. They have aspired to do a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay"—enough of each to allow them to enjoy and control other aspects of their lives. They have found satisfaction in the fruits of their labor and in doing a job "right." That for too long these attitudes were associated with free, white, laboring men need not deter us from recognizing their universal, democratic, and timely significance for the politics of working people today.

---

The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Cuba

---

THOMAS F. O'BRIEN

HENRY W. CATLIN OF GENERAL ELECTRIC arrived in Cuba in 1922, on a revolutionary mission. Armed with \$8 million from a G.E. subsidiary, Catlin acquired most of Cuba's primitive electrical generating network within eighteen months. Sweeping in behind Catlin came accountants and engineers, the troops of the United States' second industrial revolution. Within a few short years, they transformed the island's generating plants into a modern power network and revamped the work relations of their Cuban labor force. Working and middle-class resistance to these changes generated a wave of popular protest that swept G.E. into the vortex of the Cuban Revolution of 1933.

As American corporations set up businesses in every part of the globe at the beginning of this century, they triggered responses that had profound and far-reaching effects on the societies they encountered. Despite an increasingly rich historiography on the rise of modern American corporations, our understanding of their encounters with Third World societies remains rudimentary. Historians have previously traced many of the forces in American society that shaped multinational enterprises. Business and social historians have examined the organizational and technological revolutions that forged these corporations, worker resistance to rationalization of the workplace, and the emergence of the new professional classes as mediators between labor and capital. Studies of multinational corporations have enhanced our understanding of the forces that propelled them overseas and of the corporate culture they carried with them. Yet, aside from structuralist studies of economic development, we know little about the interaction between American multinationals and the societies in which they functioned.

This study of the G.E. experience in Cuba addresses some of the basic issues surrounding the effects of globalizing American corporations. It explores the salient features of the culture these companies carried with them and the responses of the Cuban working and middle classes to the activities of a business

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my colleagues at the University of Houston, Professors John Hart, Steven Mintz, and Susan Kellogg, whose insightful comments greatly enhanced the quality of this essay. I also wish to thank the scholars and editors who read the manuscript for the *AHR*. Carleen Gage and Mike Swenson of the Boise Cascade Corporation shared their special knowledge of the Electric Bond and Share Archive with me and provided a wonderful working environment. Research for the article was made possible through a Limited-Grant-in-Aid from the University of Houston for 1990.

firm that epitomized American corporate culture. It then measures the effects of those responses on the course of Cuban history, seeking to enhance our understanding of corporate America's global impact.

GENERAL ELECTRIC'S CUBAN INVESTMENTS represented the finely honed edge of a transformation that had radically altered American society at the turn of the century. G.E. captured within its corporate structure the technological and social changes that reshaped the American workplace and American society. At the end of the nineteenth century, the chemical, metal, and electrical industries dramatically altered work in the United States, reshaping the mechanisms of production as well as the role of the worker and laying the foundations for the first modern industrial society.

By the mid-1870s, North America's first industrial revolution faced a severe crisis due to a general depression of prices, which persisted almost until the end of the century. At the same time, the wages of both skilled workers and laborers rose, trapping industrialists between declining prices and rising labor costs. The problem proved intractable because of the high degree of control that American workers exercised over the production process. Inside contractors and foremen, who exercised a broad range of authority in their areas, formed yet another barrier to direct employer control, even in industries in which skilled workers did not play a dominant role.

Faced with a labor force that resisted pay reductions, speed-ups, and reorganization of the work process, industrialists by the 1890s had launched a multifaceted program to cope with the problem. New machinery and the scientific study of work methods removed control of much of the production process from workers, whose skilled activities were increasingly divided into distinct functions. These changes homogenized labor, deskilling workers and converting craftsmen into machine tenders.<sup>1</sup> In response to growing resistance to these changes, corporate reformers initiated industrial relations programs. These used a combination of welfare benefits, recognition of organized labor, pay incentives, and "joint control" policies, in an effort to transform workers into efficient factors of production. Eventually, the reformers even penetrated the homes of their employees in an attempt to encourage the work ethic and stamp out vice and radical ideas.

Engineers and accountants played a pivotal role in this process. Engineers dissected labor functions so they could be replicated by the new generation of machines being designed. Accountants developed new quantitative techniques

<sup>1</sup> On the emergence of modern corporations and changes in the workplace, see Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Naomi R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (New York, 1985); Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974); David Montgomery, *Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles* (New York, 1979); Dan Clawson, *Bureaucracy and the Labor Process: The Transformation of U.S. Industry, 1860-1920* (New York, 1980); David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1982).

that gave corporations enhanced control over human and material inputs. In addition to revamping the shop floor, these new professionals initiated an organizational revolution. They reshaped the internal management structures of American companies into a series of distinct, but integrated, functional departments, managed by individuals selected on the basis of objective criteria. The professional middle-class and corporate leaders shared the belief that an open competitive environment with routinized paths of personal achievement would perfect individual humans as instruments of production. This American corporate culture spread beyond the workplace and the board room to reach virtually every sector of American society. The home and school served as important training grounds for disciplined laborers. New techniques of marketing and merchandising offered commodified forms of entertainment as alternatives to less acceptable pastimes such as drinking and shaped a consumer society to absorb the deluge of products generated by the second industrial revolution. American corporate reformers soon carried their new technologies, social relations, and values beyond their own shores.<sup>2</sup>

At the turn of the century, American companies entered on a global mission that promised to bring to other countries the material production and industrial welfare programs of the second industrial revolution. Their corporate culture also contained the powerful vision of a society grounded in individual freedom, opportunity, and achievement. At the same time, it imposed rigorous requirements for corporate control of the workplace and promoted individual ambition and consumerism in place of community-based relations and values. Influenced by "scientific" racism, corporate reformers operated on the assumption that American corporate culture would improve societies populated by inherently inferior human beings. Whatever its flaws and contradictions, North American corporate culture had a profound effect on Latin America as the United States rapidly became the dominant foreign economic power in the region.

Technological advances, new forms of corporate organization, and advanced marketing techniques provided American corporations with advantages that encouraged them to compete in the world market. Depending on the type of corporation, efforts to circumvent tariff barriers or improve access to raw materials played critical roles in propelling these companies into overseas investment. For science-based industries, the need to protect technology provided another powerful motive for direct foreign investment. Although exploiting technological advantages on the world market enhanced corporate revenues, it also raised the danger of appropriation of that technology by foreign competitors. This danger often led companies to create subsidiaries directly controlled by the parent firm. As a leader in one such industry, G.E. came to typify an emergent North American corporate culture.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On the new professionals and American corporate culture, see Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1976); David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977); Pat Walker, ed., *Between Labor and Capital* (Boston, 1979). For an interesting example of corporate reformism, see John J. Rumbarger, *Profits, Power, and Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1800–1930* (Albany, N.Y., 1989).

<sup>3</sup> On the history of American multinationals, see Mira Wilkins, *The Emergence of Multinational*



ITS FOUNDERS CREATED THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY in 1892 as a direct result of the problems inherent in the commodification of scientific knowledge. At that time, two of the three leading firms in the electrical equipment industry, Thomson-Houston and Edison General Electric, held important patents critical to the other's development. As a result, neither firm could make new product advances without running the risk of patent infringement and resulting costly lawsuits. This impasse led to the merger of the two firms to form General Electric. In turn, G.E., and its principal competitor, Westinghouse, reached a patent-pooling agreement in 1896, which allowed them to fend off challenges from new entrants into the electrical manufacturing industry. This same control of scientific knowledge played a role in G.E.'s overseas expansion.<sup>4</sup>

By 1919, G.E. had established a significant presence in the international economy, with plants on four continents and holdings in a number of overseas affiliates. During the 1920s, the company pursued a policy of buying into every major foreign electric corporation. G.E.'s efforts served three purposes. They allowed the company to stabilize markets and concentrate on research, enforce patents through its affiliates, and reduce its risks through international diversification. In Latin America, pursuit of these goals led G.E. to assume an importance that exceeded agreements with affiliates or shares in foreign companies.<sup>5</sup>

Latin America represented an inviting opportunity to G.E. in the early decades of the twentieth century. The region's poorly funded utility companies employed primitive technology in the rapidly changing business of electrical power. G.E. began acquiring Latin American power companies through its wholly owned subsidiary the Electric Bond and Share Company, or EBASCO. In 1923, the growth of EBASCO's overseas interests prompted the creation of the American and Foreign Power Company, or AFP, to control EBASCO's foreign holdings. By 1930, AFP had invested \$500 million in eleven Latin American countries.<sup>6</sup> G.E. maintained direct control over EBASCO and AFP's management positions and directorships and also financed their development. As a direct extension of G.E., AFP was the means of conveying not only the technology but also a wide range of systems and values of American corporate culture to Latin America.<sup>7</sup>

---

*Enterprise: American Business Abroad from the Colonial Era to 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), and *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York, 1982). For theoretical treatments of multinational development, see Peter Hertner and Geoffrey Jones, eds., *Multinationals: Theory and History* (Brookfield, Vt., 1986); and Alan M. Rugman, ed., *New Theories of the Multinational Enterprise* (New York, 1982). Dudley Maynard Phelps' *Migration of Industry to South America* (New York, 1936) provides some candid observations about business perspectives on race. For Latin American responses to Americanization, see J. F. Normano, *The Struggle for South America, Economy and Ideology* (Boston, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> Noble, *America by Design*, 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkins, *Emergence of Multinational Enterprise*, 93-96; *Maturing of Multinational Enterprise*, 65-68, 131-33.

<sup>6</sup> "American & Foreign Power Company Inc., History of the Company," 1944, Box 145445, 1-36, Electric Bond and Share Company Archive, Boise Cascade Corporation, Boise, Idaho (hereafter, EBASCO).

<sup>7</sup> Henry Leslie Robinson, "American and Foreign Power Company in Latin America: A Case Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1967), 21-22; Sidney Alexander Mitchell, S. Z. Mitchell and the *Electrical Industry* (New York, 1960), 62-71.

The same year that Henry Catlin began acquiring Cuban electric companies, Gerard Swope assumed the presidency of G.E. An engineer, Swope proved instrumental in introducing modern management practices, including industrial relations programs at G.E. Swope also marketed a wide range of consumer products, which, by the end of the 1920s, accounted for half of G.E.'s business.<sup>8</sup> The influence of modern corporate reformers also appeared among AFP's directors. With the National City Bank serving as one of G.E.'s principal financial backers, the bank's president, Charles E. Mitchell, became a director of AFP. Mitchell's presence represented more than a confirmation of close financial ties. Like Swope, he was an ardent proponent of modern management techniques, expounding on the value of statistical analysis in controlling corporate operations. He, too, served as an architect of the new consumer society, helping to create a consumer market for National City's banking services and securities.<sup>9</sup> Frank A. Vanderlip, a former president of National City Bank, articulated the values and goals of these corporate reformers in the international sphere.

Vanderlip, an outspoken and influential corporate reformer, considered Latin America the most promising field for American overseas investment. At the same time, he looked on Cuba as an example of the successful imposition of a temporary U.S. protectorate to reform a Latin American society incapable of governing itself. He firmly believed that corporate reformers could make over such societies. Indeed, if given time, he concluded, "we would revolutionize the world."<sup>10</sup> G.E.'s overseas operations became a concrete expression of such views on the inferiority of foreign cultures and faith in the ability of American companies to improve the material conditions and transform the values of such societies.

Cuba's small, undercapitalized electric companies offered an inviting opportunity in a highly favorable environment for American investment. The war for independence and the policies of the American occupation government had bankrupted much of the old planter class. In their place emerged a political-business elite that owed its status to positions in an American-dominated state and to close ties with U.S. investors.<sup>11</sup> Although operating in this accommodating environment and offering attractive material incentives for change, American companies encountered considerable resistance from the Cuban working and middle classes. These Cuban responses grew out of earlier rural and urban experiences with capitalist rationalization, particularly as it was conveyed to the island by American sugar companies.

After the turn of the century, rural communities and subsistence producers in eastern Cuba found themselves being displaced by rapidly expanding North

<sup>8</sup> "Two Decades of General Electric Leadership," 1940, 3, 6–8, Marvyn Scudder Financial Record Collection, Columbia University, Graduate School of Business, New York; Noble, *America by Design*, 279.

<sup>9</sup> Charles E. Mitchell correspondence, Frank A. Vanderlip Papers, Columbia University, Butler Library, New York; Harold van B. Cleveland and Thomas F. Huertas, *Citibank, 1812–1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 87, 113.

<sup>10</sup> Frank A. Vanderlip to John Rufi, March 15, 1917; Vanderlip to John Sharp Williams, May 16, 1918, Vanderlip Papers.

<sup>11</sup> Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902–1934* (Pittsburgh, 1986), 62–77, 139–48.

American-owned sugar estates. After futile attempts to defend their lands through court actions and appeals to politicians, many residents of Oriente province threw their backing to a wave of social banditry in 1917. As rural resistance to the consolidation of landholding mounted, unrest also developed among industrial workers.<sup>12</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cuban workers actively engaged in strikes for higher wages and union recognition. Yet unionization efforts proved weak and ephemeral, in part because much of Cuba's work force consisted of immigrant, often temporary, laborers. Cuban workers had long found themselves displaced in the national employment market by Spaniards, Chinese, and other immigrants.<sup>13</sup> Cuban workers reacted to displacement with nationalistic fervor. This experience inspired a mutually shared concern with the middle class. As early as 1902, calls by the tobacco workers' Liga General de Trabajadores Cubanos for full national independence and an end to exploitation of Cubans by foreign corporations found support among both working and middle-class Cubans. This nationalist theme reemerged as a part of renewed labor activity after World War I.<sup>14</sup>

A wave of labor actions swept the island between 1919 and 1920. Over the next five years, labor leaders held two national labor congresses and formed a national labor federation. A number of factors contributed to their success. By 1919, a rising national birthrate and a decline in Spanish immigration allowed Cubans to expand their position in some of the most desirable job categories, providing a more coherent base for the labor movement. A soaring cost of living fueled labor actions for increased wages and benefits. Efforts to rationalize the workplace prompted calls for worker control along with these more customary demands.<sup>15</sup>

Anarchosindicalists became the dominant influence in the labor movement, as capitalist rationalization of the Cuban economy threatened the workers' still considerable control in the workplace. Workers turned to direct action in order to defend the length of the work day and the pace of their labors within it. The growing role of American corporations brought them into increasing conflict with labor and members of the middle class over the issues of displacement and rationalization.

Unskilled Cuban workers faced displacement when North American sugar companies in 1912 promoted the first government decree allowing Haitian and Jamaican immigration. In 1919 alone, 34,000 West Indians arrived; within ten years, they constituted one-third of the work force in the island's sugar cane fields. Most skilled Cuban workers did not find their jobs taken by Americans or West

<sup>12</sup> Robert B. Hoernal, "Sugar and Social Change in Oriente, Cuba, 1898–1946," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 8 (1976): 219–23, 239–41; and Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Lords of the Mountain: Social Banditry and Peasant Protest in Cuba, 1878–1918* (Pittsburgh, 1989), chaps. 1 and 7.

<sup>13</sup> José Rivero Muñiz, *El movimiento obrero durante la primera intervención* (1899–1902) (Havana, 1961); Olga Cabrera, *El movimiento obrero cubano en 1920* (Havana, 1970); Hobart Spalding, Jr., "The Workers; Struggle: 1850–1961," *Cuba Review*, 4 (July 1974): 3–10; Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York, 1988), 201–05, 241–44.

<sup>14</sup> Rivero Muñiz, *El movimiento obrero*, 79, 91–93, 107, 202–05, 217.

<sup>15</sup> Instituto de Historia del Movimiento Comunista y de la Revolución Socialista de Cuba, *El movimiento obrero cubano: Documentos y artículos*, tomo 1 (1865–1925) (Havana, 1975), 177–98; Cabrera, *El movimiento obrero*, 45–98; Pérez, *Cuba*, 241–443.

Indians, but they did find their cultural values and job knowledge called into question and subordinated to the expertise of American engineers.<sup>16</sup>

As U.S. investment in Cuba soared to over \$1 billion in the early 1920s, and American corporations captured effective control of Cuba's sugar, mining, and transportation industries, direct labor conflict with American corporations intensified. Between 1919 and 1924, Havana port workers and sugar workers in the eastern provinces struck against American companies over issues of wages and workers' control. The national labor congresses of the 1920s called for higher wages and preferential treatment for Cuban workers, denouncing "American imperialism." The issues of worker control and wages merged with earlier concerns about control of Cuba's labor market to form a nationalist agenda that had a strong appeal among the middle class.<sup>17</sup>

At the beginning of the 1920s, the Cuban middle class had not yet been subjected to the full impact of the professionalization that had swept North American society. The use of family and personal ties to secure white-collar positions still played a central role in Cuban corporations. Such practices clashed directly with the emphasis in American companies on rationalization of management functions. Cubans who did possess the necessary professional credentials for white-collar positions found themselves shunted aside in favor of North Americans or subordinated to them within the managerial hierarchy. Such concerns over displacement and subordination evoked support from the middle class for the Cuban working class.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1920s, middle and working-class Cubans who came into conflict with American corporate culture shared a common nationalist theme that gave them a legitimizing symbol. As the newly formed Communist Party with its national political ambitions replaced the abstentionist anarchosindicalists as the leading force in the labor movement, it sought to build on this coalescence of middle and working-class interests. In 1925, the Communist Anti-imperialist League argued that "Cuba should be for Cubans. This does not mean hate *foreigners*; it means hate *foreign capital*, which disregards the needs of merchants, of *colonos*, of workers, of employees."<sup>19</sup>

Yet this type of coalition did not pervade Cuban society. It tended to develop among skilled workers and middle-class professionals who still occupied comparable positions in the social and economic hierarchy. These two groups allied most

<sup>16</sup> Roberto Branly, *MINAZ-608: Coloquios en el despegue* (Havana, 1973), 57; Andrés García Suárez, *Los fundidores relatan su historia* (Havana, 1975), 18; Cabrera, *El movimiento obrero*, 36–37; Pérez, *Cuba*, 204.

<sup>17</sup> On U.S. investment, see Oscar Pino-Santos, *El asalto a Cuba por la oligarquía financiera yanqui* (Havana, 1973), 36, 76. For examples of workers' control, see García Suárez, *Los fundidores*, 7–12; John Dumoulin, *Azúcar y lucha de clases, 1917* (Havana, 1980), 59. On the port workers' struggle, see Boaz Long to secretary of state, Havana, February 10, 1920; Philander L. Caben to secretary of state, Havana, December 6, 1921, roll 58, General Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Cuba 1910–1929, Record Group 59, microfilm series, M-488, U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, RG 59, USNA). The sugar workers' demands and their significance are discussed in *Facts about Sugar*, December 6, 1924.

<sup>18</sup> Salvador Morales, Gloria García, María Sánchez, *Matahambre: Empresa y movimiento obrero* (Havana, 1971), 50; Ana Núñez Machín, comp., *Memoria amarga del azúcar* (Havana, 1981), 62–63; Branly, *MINAZ*, 66; Mirta Rosell, ed., *Luchas obreras contra Machado* (Havana, 1973), 44–45, 62.

<sup>19</sup> Rosell, *Luchas obreras contra Machado*, 108.

frequently in industries or segments of industries in which the introduction of the new technologies, work systems, and management methods was most intense. North American owners effected such changes in their sugar mills and mining operations in eastern Cuba. But the Americans carried out their most pervasive and intense changes in the science-based electrical services industry.

IN THE CUBAN ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY, many of the informal managerial and work practices that had once characterized North American companies still persisted. The control of the work process remained largely in the hands of workers and managers who operated with a considerable degree of independence. AFP's accountants found these managerial and labor systems effective, but they also viewed them as a barrier to a comprehensive system of scientific management. That perspective clearly emerged in their discussion of the *Compañía de Electricidad de Cárdenas*:

There were included in the organization two functionaries called *mayordomos*. Their duties were hard to define but among other things they disbursed considerable amounts in cash for account of the company . . . There was no system for purchasing and the various chiefs of departments made purchases as they felt the need for them and had the bills sent to the office or paid them out of pocket and collected from the company. The *mayordomos* and chiefs of departments were necessarily persons of integrity and enjoying the confidence of their employers but the system was open to abuse and so deeply infixed that it was found very difficult to break.<sup>20</sup>

The auditors expressed even greater distress over the Cuban companies' customer billing systems. At the Cienfuegos Light and Power Company, customer billings ran a month in arrears. The system placed considerable control in the hands of the meter readers and collectors, who could easily cover up the delinquent bill of a friend or relative, and it left the collectors idle for as much as a week each month. AFP personnel set about diligently redesigning the system to ensure timeliness, accountability, and the elimination of the free time of the collectors. These changes prompted considerable resistance from the Cuban employees. As the accountants noted: "This procedure had become so firmly fixed in the minds of the local office employees that it took months of intensive hammering to change it. However, by changing the meter reading date, installing some up-to-date office machines and thoroughly drilling employees, all billings in the future will be completed no later than the last day of each current month."<sup>21</sup>

Far more than office machinery was being introduced into the Cuban power system. Only two years after Henry Catlin began his acquisitions, AFP had already invested over \$4 million in equipment and construction in Cuba. By 1932, AFP had committed over \$100 million to its Cuban operations. This renovation of the Cuban power system involved massive increases in its power-generating and transmission capacity. The latest equipment streamed in from the United States,

<sup>20</sup> "Report on Examination: *Compañía de Electricidad de Cárdenas S.A.*," January 31, 1923, Box 143116, EBASCO.

<sup>21</sup> "Report on Examination: The Cienfuegos Electric Light and Power Company," January 31, 1923, Box 143219, EBASCO.





Baseball players for AFP's Havana Electric Company subsidiary celebrating the traditional "first pitch." Competitive team sports formed an important part of AFP's efforts to Americanize its workers. Source: *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), December 17, 1933 (the Library of Congress holds copies of this newspaper).

and at each step along the way, every effort was made to mechanize systems. By automating its substations, AFP could replace full-time operators with part-time inspectors and thereby cut its operating costs in half. In 1926, the company began to mechanize the coal handling and crushing equipment at its main power plant in Havana.<sup>22</sup> In addition to saving labor, automation helped underwrite a response to worker discontent.

Company managers responded to worker resistance with the offer of material rewards for better work. By improving productivity, managers reduced labor costs and passed part of the savings on to workers. In 1926, when a \$1.00 a day minimum wage remained an unfulfilled goal of the Cuban labor movement, common laborers at G.E. plants earned \$2.48 for eight hours' work. The company also promoted the idea of a work force composed of ambitious individuals loyal to the company. It published a monthly employee magazine, formed an employee social club and athletic teams, and offered self-improvement classes. But high pay and educational courses did not prove to be synonymous with respect.<sup>23</sup> Despite

<sup>22</sup> "Havana Report," March 2, 1926, Box 147071, EBASCO; Louis Banigan to William Phillips, acting secretary of state, December 6, 1933, 837.6463 Electric Bond & Share Co. (hereafter, EB&S)/11, General Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Cuba, 1930–1939, Record Group 59, USNA.

<sup>23</sup> "Havana Report," Box 147071, EBASCO; "Compania Cubana de Electricidad, General Review

the G.E. managers' considerable efforts to create a more disciplined and better-paid work force, their long-term attitudes still reflected the American businessmen's low opinion of foreign cultures. Automation not only reduced labor costs, it also reduced the company's dependence on local workers, who were, from the managers' viewpoint, "rather excitable by nature and therefore did not make high class station operators."<sup>24</sup>

For the health of AFP's Cuban investments, change could not stop with internal management procedures and workplace relations. AFP management had to rapidly widen and deepen the Cuban market in order for the company to generate sufficient revenues from its massive investments in capacity. The electrification of industry, normally a mainstay of power companies, provided only a partial answer since sugar, Cuba's premier industry, operated on a seasonal basis. For AFP to prosper, Cubans had to become consumers of electrical appliances. Gerard Swope's drive to create a consumer market for G.E.'s products provided the solution. AFP introduced the latest in American marketing techniques, including mass advertising campaigns. Each AFP subsidiary operated its own store, in which employees, working on commission, pressed upon the Cuban public every conceivable electrical appliance from radios to washing machines. Time payment schemes allowed consumers to purchase the items with down payments that often did not even equal the salesperson's commission.<sup>25</sup>

While attempting to infuse Cuban society with American corporate culture, AFP also incorporated Cuban powerbrokers into the new order. In 1923, Henry Catlin acquired the *Compañía Cubana de Electricidad* in Santa Clara. As was customary in these takeovers, Catlin served as president of the company. General Gerardo Machado, the former owner of the firm, served as vice-president. Machado, an influential local politician and businessman, received \$500,000 from AFP to finance his successful presidential campaign in 1924.<sup>26</sup> When President Machado visited the United States in 1925 and 1927, he was accompanied by his good friend Henry Catlin, greeted by the highest-ranking government officials, and toasted at banquets hosted by AFP and National City Bank officials.<sup>27</sup> The close relationship with Machado proved most beneficial for AFP.

Gerardo Machado's policies, which repressed labor and encouraged foreign investment, benefited American businesses throughout the island. But Machado reserved special attention for the G.E. subsidiary. AFP had encountered consid-

---

of Company Affairs," January 16, 1933 (hereafter, "*Compania Cubana, 1933*"), Box 147068, EBASCO.

<sup>24</sup> "Havana Report," Box 147071, EBASCO.

<sup>25</sup> "Memorandum to Frank D. Mahoney, Vice President, *Cia. Cubana de Electricidad*," New York, October 19, 1932, Box 142197, EBASCO.

<sup>26</sup> On the company's payments to Machado, see Carleton Beals, *The Crime of Cuba* (Philadelphia, 1933), 242. The AFP records make no direct mention of contributions to the Machado campaign, but as of December 1924, Catlin had expended \$8,200,000. Of this sum, he lumped \$650,000 under the heading of "Cuban Investigation Expenses," a sum that the company's attorneys later concluded "could not be justified as part of depreciable property in the property acquisitions to which they relate." E. R. Gilpin to Cowden Evans, New York, April 13, 1938, Box 144339, EBASCO.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917-1960* (New York, 1960), 115; Jules Robert Benjamin, *The United States and Cuba: Hegemony and Dependent Development, 1880-1934* (Pittsburgh, 1974), 50-51; *Facts about Sugar*, April 30, 1927.

erable problems in most of its Latin American operations because local officials impeded the creation of rights-of-way for the construction of power lines. With Machado in power, however, local government officials made every effort to accommodate the company. As Machado later assured Henry Catlin, he always looked after Catlin's business interests "as if they were my own."<sup>28</sup> Yet the company's close ties to Machado and other Cuban politicians contributed to the outbreak of consumer protest against AFP.

Electrical rates in Cuba ranged between 15 and 17 cents per kilowatt, or about twice the rates prevailing in major American cities. These rates remained in effect during the first three decades of the twentieth century, despite the tremendous strides made in productivity. Higher costs in Cuba stemmed in part from a poor load factor. In electrical generation, optimum load factor refers to a power plant operating at maximum capacity, thereby reducing its production costs. Given the relatively low level of industrialization and the seasonality of sugar grinding in Cuba, AFP generated most of its output for lighting purposes, a source of demand that suffered from sharp daily fluctuations. As a result, the company achieved maximum usage for only about one hour every day. Yet, even given the problem of load factor, Cuban electrical rates were excessive.<sup>29</sup> AFP's purchase of political influence was a hidden cost contributing to those excessive rates.

By 1931, the national and local governments of Cuba owed AFP \$7 million in unpaid bills. Local politicians and other influential Cubans owed the company another \$1.7 million. But action against the municipalities would bring legal problems, and public exposure of free service to prominent individuals would trigger a populist outcry. Instead, the company assumed the position that its high rates resulted from insufficient usage by customers in outlying areas. The actual problem of load factor became an excuse to cover up the high cost of AFP subsidies to influential political figures.<sup>30</sup> Eventually, these difficulties sparked a consumer rebellion in which Gerardo Machado gamely defended the interests of the company. AFP's 250,000 Cuban customers became increasingly disenchanted with the company's high rates during the decade of the 1920s. Periodically, groups or entire communities boycotted the firm's services. Because rates had been set under contracts with municipalities, local governments began passing rate reduction resolutions. Between 1922 and 1929, Cuban municipalities passed forty-six such resolutions, only to have them vetoed by President Machado. When the municipalities appealed to the Supreme Court, the Machado-appointed court consistently rejected their appeals.<sup>31</sup>

Economic pressures soon intensified the struggle between AFP and its customers. As the Great Depression cast its shadow across the world economy, the gross earnings of AFP's Cuban operations fell from \$18 million in 1929 to \$12 million

<sup>28</sup> Rosell, *Luchas obreras contra Machado*, 175; Robinson, "American and Foreign Power," 35; "Havana Report," Box 147071, EBASCO.

<sup>29</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba: Report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs* (New York, 1935), 401-02, 411-16.

<sup>30</sup> F. T. F. Dumont to secretary of state, July 18, 1931, 837.6463/6, RG 59, USNA.

<sup>31</sup> "Memorandum to Frank D. Mahoney, Vice President, Cia. Cubana de Electricidad," New York, October 19, 1932, Box 142197, EBASCO; Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 401-02.

in 1932. Heavy investments in power generation and transmission capacity placed an intolerable burden on the company, which derived 25 to 30 percent of its revenues from Cuban operations. Cuban consumers, with their own incomes severely squeezed by the Depression, became incensed by high electricity rates, high-pressure sales tactics, and the sale of repossessed and repaired appliances as new.<sup>32</sup>

The number of consumer boycotts increased sharply in 1930 to twenty-four and jumped again in 1931 to twenty-eight. The latter figure included a nationwide consumer strike that started in June and escalated through October. At its height, the national boycott cost the company 40,000 customers. Henry Catlin explained to a sympathetic minister of the interior that the company might be able to reduce rates two or three cents per kilowatt but not the 30 to 50 percent demanded by the boycotters. With Gerardo Machado's support, AFP managers grimly clung to the high rates. Gradually, customers began to drift back to the utility, but the strike was not completely broken until June 1932. By then, the company's desperation over its falling revenues led it to retaliate against the municipalities.<sup>33</sup> While remaining silent about the heavy debts of influential Cubans, AFP, with the cooperation of the Cuban Interior Ministry, cut off service to twenty-three cities including two provincial capitals in July 1932. As Cuba's urban governments ran out of funds to fight AFP in court, they began signing new contracts with the company that maintained the existing electrical rates.<sup>34</sup>

By early 1933, AFP had successfully weathered the national consumers' strike and aggressively attacked the problems of municipal indebtedness and rate reduction resolutions. Yet these successes came against a backdrop of mounting social, economic, and political turmoil in Cuba. The country stood poised on the brink of an upheaval that would soon force AFP's principal political ally from office. In the midst of that turmoil, Cuban consumers would once again rise up against the company, and its workers would seize its plants and drive the firm's managers from the island.

THE CUBAN ECONOMY HAD BEGUN TO DISINTEGRATE shortly after Gerardo Machado took office. The price of Cuban sugar fell by nearly 50 percent between 1924 and 1928, creating a crisis that intensified with the coming of the Depression. During his early years in office, Machado partially offset the effects of the crisis with over \$100 million in loans from American banks, which helped fund a massive public works program. But, by 1932, American banks had limited their disbursements to short-term refunding of the existing debt. Even government workers and contractors could not squeeze overdue salaries and payments from the Machado regime. Cuban society rapidly advanced into a state of undeclared civil war. A general strike, which spread across the island in early August 1933,

<sup>32</sup> "American and Foreign Power Company Inc. Annual Reports," 1929-1933, Box 320999, EBASCO.

<sup>33</sup> Harry Guggenheim to secretary of state, Havana, August 10, 1931, 837.5045/8, RG 59, USNA; Beals, *Crime of Cuba*, 243-44; "Compania Cubana, 1933," Box 147068, EBASCO.

<sup>34</sup> "Compania Cubana, 1933," Box 147068, EBASCO.



Fulgencio Batista (left) and Ramon Grau San Martin (right) with Colonel Juan Blas Hernandez, a famed anti-Machado guerrilla leader, Havana, October 1933. Source: U.S. Information Agency.

brought a close to the Machado dictatorship and opened the way for a new era.<sup>35</sup>

After Machado's departure, strikes and civil disturbances continued to spread across the island until a revolt of army sergeants under Fulgencio Batista on September 3 led to the installation of the reformist Ramón Grau San Martín as president. Yet the process of social upheaval continued, with AFP rapidly emerging as one of its principal targets.

With the collapse of the Machado regime, a new consumer boycott began. Slogans painted on walls urged Cubans not to pay their electric bills. Newspaper editorialists and radio commentators echoed this sentiment. In a scene repeated across the island, hundreds of local citizens attended a rally in the city of Cienfuegos to hear the company denounced as a foreign exploiter of the Cuban people and an enthusiastic backer of Gerardo Machado. Well aware that its principal political ally had fled the scene, the company agreed to the creation of a government commission to study the rate issue, with the understanding that customers would resume paying their bills. But the boycott continued, and the commission never issued its report. Instead, on December 6, President Grau issued a decree reducing rates by 45 percent.<sup>36</sup> Even as the decree was being

<sup>35</sup> *New York Times*, September 28, 1932; Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment*, 265–317; Benjamin, *United States and Cuba*, 122.

<sup>36</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 402–05.



issued, the company faced a strike deadline, and in less than two months' time, the workers began running the power industry themselves.

Despite the labor peace enforced by the harsh regimen of the Machado administration, a variety of factors had fed a deep and growing resentment toward the company. North American managers held Cuban workers in low regard, considering them unstable Latins, unfit for the most skilled tasks. Cuban white-collar employees frequently found themselves displaced by North Americans, who received preferential treatment. Resistance to such attitudes and policies had appeared by 1926 at the Havana Electric Railway, Light & Power Company, where the workers had formed a union. In reporting on the workers' movement, the managers of the AFP subsidiary reiterated some of the same views that helped fuel worker resistance: "The relations between the company and the Union de Obreros are conducted on a strictly 'Open shop' basis. The native workers are very excitable and have a tendency to be antagonistic toward the Americans, and therefore have to be handled very diplomatically."<sup>37</sup>

The low regard in which American managers held Cubans became a justification for efforts to fashion Cuban workers and employees into efficient instruments of production. From the outset, AFP engineers, accountants and managers sought to reshape existing work relations and management practices that prevailed in their Cuban subsidiaries. Rationalized accounting and management systems replaced work relations based on personal relations and past experience. American managers attempted to eliminate informal work habits and accounting methods that provided workers with considerable authority in the workplace. Automation of plants and substations threatened workers with the loss of their jobs or control over them.

Increased pressures in the workplace affected white-collar employees as well. The company had subordinated Cuban managers to American employees, installed office machinery, insisted that employees devote some of their "free hours" to working in appliance stores on a commission basis, and subjected them to "pep meetings." What American managers viewed as self-improvement training for ambitious individuals Cuban employees often viewed as a barrage of service bulletins, magazines, and Berlitz classes designed to instill in them values and attitudes that ran contrary to many of their own beliefs and interests. One AFP executive "went to unprecedented lengths in prying into the personal affairs of many employees outside of office hours and attempting to regulate the conduct of their private lives."<sup>38</sup>

A complex cultural interaction developed within AFP. On the one hand, the company offered monetary incentives and the promise of continuing material improvement in an environment that encouraged individual achievement. But Cuban workers and employees also faced a series of challenges to their work relations, economic interests, and personal values, as well as the ever-present threat of being displaced by North Americans. Automation challenged their job control and the existence of the jobs themselves. Workers and employees resented

<sup>37</sup> "Havana Report," Box 147071, EBASCO.

<sup>38</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 407; "Compania Cubana, 1933," Box 147068, EBASCO.

attempts to control them through scientific management and the American corporation that demeaned them. When the Depression undermined the material incentives G.E. had previously offered, it served as a catalyst for Cubans to launch a nationalist protest against both scientific management and their demeaned status within American corporate culture.

In the face of Cuba's depressed economy, AFP instituted a policy of retrenchment. The company reduced its work force from over 4,000 to under 2,000 between 1929 and 1933 and ordered a 25 percent pay cut for all those making more than \$60 per month.<sup>39</sup> These cutbacks, and the end of Machadista repression, triggered an uprising by the company's workers. On August 12, AFP workers in Havana replaced their ineffectual union leadership. White-collar employees subsequently formed their own organization. The two groups soon recognized their common interests and the need for united action. In early September, they formed the Federación Sindical de las Plantas Eléctricas y de Agua, which began organizing AFP workers throughout Cuba. Over the next two months, the union submitted an escalating series of demands to the company.<sup>40</sup>

In articulating their grievances, AFP's workers argued that, because of the firm's close association with Machado, "it did . . . whatever was convenient to its interests without taking into account the rights of the Nation at all . . . Tariffs were established which stole the scarce wages of people ground down by poverty and tyranny."<sup>41</sup> In describing their own plight, the workers also referred to AFP's management as a tyranny that robbed them of "fair wages" and in which their American bosses humiliated them. While American managers justified the imposition of their management systems in terms of efficiency, AFP workers defended their actions in terms of social and economic justice: "Those whose positions had been usurped in order to give their places to the imported privileged ones . . . demanded the reorganization of the departments. The laborers . . . demanded that they be given a chance to live . . . and, in view of the insults, privations and abuse which had humiliated them, the need of uniting arose, and they demanded [their] rights."<sup>42</sup>

The workers' demands reflected their reaction to the modern corporate regimen AFP had created. Given the impact of the Depression and AFP's pay cuts, wages were a critical issue. Yet, even here, the union's demand of equal pay for equal work represented a dual reaction by Cuban workers to the preferential treatment accorded North Americans and the scientific management policy of enforcing individualized wages to maximize output by workers. In a similar vein, the union demanded that piecework be prohibited if it reduced employment of permanent personnel. In defining the role of the union, the AFP workers made

<sup>39</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 404; "Compania Cubana, 1933," Box 147068, EBASCO.

<sup>40</sup> José Ignacio Rovira and Rodolfo Friginals, "Historia de un centro de trabajo: La antigua compañía cubana de electricidad, hoy empresa consolidada de la electricidad antonio guiteras," in *Los obreros hacen y escriben su historia*, Comisión Nacional de Activista de Historia, Departamento de Orientación Revolucionaria del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Cuba (Havana, 1975), 296-300.

<sup>41</sup> H. Freeman Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 26, 1934, 837.6463 EB&S/45, RG 59, USNA.

<sup>42</sup> Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 26, 1934.

clear their intention of asserting their customary role of sharing control over the workplace. The union would serve as the legal representative of the workers, and new employees were to be hired from a union-approved list. The union was to be consulted on any reductions of staff, and seniority would be the first criterion considered in promotions or layoffs. The control of the workplace once grounded in the knowledge of skilled workers would now find institutionalized expression in the union and its work rules.

Union leaders also sought to limit the attempt by AFP to transform workers into interchangeable cogs in its machine. Workers could not be required to carry out tasks that lay outside their specific job responsibilities, they could not be demoted into lower-level positions, and work in the despised appliance stores would be limited to a specifically designated sales force. Furthermore, administrative positions in the company were to be reorganized on the basis of seniority. This rejection of the control mechanisms of scientific management represented an unacceptable challenge to the company's North American managers.

A week after the union had asked for company recognition on September 28, AFP officials went to see F. T. F. Dumont, the U.S. consul general, who in turn kept Fulgencio Batista advised of developments. In November 1933, AFP rejected the initial demands of its workers except for the eight-hour day, which Grau San Martín had already enacted, along with other social reform measures. On December 5, when the union presented its list of forty-one demands and a forty-eight-hour strike deadline, Dumont visited Batista in his headquarters, at Camp Columbia. In a two-hour conference, the men agreed that a strike at the company would quickly paralyze business and government, as well as create intolerable sanitary conditions. Batista then met with union officials and convinced them to delay the strike for one week. As the new deadline approached, union and company officials, and Batista as well, joined in an all-night bargaining session at the American Consulate. As a result, the company accepted thirty of the forty-one demands, and received a thirty-day grace period to consider the remainder.<sup>43</sup>

But AFP's rejection of most of the outstanding demands prompted a strike by the workers on January 14, 1934. The Grau administration immediately seized the company and installed Rafael Giraud, a company auditor, as interventor. Giraud, a union leader, proceeded to fire every one of the company's top executives, including the general manager. The union took full control of the company, with Giraud serving as general manager.<sup>44</sup>

The workers soon faced serious challenges in their efforts to manage the company. The National City and Chase National banks enjoyed close ties to AFP, including overlapping boards of directors and \$20 million in loans to the company. In the face of the worker takeover, the banks refused to cash any checks collected in payment of consumer bills or to accept new deposits of company funds. General Electric and Westinghouse also instituted a boycott of the

<sup>43</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 406–07; F. T. F. Dumont to secretary of state, Havana, December 16, 1933, 837.6463 EB&S/20, RG 59, USNA.

<sup>44</sup> Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 26, 1934; same to same, Havana, January 5, 1937, 837.6463 EB&S/45/91, RG 59, USNA.

company.<sup>45</sup> Yet the worker-controlled enterprise survived. AFP workers proved quite capable of running the company without North American executives, and the Cuban middle class rallied to their side. With union officials depicting the seizure as a historic act of nationalist revolution, consumers abandoned their boycott and flocked to pay their bills. This support provided the company with an adequate cash flow during the three weeks that the federation maintained control.<sup>46</sup> By then, thousands of other Cuban workers and employees, directly affected by American corporate culture, had formulated similar plans to bring forward their own labor grievances.

As strikes spread across Cuba in August and September 1933, sugar mill workers seized thirty-six mills, formed "soviets" and "red guards," and issued demands resembling those of the AFP workers. Support for the movement spread from the boiling houses to administrative offices. In the iron mines of Oriente province, where Bethlehem Steel had introduced mechanized extraction technology, miners struck and seized the pits. The miners demanded recognition of their union as a means of controlling the work process. The workers and engineers of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company denounced ITT for systematically passing over Cubans for promotion, and they demanded reorganization of the company's departments on the basis of collective contracts and union control over hiring.<sup>47</sup>

The strikers' goals reflected the experience of skilled workers and white-collar employees exposed to North American corporate culture. In particular, the electrical workers sought a new society based on an alliance of technicians with industrial and agricultural workers. Such aspirations expressly rejected the social differentiation that was an essential part of scientific management. Yet, in rejecting what they viewed as the exploitative aspects of North American corporate culture, these workers drew on concepts of a "just" and "free" society that were an integral part of the American ideal.<sup>48</sup>

The goals of capturing control of the productive process and shaping a new social order were not universally shared by the working and middle-class forces that joined together to topple Machado. In the sugar industry, for example, there was considerable disparity between the skilled labor force in the mills, which had undergone substantial technological revamping, and cane cutters in the fields, where work methods remained largely unaltered. Sugar workers also split over

<sup>45</sup> "National City Bank Annual Report, 1934"; "History of the Company," Box 145445, 11a, 18, EBASCO; Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 409.

<sup>46</sup> Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 409–10.

<sup>47</sup> "Strikes by the Sugar Workers in Province of Santa Clara," Cienfuegos, August 28, 1933, 837.5045/44, RG 59, USNA; H. Freeman Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, February 13, 1934, 337.1153, Cuban American Sugar Company/50, RG 59, USNA; Ursinio Rojas, *Las luchas obreras en el central "Tacajó"* (Havana, 1979), 71, 84, 90, 185, 189, 182–214; Instituto de Historia del Movimiento Comunista y de la Revolución Socialista de Cuba, *El movimiento obrero cubano: Documentos y artículos*, tomo 2 (1925–1935) (Havana, 1977), 455–61, 625–26; "Mineral Deposits and Industries," Antilla, Cuba, June 14, 1924, roll 89, RG 59, M-488, USNA; E. R. Leonard to secretary of state, Washington, October 21, 1933, 837.00/4270, RG 59, USNA; Instituto de Historia, *El movimiento obrero cubano*, tomo 2, 845–46; Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 416–32.

<sup>48</sup> Instituto de Historia, *El movimiento obrero cubano*, tomo 2, 672–73; Jefferson Caffery to secretary of state, Havana, February 2, 1934, 337.1153, Cuban American Sugar Company/40, RG 59, USNA. On subsequent cooperation between electrical and sugar workers, see Rojas, *Las luchas obreras en el central "Tacajó"*, 127.

the issue of defending the rights of the Haitian and Jamaican migrant laborers. Grau San Martín's nationalization decree, which required that Cubans comprise at least 50 percent of a company's work force, served to widen this division in the workers' ranks.<sup>49</sup> Various groups in the middle class also had distinct agendas.

For a large part of the middle class that depended on government revenues and employment, control of the state emerged as the central issue. As a result, middle-class politics ran the ideological gamut, including the corporatist philosophy of the ABC movement, the radical nationalism of Joven Cuba, the reformism of Grau San Martín, and the Communists, who refused to cooperate with any of these other groups.<sup>50</sup>

From its inception, the reformist Grau administration had faced serious internal challenges from both the left and right of the political spectrum. Furthermore, its policies of economic nationalism, such as the AFP rate reduction, convinced Sumner Welles, the new U.S. ambassador, that Grau intended to drive American investments off the island. Welles encouraged Grau's domestic opponents and befriended the ambitious Fulgencio Batista, who demanded that Grau resign on the same day the president ordered the intervention of the AFP properties. Grau's successor, Carlos Mendieta, served as Batista's willing servant.<sup>51</sup>

The newly installed Mendieta regime turned the company back to AFP control on February 3. The AFP workers had greeted Mendieta's selection as president with a brief strike, until the regime agreed to set up a commission to study the labor dispute. The workers struck again to protest the return to AFP control. Mendieta dispatched troops to AFP's Havana facilities and issued a decree prohibiting strikes that threatened the public welfare, including strikes in the electrical power industry. In response, the workers engaged in a work slowdown, and the AFP dispute was not completely settled until the end of May, when the company yielded to the workers' remaining eleven demands.<sup>52</sup> After the settlement of the dispute, the union continued to assert its right to shape the relations that governed the workplace. The company's vice-president complained that "the company was faced with the constant intervention of a committee of the

<sup>49</sup> Instituto de Historia, *El movimiento obrero cubano*, tomo 2, 626–27, 633; Rojas, *Las luchas obreras en el central "Tacajó"*, 23–24; Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 184, 211; "Strikes by the Sugar Workers in Province of Santa Clara," Cienfuegos, August 28, 1933, 837.5045/44, RG 59, USNA. The lack of technological innovation in the agricultural sector of the sugar industry was often blamed on the *colono* system, which employed independent growers and renters to raise most of the cane for the large mills. Yet even the United Fruit Company, which directly administered its agricultural sector, made only modest changes in its cane-growing operations before the end of the 1920s. See, for example, A. B. Gilmore, *The Cuba Sugar Manual: A Hand-book of Factory and Plantation Information* . . . (Havana, 1928).

<sup>50</sup> Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment*, 290–91; Samuel Farber, *Revolution and Reaction in Cuba, 1933–1960: A Political Sociology from Machado to Castro* (Middletown, Conn., 1976), 52–70.

<sup>51</sup> Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment*, 323–33; Benjamin, *United States and Cuba*, 169; Jules Robert Benjamin, "The Machadato and Cuban Nationalism," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 55 (February 1975): 66–91; Fabio Grobart, "The Cuban Working Class Movement from 1925–1933," *Science and Society*, 29 (Spring 1975): 73–102.

<sup>52</sup> H. Freeman Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 7, 1937, 837.6463 EB&S/91, RG 59, USNA; "Cuban Labor Notes IV," March 15, 1934, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Havana Consulate, Record Group 84, USNA; Foreign Policy Association, *Problems of the New Cuba*, 410–11; Rovira and Fraguinals, "Historia de un centro de trabajo," 305–10.



Federation . . . though the labor agreement had specifically provided against the intrusion of the Federation in matters of administration.”<sup>53</sup> Yet much of the workers’ success proved to be transitory.

In February 1935, Mendieta faced a strike by teachers and students demanding the restoration of democracy. The electrical workers’ federation joined them on March 11. But the president ordered the movement crushed. Police and troops shot workers, arrested their leaders, occupied factories, and imported strike-breakers. By March 13, the strike had collapsed and the federation’s members returned to workplaces surrounded by army units.<sup>54</sup> With the approval of the Mendieta regime, the American managers purged their work force of 121 union activists. The government declared the federation dissolved and closed its offices. By the end of 1936, the reconstituted federation could not secure a quorum for its annual meeting. Even when the union expelled the employees fired in March 1935, the company still refused to deal with it.<sup>55</sup> But the workers’ massive and overt challenges to the established order since 1933 had demonstrated the enormous costs of Machado’s labor policy of simple repression.

In August 1936, the minister of labor ordered AFP to reinstate several of its fired employees. The trickle soon became a deluge. By the end of 1936, the minister of labor had issued reinstatement orders for all but nine of the fired workers. Mendieta consistently rejected the company’s appeals to override the orders, leaving it with the long and costly task of fighting each case through the courts.<sup>56</sup> As Mendieta’s actions suggested, Cuba’s continued transformation would not be shaped solely by American corporate culture.

Paralleling events in much of Latin America at this time, the Cuban state under Batista now pursued a policy of accommodation. Many of the rights won by the federation and incorporated in decrees of the Grau administration became functional elements in the new triadal relationship between the state, capital, and labor. The state was to function as a mediator. Workers would accept certain minimal guarantees and modify their more radical efforts to transform the workplace and society. AFP coopted new union leaders, elevating them to well-paid management positions, from which they could continue to control their members. AFP also opened additional management positions to Cubans and offered more generous terms to its sales force, propagating its faith in professionalization and efficiency among the Cuban middle class. The attraction of G.E. consumer technology continued to exert a powerful influence on the middle class. In light of past problems, AFP nationalized its marketing strategies, hispanicizing the name of its corporate symbol to “Listo Kilowatt” and incorporating its advertising into such local events as the annual carnival parades.<sup>57</sup> These

<sup>53</sup> Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 7, 1937.

<sup>54</sup> “Cuban Labor Notes IV,” March 15, 1934, RG 84, USNA.

<sup>55</sup> “Compania Cubana de Electricidad, General Review of Company Affairs,” January 20, 1937 (hereafter, “Compania Cubana, 1937”), Box 147068, EBASCO.

<sup>56</sup> “Compania Cubana, 1937,” Box 147068, EBASCO; Matthews to secretary of state, Havana, January 7, 1937.

<sup>57</sup> “Memorandum,” December 1934, File 344, Cuba, Records of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Record Group 151, USNA; “Compania Cubana, 1937,” Box 147068, EBASCO; Rovira and Fraguas, “Historia de un centro de trabajo,” 315.

developments constituted a process of accommodation and cooptation that grew out of the clash between American corporate culture and Cuban society.

THE STORY OF THE AFP ILLUMINATES THE MOST DISTINCTIVE ASPECTS of the revolutionary changes and challenges that American corporations introduced into Cuban society. American companies offered real material incentives to Cuban workers and employees. They also held out the promise of increasing prosperity within an open competitive environment that encouraged individual initiative and self-improvement. At the same time, these corporations conveyed new science-based technology and management systems, which homogenized work processes and curtailed the independence of middle and lower management. Convinced of the superiority of their corporate culture and the innate inferiority of Cubans, U.S. businessmen continued to view and treat their workers as inferior beings.

The reality of higher wages and the promise of continuing prosperity within an open meritocracy appealed to Cuban workers and employees. But in response to loss of control in the workplace and to discrimination, the Cuban workers most deeply affected by American corporate culture went into active resistance between 1933 and 1935. When formulating their job actions, they drew on a diverse range of experiences including resistance to capitalist rationalization, control of the workplace by skilled workers, the long struggle over displacement in the national labor market, and those aspects of American culture that stressed freedom and justice. They sought not just wage increases but wage equalization to limit the process of speed-up inherent in incentive pay schemes. They attempted to forestall management efforts to transform them into interchangeable parts of a modern corporate machine, by controlling hiring and promotions and through strict job classifications. These responses paralleled many of the tactics used by American workers against the same corporate revolution. But a similar process of rationalization imported into Cuba by American corporations allowed workers there to define their struggle as a nationalist crusade against foreign exploitation. That theme struck a chord among members of the middle class.

At the time of AFP's arrival on the island, the Cuban middle class had not undergone the same pervasive process of professionalization that had been sweeping North American society for decades. Despite the material rewards that accompanied this process, many of the concepts of scientific management remained alien to middle and lower managers, accustomed to considerable independence in their jobs. Furthermore, Cuban professionals, viewed as inferiors by their American counterparts, frequently found themselves shunted aside to make way for American "experts." As a result, Cuban white-collar employees often made common cause with workers in confrontations with American corporations.<sup>58</sup> Outside the AFP corporate structure, the company's new consumerism

<sup>58</sup> During their management of the company, the AFP workers explicitly stated that theirs was an experiment fraught with revolutionary social consequences and made possible by the strong bonds between technicians and industrial workers; see Instituto de Historia, *El movimiento obrero cubano*, tomo 2, 672-73.

and its close association with Machado infuriated businessmen and individual consumers. The Cuban middle class could readily identify with the AFP workers' description of the firm as a tyrannical foreign monopoly.

As the process of capitalist rationalization accelerated and entered a new phase, members of the Cuban middle and working classes joined in a common nationalist protest against displacement, discrimination, and the revamping of work relations by American corporations. Yet serious fissures existed in this nationalist front. Middle and working-class support for the more radical aspects of the revolution often depended on the degree of exposure to American corporate culture. Economic issues still constituted the agenda of workers in sectors largely untouched by new technology and scientific management. For much of the middle class, control of the state and its resources remained the principal purpose of the revolution. The theme of nationalism gave the workers' movement legitimacy in the national political arena, but it also had divisive effects, particularly among the sugar workers, with their large immigrant component.

Despite its limitations, the Cuban response to American corporate culture enabled the Cuban middle and working classes to rally around commonly shared values and play a pivotal role in shaping their society. The widespread appeal of their nationalist agenda forced Batista and North American corporations to acknowledge the legitimacy of issues such as union recognition, union work rules, and the nationalization of the workplace.<sup>59</sup> Modern Cuban society emerged in part from the activities of middle and working-class groups that selectively incorporated elements of American corporate culture into their own value systems while rejecting its more repressive aspects.

Similar processes would shape events in other regions of Latin America. In response to the intrusion of American corporate culture, workers and members of the middle class defined their reaction to capitalist modernization in their own terms. Their response found expression in nationalist symbols already sanctioned by the elite and the syncretic adoption of American values of freedom, mobility, and democracy. Popular resistance to the unwanted aspects of capitalist development became a legitimate issue in the national political arena. It gave expression to a complex cultural interaction that influenced the development of Latin American societies and their relations with the United States.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Rojas, *Las luchas obreras en el central "Tacajó,"* 118–37.

---

*AHR Forum*  
Foreign and Native-Born Workers in Porfirian Mexico

---

JONATHAN C. BROWN

PROPOSERS OF NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE argue that U.S. investment will create jobs in Mexico and increase labor's pay and productivity. Those were precisely the results when North American and other foreign capital helped develop Mexico's economy in the late nineteenth century. During that first experience at economic modernization, Mexicans received higher wages and came to master new technologies. Nevertheless, the same native-born workers who profited from foreign investment also worked to impose restrictions on the foreign employers. This paradox poses intriguing questions. Why did the Mexican workers resist their own proletarianization when it tended to enhance their incomes, skills, and social prestige? What were the advantages and disadvantages of employment in the foreign-owned companies?

Latin America's transition to capitalism, the period extending from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to World War I, has received abundant attention from economic and political historians. Labor historians are just beginning to explore this formative time.<sup>1</sup> In terms of the debate over proletarianization, one issue seems to surface time and again. Does industrial capitalism reduce the workers to dependent, hapless creatures ripe for exploitation by the owners? Do foreign capital and the domestic state ally in order to perfect the

I would like to thank Alfredo Poenitz and Rosemary Feldman for their research assistance. Rodney Anderson commented on several versions of this article. Having delivered this paper at the Fifth Annual Latin American Labor History Conference at Yale University in 1988, I also profited from the suggestions of John French.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Michael L. Conniff, *Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1904-1981* (Pittsburgh, 1985); Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., *Organized Labor in Latin America: Historical Case Studies of Workers in Dependent Societies* (New York, 1977), chap. 1; Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile* (Madison, Wis., 1978); Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883-1919* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1976); Arthur L. Stickell, "Migration and Mining: Labor in Northern Chile in the Nitrate Era, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1979); Julio Pinto Vallejos, "A Desert Cradle: State, Foreign, Entrepreneurs, and Workers in Chile's Early Nitrate Age, Tarapaca, 1870-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1991); Leandro Gutiérrez, "Condiciones de la vida material de los sectores populares en Buenos Aires, 1880-1914," *Revista de Indias*, 41, nos. 163-64 (1981): 167-202; Roberto P. Korzeniewicz, "Labor Unrest in Argentina, 1887-1907," *Latin American Research Review*, 24 (1989): 71-98; Ronaldo Munck, "Cycles of Class Struggle and the Making of the Working Class in Argentina, 1890-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 19 (1987): 19-39; Ruth Thompson, "The Limitation of Ideology in the Early Argentine Labour Movement: Anarchism in the Trade Unions, 1890-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 16 (1984): 81-99; Samuel Baily, "The Italians and the Development of Organized Labor in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, 1880-1916," *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1969): 123-34.

process of capital accumulation? Immanuel Wallerstein, Arghiri Emmanuel, and Harry Braverman might assume that the process of capital accumulation dictates the conditions of workers.<sup>2</sup> Other scholars recognize the capacity of workers to bring their own values to the workplace and to influence capital accumulation itself. Does the working class participate in the making of its own world, as E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman claim?<sup>3</sup>

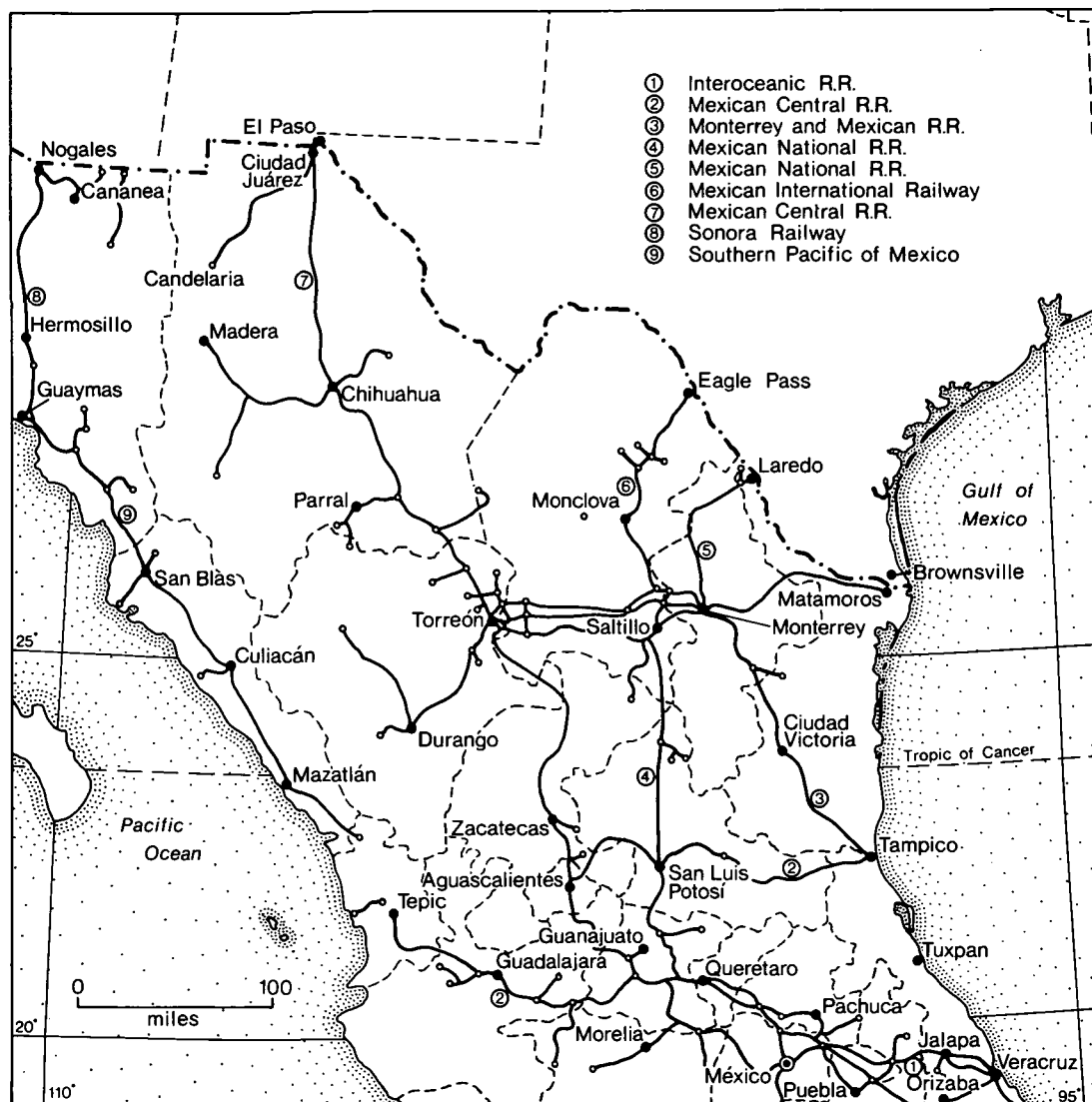
In Mexico, the presence of a large number of foreign workers complicated the picture. Mexican proletarians reacted not only to their new place in the economic system, especially to the consequences of their dependence for subsistence on a fickle international economy, but also to North American supervisors and workers. In order to analyze the relationship between foreign and native-born workers, I will focus on the rail and mining industries, particularly in northern Mexico. North American and British companies commenced operations there during the Porfiriato, utilizing skilled foreign workers and semi-skilled and unskilled Mexicans. (The textile industry of central Mexico had fewer foreigners, many Mexicans having come to the factories from small spinning and weaving shops. Therefore, it will not be a part of this analysis.) I contend that the Mexican workers who gravitated to the railways and mines did not so much reject proletarianization, the process of their separation from the means of production and their increasing dependence on wage labor. Instead, they attempted to blunt the logic of the new industrial order and to make industrial labor consistent with their culture and customs. Their resistance was not directed against capitalism, *per se*, but against certain elements of their new dependence. Moreover, Mexican workers took advantage of the strong foreign presence to appeal for an alliance with the state. They intended to provoke public rebuke of the foreigners' positions and to force the government to ameliorate the worst labor conditions. The first fitful glimmerings of the modern social compact between workers and governing elites actually antedated the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1920.

The sources for this study come from employers and those sympathetic to capital investment in Mexico, yet they reveal the pressures that both foreign and

<sup>2</sup> As Braverman writes, "the working class is progressively subjected to the capitalist mode of production, and to the successive forms which it takes, *only as the capitalist mode of production conquers and destroys all other forms of the organization of labor, and with them, all alternatives for the working population.*" Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974), 149. The italics are Braverman's. Also see Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16 (1974): 387–415; Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade*, trans. from the French by Brian Pearce (London, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> Of nineteenth-century industrialization in the United States, Gutman writes, "the shifting composition of its wage-earning population meant that traditional customs, rituals, and beliefs repeatedly helped shape the behavior of its diverse working-class groups." Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815–1919," *AHR*, 78 (June 1973): 577. Also see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1973). For discussions of some of these issues in Latin American labor history, see Emilia Viotti Da Costa, "Experience versus Structures: New Tendencies in the History of Labor and the Working Class in Latin America," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 36 (Fall 1989): 3–24; John Womack, Jr., "The Historiography of Mexican Labor," in *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México*, Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, eds. (Mexico City, 1979): 739–56; Eugene F. Sofer, "Recent Trends in Latin American Labor Historiography," *Latin American Research Review*, 15 (1980): 167–76; Ian Roxborough, "Issues in Labor Historiography," *Latin American Research Review*, 21 (1986): 178–88.





MAP: The railways of northern Mexico, *circa* 1905.

native-born workers were exerting on the developing capitalist system. Labor's habits and demands were repeated in the North American diplomatic correspondence and in the Mexican newspapers of the period. North American employers and workers themselves reminisced about their experiences in a series of transcribed interviews on deposit at Occidental College. Other employer records can be found at the University of Texas. Together, the sources indicate that while industrial capitalism was transforming Mexican society, the workers were conspiring to transform capitalism. The peculiar dual presence of both foreign capital and foreign workers, especially in the mines and on the railroads, gave the Mexican state much cause for a partial collaboration with labor.

THE PORFIRIATO, THAT PERIOD OF MEXICAN HISTORY DOMINATED BY General and President Porfirio Díaz, from 1876 to 1911, was a time of unprecedented economic expansion. Compared to the economic turmoil and political instability that had plagued Mexico since the beginning of the rebellion for independence in 1810, the Díaz administration seemed to provide peace and prosperity. Foreign investment provided much of the impetus. Indeed, Mexican government officials changed laws to attract investments from abroad and actively solicited the world's entrepreneurs. Foreign investors found Mexico so attractive that they pumped an estimated 3.4 billion pesos (approximately \$1.7 billion) into the country by 1911. The United States led all investors, but Mexicans encouraged competition from British and French capital as a foil to U.S. dominance. A coterie of immigrant entrepreneurs developed a vibrant domestic manufacturing sector.<sup>4</sup> Mexico's proletariat grew accordingly. By 1910, nearly 750,000 persons (of a total population of 15 million) had come to work in modern industry.<sup>5</sup>

Almost as an inevitable by-product of capitalist penetration, alien workers began to overrun areas dominated by the new industries like railroading and mining. These areas of Mexico were faced with a second cultural transformation, the first having been the Conquest. The native workers racially were mestizos and Indo-Americans. Some new foreign workers were Asian or African-American. But most were racially as European as the domestic elite—and every bit as haughty. The foreigners spoke different languages, worshiped within different religions, and held contrasting attitudes about authority and justice. By 1905, an estimated 20,000 Americans, 5,000 Britons, and another 11,000 other foreigners and immigrants resided in the Republic of Mexico. They stood out in the cities, restaurants, and streets and in positions of privilege in the workplace.<sup>6</sup> Their

<sup>4</sup> During the Porfiriato, exports grew by 5.6 percent per annum, national income by 2.3 percent, population by 1.4 percent, and per capita income by .93 percent. John H. Coatsworth, "Obstacles to Economic Growth in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *AHR*, 83 (February 1978): 81, 84; Margaret Chowning, "The Contours of the Post-1810 Depression in Mexico: A Reappraisal from a Regional Perspective," *Latin American Research Review*, 27 (1992): 119–50; Laura Randall, *A Comparative Economic History of Latin America, 1500–1914* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1978), 1: 162, 180; Christopher Armstrong and H. V. Nelles, "A Curious Capital Flow: Canadian Investment in Mexico, 1902–1910," *Business History Review*, 58 (1984): 179–80; Daniel Cosío Villegas, et al., *Historia moderna de México*, 7 vols., *El Porfiriato: La vida económica*, 2 parts (Mexico City, 1965), 2: 642, 1154; Esperanza Durán de Seade, "Mexico's Relations with the Powers during the Great War" (D.Phil. thesis, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, 1980), 7–11; Clifton B. Kroeber, *Man, Land, and Water: Mexico's Farmlands Irrigation Policies, 1885–1911* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 12; Stephen H. Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment: The Industrialization of Mexico, 1890–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), 91–93, 100; Mario Cerutti, *Burguesía y capitalismo en Monterrey (1850–1910)* (Mexico City, 1983); Steven Topik, "The Economic Role of the State in Liberal Regimes: Brazil and Mexico Compared, 1888–1910," in *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History*, Joseph L. Love and Nils Jacobsen, eds. (New York, 1988), 117–44; Jonathan C. Brown, "Foreign Investment and Domestic Politics: British Development of Mexican Petroleum during the Porfiriato," *Business History Review*, 61 (1987): 387–416.

<sup>5</sup> They worked in these sectors: extractive industries, 104,093 workers; manufacturing industries, 613,913; electricity, gas, petroleum, 10,553; and railways, 18,000. Barry Carr, *El movimiento obrero y la política en México, 1910–1929* (Mexico City, 1981), 19; Fernando Rosenzweig, "El desarrollo económico de México de 1877 a 1911," *El trimestre económico*, 32: 3, no. 127 (1965): 437, 444; Jorge Basurto, *El proletariado industrial en México (1850–1930)* (Mexico City, 1975), 25. See also Friedrich Katz, "Mexico: Restored Republic and Porfiriato, 1867–1910," Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1986), 59–61.

<sup>6</sup> Charles C. Eberhardt to Robert Bacon, no. 221, December 23, 1905, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Records of the Department of State (hereafter cited as NADS), Record Group 59,

presence in the workplace, however, was selective. Many industries had only a few foreign workers, such as the textile industry located at Orizaba and Puebla in Central Mexico. Although amounting to only 5 percent of Mexico's industrial work force in 1910, foreigners were far more conspicuous in the mines, on the railways, and in refineries and oil camps. The reason was simple. Mexican labor had little experience handling the machinery and tools of these industries, which were imported wholesale from the United States and Europe.<sup>7</sup> In Mexico, these rail and mining industries were especially dominant in the states north of Mexico City. The oil industry was centered on the Gulf Coast between Tuxpan and Tampico. The presence of foreigners, therefore, had a more profound influence on the native-born industrial workers in these regions. The foreigners—both workers as well as supervisors and owners—abrasively introduced their ways of working, which often violated the time-honored cultural norms observed by Mexican workers. The role of the foreigners in this process provided the Mexicans with a focus for their resistance to the more unsettling of these changes.

These foreign workers were not always the fittest ambassadors for modern capitalism. Oilman Edward L. Doheny recognized that the first Americans in Mexico were akin to outlaws. They were "young, hardy and impetuous, not to say ruthless," Doheny recalled. These Americans "always carried arms, rode horses . . . and were apt to treat anyone whom they met with a certain amount of independence that at times amounted to a display of a domineering spirit." Mexican men especially resented the kinds of advances that single North American males made on the women.<sup>8</sup> Many outsiders were drifters. John Barrett had worked in the rubber shoe factory in his home town of Boston, as a farm hand in the Dakotas, as a railway worker in New Mexico, and as a smelter hand in Wyoming. Finding no work in Texas, he entered Mexico. "I heard of there being plenty of work in Mexico on the railroad," he reflected. "When I came down here I find they employ all native help." After six weeks of carousing around the country, Barrett discovered himself in a Mexican jail for having killed a British sailor.<sup>9</sup> Others came to escape their previous lives. The mother of Clifford Maxwell, a foreman at the docks of Mexican Central at Tampico, had to resort to the U.S. consulate in Tampico to get her son to write home to Chicago.<sup>10</sup>

---

Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Mexico City, Mexico (hereafter cited as Mexico City Consuls); Durán de Seade, "Mexico's Relations with the Powers," 13. Three-quarters of the Americans were in the six border states and Mexico City. "Too many Americans had come to Sonora," writes Ramón Eduardo Ruiz. "Even if every one of them had behaved properly, inevitably they would have antagonized their hosts. They were simply too visible a minority." Ruiz, *The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988), 53, 64. Protestant missionaries, active in the new industrial regions, added to the cultural tensions. See Jean-Pierre Bastian, "Metodismo y clase obrera durante el Porfiriato," *Historia mexicana*, 33 (1983): 64–65.

<sup>7</sup> In the emerging oil zone of northern Veracruz, only 123 inhabitants in 1900 had a working knowledge of metals. None had any experience in industrial labor. Mexico, Secretaría de Fomento, *Censo y división territorial del Estado de Veracruz verificados en 1900* (Mexico City, 1904).

<sup>8</sup> "Second Interview with Mr. E. L. Doheny," May 20, 1918; "Supplement to 3rd Interview with Mr. E. L. Doheny," May 20, 1918, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Doheny Research Foundation Records (hereafter cited as DRFR).

<sup>9</sup> John Barrett to U.S. consul, no. 294, March 18, 1903, NADS, Record Group 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Vera Cruz, Mexico (hereafter cited as Veracruz Consuls).

<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Charles D. Maxwell to U.S. consul, Tampico, Chicago, December 30, 1904, NADS, Record

Informe 2º semestre 92.

Anexo n.º 5.



Desagüe Dificultad.

Tubo roto, ya compuesto, del

Acumulador de Acosta.

FIGURE 2: Mexican mechanics and iron workers repairing a cast-iron column section for the steam pumps, La Dificultad Mine, Pachuca, 1892. Photograph from the Probert Research Notes on Mexican History, vol. 10, Benson Latin American Collection. Reproduced courtesy of the General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin.

Group 84, the Post Records of the U.S. Consulate at Tampico Mexico (hereafter cited as Tampico Post).

Expatriates like Barrett and Maxwell were visible everywhere. "Americans searching for investments or employment in Mexico are numerous and multiplying," observed a North American diplomat. "Generally, not knowing the language or the laws, many of them not being at all times discreet, their arrest and imprisonment, upon various charges, is quite common."<sup>11</sup>

These North American "carpetbaggers" were particularly prominent in railroads and mining. The initial scarcity of skilled native workers dictated that employers had to hire many foreigners they might otherwise have considered poor risks. On its Sonora line, the Southern Pacific found that North American conductors were "dishonest and addicted to grafting." The line hired detectives to find the offending conductors, who were flung into jail and their jobs given to Mexicans. Other North American trainmen were addicted to alcohol. When the line began operating, it had to hire many Americans who had been "practically black-listed" in the United States for drinking on duty.<sup>12</sup> These North American workers enjoyed extraordinary privileges in the workplace. They demanded and received wages that were a quarter to a third more than they could make for similar work in the United States. For its North American operators, the Southern Pacific provided wooden cottages with modern plumbing. Mexican construction workers lived in box cars or tents.<sup>13</sup> Also, the North American foremen refused to learn the language. The American Smelting & Refining Company (ASARCO) wanted its supervisors to "understand the Mexican" and established night classes in Spanish. Few North Americans came.<sup>14</sup> There were not many foreigners like Gordon Campbell White of the Southern Pacific Railways at Guaymas, who devoted an hour each day to reading Spanish. He even subscribed to *El imparcial*, the Mexico City daily newspaper.<sup>15</sup>

Mexicans had always been ambivalent about the presence of non-Hispanic foreigners. The nation retained laws requiring the registration of foreign residents. But the government repealed them in 1886. From that moment onward, foreigners in Mexico were to have the rights and protections enjoyed by Mexican citizens themselves. Resident aliens were to obey the laws and pay taxes like anyone else. Nonetheless, the Mexican government did preserve some legal mechanisms to protect the social peace. Foreigners were not to appeal to their own

<sup>11</sup> Isaac P. Gray to secretary of state, no. 284, May 2, 189[?], NADS, Record Group 59, Despatches from U.S. Ministers in Mexico (hereafter cited as U.S. Ministers).

<sup>12</sup> "Second Interview with Willard S. Morse," April 29, 1918; interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR. North American office clerks displayed some of the same behavior. One train manager at Torreón complained that his office mate was "boozing again the last week." Later, this same man "was in town drunk . . . and didn't show up at the office at all." Entries for April 14, May 26, 1907, the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, Gordon Campbell White Diaries (hereafter cited as White Diaries). Reported the manager of the Candelaria Mine: "Kinney has been fired for drunkenness. Hartwell and Thyer, two of the engineers, ditto." W. G. Laird to A. S. Dwight, February 26, 1909, the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, Thomas Wentworth Peirce Papers (hereafter cited as Peirce Papers).

<sup>13</sup> Interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>14</sup> "Interview with Mr. [Willard S.] Morse of the American Smelting & Refining Co.," April 23, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>15</sup> Of the language capabilities of his peers, however, White wrote: "Our Spanish-Eng. steno., J. C. Powers . . . has proven a failure so far as the Spanish is concerned." Entries for May 20, November 30, 1906, April 14, 1907, January 8, 1911, White Diaries.



diplomatic representatives except in cases of denial of justice or delays in administration. And the government reserved the right to expel foreigners for "perniciousness" and for inciting "dissentions."<sup>16</sup> The new foreign presence in northern Mexico also assaulted the privileged role of the church, for a surge of Methodism among the working classes accompanied the economic expansion. Catholic reaction, incited by "fanatical" priests, it was reported, led to violence on one occasion in Irapuato.<sup>17</sup> Understanding Mexican ambivalence toward foreigners, Porfirio Díaz pretended to be indispensable in controlling the sudden influx of aliens. Who else could withstand North American diplomatic pressure and prosecute North American citizens for breaking Mexican laws but the tough and resolute former general? The Díaz government bragged of its ability to apply "strict justice" on the foreigners.<sup>18</sup> No doubt, such a strong hand was needed, for Mexicans were feeling the effect of the new invasion.

Several kinds of incidents illustrate that the presence of foreign workers could cause social strain. The first concerns the inevitable occurrences of violence between the two groups. No sooner had the British commenced building the first Veracruz-Mexico rail line in 1865 than a fight broke out among the 7,200 North American and Mexican workers. The conflict resulted in one death.<sup>19</sup> In 1907, a North American foreman on the Southern Pacific in Sonora got into a fight with two discharged Mexican workers. Both Mexicans were killed.<sup>20</sup> In Monterrey, a North American railway worker, while inebriated, shot and killed one policeman and himself took a bullet in the leg. Having just lost a comrade, Mexican policemen handled the suspect rather roughly, as the U.S. consul at Monterrey noted, because of "the intense bitter feeling existing against the Americans."<sup>21</sup> Foreigners who had no knowledge of the language or values of the Mexicans often had direct supervision of their work. American attitudes often lacked empathy. "Would a man have to bring his own labor," inquired an American driller hoping to relocate to Tampico, "or could he find 'greasers' with enough sense to operate machinery?"<sup>22</sup> These sorts of incidents and attitudes did not go unnoticed by Mexican workers.

The peaceful foreign invasion meant that those perennial social problems—death, disease, and crime—took on international ramifications. North Americans

<sup>16</sup> From *Diario oficial*, June 7, 1886, as quoted in P. H. Morgan to secretary of state, no. 241, June 10, 1886, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>17</sup> Dwight Furness to Powell Clayton, no. 635, October 4, 1898, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>18</sup> *Diario oficial*, February 26, 1889, in Reinsen Whitehouse to secretary of state, no. 268, February 28, 1889, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>19</sup> John Gresham Chapman, *La construcción del ferrocarril mexicano (1837-1880)* (Mexico, 1975), 111, 117-18, 125, 150.

<sup>20</sup> *Mexican Herald*, Mexico City, January 5, 17, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> Robert C. Campbell to William Hunter, no. 22, August 14, 1883, NADS, Record Group 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Monterrey, Mexico (hereafter cited as Monterrey Consuls). U.S. workers "did not work at all well with the Mexicans," observed one traveler. "They generally considered themselves vastly superior to the latter, whom they did not recognise as 'white men.'" Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1902), 1: 5.

<sup>22</sup> D. S. McAlister to U.S. consul, September 18, 1910, no. 115, Record Group 84. For all his knowledge of Spanish, Gordon Campbell White still had a poor view of Mexicans: "I am inclined to classify the Mexicans as follows: Bastards 70%, syphilitics 80%, thieves and whores 90%, pure Indians 85%, Brainless 95%, 10000 years distant from real civilization 97%. And god help the other 3%." Entry for June 18, 1911, White Diaries.



FIGURE 3: A foreign supervisor oversees the unloading of mining equipment in the rail yards at Pachuca, circa 1895. Photograph from the Probert Research Notes on Mexican History, vol. 10, Benson Latin American Collection. Reproduced courtesy of the General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin.

died of yellow fever, cholera, and dysentery, and not in insignificant numbers. But, according to Mexican law, the bodies were to be buried immediately and could not be disinterred for ten years. Thus many a North American trainman, miner, and agriculturalist who ventured into Mexico seeking his fortune never returned, and their families were unable to bury the corpses at home. Even despondent foreigners such as the forty-eight-year-old F. S. French of South Bend, Indiana, who shot himself in his room at the Waters-Pierce Oil Refinery at Tampico, had to be buried in the local cemetery. The U.S. consul sent a trunk of his personal effects to his family.<sup>23</sup> If the deceased alien owned property, there were even more complications. Mexican courts came into possession of the estate, and Mexican attorneys were to file all claims within fifteen days. Heirs and relatives living abroad often could not be found for several months.<sup>24</sup> Mexicans also suffered from the difficult terms of the new relationships with foreigners. Many North American men took Mexican mistresses and common-law wives. In Tampico, a native woman who had lived for several years with a North American fireman for the Mexican Central Railway asked for his back pay after the man's death from yellow fever. The consul declined. "She does not appear to be his legal wife," he said.<sup>25</sup> The rights of another Mexican woman to the estate of her North American common-law husband were disputed in 1905 when his relatives in Indianapolis learned, quite by chance, of his death. The relatives had not heard from him since he had left home twenty years before.<sup>26</sup>

Crime presented a greater problem for some Mexicans—and perhaps a greater opportunity for others. Although Díaz had greatly expanded the rural police in order to make Mexico safe for foreign investment, brigandage and robbery still occurred often enough. Mexicans swindled, mugged, robbed, assaulted, and killed foreigners. Americans in Mexico also did these things to each other and to the Mexicans, too. North American railway conductors on the Mexican Central once stole a fully loaded tank car at the Waters-Pierce Oil Refinery at Tampico. Although the police arrested one suspect, who subsequently escaped, the tank car disappeared without a trace.<sup>27</sup> Mexican authorities dealt with a number of other crimes between North Americans. A judge in Coatzacoalcas, the Gulf port on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, found an auditor of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company and a superintendent of the Tehuantepec Railway guilty of fighting; they were to donate 50 pesos (\$25) apiece to the local hospital fund. Another foreign brawler was unnerved after spending the night in a twelve by sixteen-foot cell with thirteen "members of the army of the unwashed."<sup>28</sup>

Each crime involving Americans also became an international incident involving political authorities of both countries. Consider the case of Richard Heard, a

<sup>23</sup> Document no. 229, January 4, 1906, NADS, Record Group 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tampico, Mexico (hereafter cited as Tampico Consuls); W. W. Canada to David J. Hill, no. 258, August 30, 1902, Veracruz Consuls. For another suicide, at the Cananea Copper Mine, see entry for November 14, 1910, White Diaries.

<sup>24</sup> Charles C. Eberhardt to Robert Bacon, no. 221, December 23, 1905, Mexico City Consuls; Huasteca Pet. Co. to American consul, April 12, 1910, Tampico Post.

<sup>25</sup> Ben Johnson to H. R. Nickerson, Tampico, October 13, 1903, Tampico Post.

<sup>26</sup> J. G. Weatherly to S. E. Magill, January 20, 1905, Tampico Post.

<sup>27</sup> No. 236, March 24, 1906, Tampico Consuls.

<sup>28</sup> A. R. Stubbs to W. W. Canada, no. 2480, August 18, 1904, U.S. Ministers.

fourteen-year veteran of the Waters-Pierce Oil Company in Veracruz, who disappeared mysteriously after a Saturday night on the town. Local officials began an immediate investigation, while Waters-Pierce offered a 10,000-peso (\$5,000) reward for information on Heard's whereabouts. Back at the New York headquarters of the firm's parent company, a Standard Oil executive wrote directly to Secretary of State John Hay. Telegrams and letters passed between the man's family, the Department of State, the consulates at Mexico City and Veracruz, the Foreign Affairs Secretariat, the federal police headquarters, the Veracruz state government, the port's local authorities, and the Waters-Pierce branch office. After a year of international activity, no trace of Heard had been uncovered.<sup>29</sup> A disappearance of a Mexican national under similar circumstances may have caused considerable local activity. But should a North American be missing . . .

A significant part of the relationship between Mexicans of all classes and their foreign "guests" concerned the foreigners' misunderstanding of Mexican law. Companies and individuals had civil responsibility for indemnifying victims for loss or injury resulting from accidents. When a train struck a Mexican pedestrian on the tracks, local authorities arrested and incarcerated the North American engineer or brakeman. The trainmen usually were confused as to their judicial fate, unable to understand their Mexican counsels or the court procedures. They complained to diplomats, to their bosses, and to Mexican authorities—to anyone who understood English. Let out on bail, the North Americans fled to the border. Such arrests were so common that the Sonora Railway, in one year, lost seventeen employees who fled Mexico after such accidents.<sup>30</sup> "This is the first time I have been in prison," wrote one North American worker, "and the treatment here is horrible, not getting anything to eat and nothing to sleep on." He requested something to read in English because "time passes awful slow, not being able to talk the language."<sup>31</sup> Returning railwaymen told their stories to newspapers along the border, which soon began writing of Americans wasting away without trial in "adobe prisons" and "Mexican dungeons." U.S. diplomats recognized such stories as exaggerations. "If the Mexican prisons are constructed of adobe," one commented in 1884, "I don't see where else, when arrested, an American could be confined."<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, North American misconceptions about the Mexican legal system persisted in raising tensions between the foreigners and their hosts. As U.S. Minister Powell Clayton observed in 1898, the North American workers in trouble with Mexican law often expected the diplomats to come to their rescue. They also expected Mexican courts to "set aside all other business and give their cases precedence."<sup>33</sup> In the rush to develop Mexico, neither the Mexican policymakers nor the North American workers and businessmen had anticipated the difficulties that these legal misunderstandings held in store.

<sup>29</sup> J. R. Davis to Powell Clayton, no. 473, June 9, 1898; Clayton to secretary of state, no. 689, December 1, 1898; Fenton R. McCreery to secretary of state, no. 140, May 6, 1899, U.S. Ministers; W. W. Canada to J. B. Moore, no. 56, October 26, 1898, Veracruz Consuls.

<sup>30</sup> Powell Clayton to secretary of state, no. 885, January 18, 1901, no. 1274, February 21, 1902, no. 1725, February 28, 1903; S. R. Robinson to P. H. Morgan, no. 802, April 19, 1884, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>31</sup> Hans Peterson to American consul, San Luis Potosí, April 3, 1906, Tampico Post.

<sup>32</sup> P. H. Morgan to secretary of state, no. 802, May 1, 1884, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>33</sup> Powell Clayton to secretary of state, no. 541, July 21, 1898, U.S. Ministers.

Not only did there arise discord over judicial procedures but mutual resentments also abounded concerning the manner in which Mexican officials carried out their duties. Justice often moved slowly, even arbitrarily. From North American silver miners in Chihuahua came complaints of indifference on the part of state authorities over the theft of the company's tools and equipment. The thieves, when apprehended, received only "trifling penalties." In Parral, the Americans claimed that the local police appeared unwilling to pursue the murderers of two foreigners.<sup>34</sup> Low-level Mexican officials were also accused of being abusive. Managers of a foreign mining company in Baja California claimed that their property was "rudely entered, employees insulted, and work interfered with" by Mexican officials who sought to advance the claim of a competing mining concern.<sup>35</sup> When an agent of Whitman Barnes Manufacturing Company of Akron, Ohio, pressed for an investigation of insurance fraud perpetrated against it by a Mexican national, he stated, "[The] Mexican Government or Mexican Judicial Officers are not in any hurry to take any criminal action" against the suspect.<sup>36</sup> Mexican justice sometimes ground to a halt for innocent reasons. Authorities investigating the violent death of a North American in Puebla had made no progress in eight months because the witnesses to the crime were absent from their village seeking work elsewhere.<sup>37</sup>

For the most part, foreign businessmen praised Díaz as "one of the foremost statesmen of the age" and lauded the laws that protected foreigners and natives alike. But those local officials investigating a local rancher suspected in the robbery of a North American storekeeper in Veracruz had attitudes toward crime described as lax, careless, remiss, indifferent, and inactive. The store owner wrote, "My complaints now as in the past, touch only the attitude of subordinate officials in this locality toward repeated and long continued disorders, in consequence of which the law has failed of its benevolent intention so far as we [North Americans] here are concerned."<sup>38</sup> The manager of the Candelaria Mine resented an inspection by the *jefe político*, a local government official, who was responding to a complaint by Mexican workmen. We pay the *jefe político* 200 pesos per month, said the manager, but "we are getting absolutely no assistance from the state in any way, shape or form."<sup>39</sup> Justice may not have been blind in Mexico, but it worked slowly and deliberately in the interests of maintaining the social peace. Mexicans also suffered the legal delays. But for all the benefits foreigners were bringing to the country, the outsiders believed they deserved better. That is why they rebuked public authority in Mexico. Under the circumstances, how could government officials make common cause with foreign capitalists and foreign workers? They did not always do so. After all, this kind of capitalist penetration attempted to change political procedures as well as the culture and habits of laborers.

<sup>34</sup> P. H. Morgan to secretary of state, no. 891, August 26, 1894, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>35</sup> Henry R. Jackson to Ignacio Mariscal, no. 270, July 16, 1896; Phillip C. Hanna to David J. Hill, no. 48, May 27, 1901, and no. 51, August 10, 1901, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>36</sup> Julian Barlow to J. B. Moore, no. 133, September 11, 1898, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>37</sup> Issac P. Gray to secretary of state, no. 25, May 25, 1893, U.S. Ministers.

<sup>38</sup> E. G. Church to D. E. Thompson, no. 68, April 12, 1906, Veracruz Consuls.

<sup>39</sup> W. G. Laird to A. S. Dwight, February 17, 1910, Peirce Papers.



FOREIGN CAPITALIST EMPLOYERS DESIRED TO STABILIZE the work force, train permanent workers, extend their hours and days of work, and increase productivity. Therefore, they had to separate the worker from his village and land—*su tierra*—and transform him into an industrial worker dependent entirely on wages.<sup>40</sup> Employers achieved only modest success. In the first place, the direct agents of skill transfer, the foreign workers, did not cooperate. North Americans clannishly pressured their employers to permanently relegate the Mexicans to an inferior status. Secondly, Mexicans gave up traditional work habits grudgingly. They accepted work on a daily basis only for higher and higher wages. In time, Mexican laborers did become more skilled and more dependent. But the new dependence had unsettling features. One was the potentially permanent subordination of the Mexican worker to the foreign worker and foreign ways of working. In addition, the world trade cycle resulted in periodic depression and layoffs, threatening their industrial incomes. Mexican laborers responded to both features of their proletarianization through their individual, daily strategies of independence. They also reverted more and more to collective resistance. They organized. They struck. Mexican workers, however, did not indicate (at least by action) that they intended to resist capitalism. They only expressed a desire for security and dignity within the system. Thus the Mexican workers on the railroad and in the mines struck out at foreign workers.

Building the first railways in Mexico confronted the pioneer foreign entrepreneurs with demands for unskilled workers. Many of the railways were built through sparsely settled northern lands. When the Mexican Central constructed its line between Tampico and San Luis Potosí, the company could not find enough native workers. It had to bring in 1,000 African Americans from the Old South and 2,000 West Indians. The Mexicans were reluctant to work far from their villages. The companies relented and allowed them to bring their families to the construction camps. By and by, the railway construction boom produced shortages of agricultural workers. "In fact," said a North American railway contractor, "the hacendados were very much opposed to our building railroads there for that reason. We paid the peons better wages and got them away from the haciendas."<sup>41</sup> Not that Mexicans minded the higher pay. They received up to 2 pesos (\$1.00) a day plus food, even though North Americans laying road bed and track were paid

<sup>40</sup> See especially William Earl French, "Peaceful and Working People: The Inculcation of the Capitalist Work Ethic in a Mexican Mining District (Hidalgo District, Chihuahua, 1880–1920)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1990), chap. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Testimony of William J. McGavock, United States Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, 66th Congress, 1st Session, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1919), 1: 866–67; Marvin D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890–1950: A Study of the Interaction of Politics, Economics, and Technology* (Albany, N.Y., 1965), 21; French, "Peaceful and Working People," 27; Lorena May Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development in Northern Mexico: A Study of Government Policy toward the Central and Nacional Railroads, 1876–1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1981), 281–82; Friedrich Katz, et al., *La servidumbre agraria en México en la época porfiriana* (Mexico City, 1976), 47, 58, 63; Ruiz, *People of Sonora*, 21, 107. Of the demand for workers, J. Fred Rippy writes that 30,000 to 40,000 laborers constantly were engaged in building the railways during the 1880s; Rippy, *Latin America and the Industrial Age*, 2d edn. (New York, 1947), 143. See also Juan Manuel Romero Gil, "Minería y sociedad en el noroeste porfiriano," *Siglo XIX: Cuadernos de historia*, 1 (1991): 59; Mario Cerruti, "Desarrollo capitalista y fuerza de trabajo en Monterrey, 1890–1920," in *Memorias del encuentro sobre historia del movimiento obrero*, 3 vols. (Puebla, Mexico, 1980), 1: 173–75, 193–94.



FIGURE 4: Mexican peons working on the patio of a mine near Pachuca, circa 1895. Photograph from the Probert Research Notes on Mexican History, vol. 10, Benson Latin American Collection. Reproduced courtesy of the General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin.

up to \$2.50 (U.S. dollars) plus food.<sup>42</sup> Mexicans came to resent the Chinese and West Indians who were willing to accept lower wages for unskilled jobs. In 1900, residents at Tampico attacked the West Indian community in a dispute over construction jobs. The Chinese suffered special persecution during the revolution.<sup>43</sup> Working-class Mexicans were hostile to many of the foreigners with whom they had to compete for jobs in their own country.

Moreover, the Mexicans did not easily change their work habits, much to the annoyance of their supervisors. The Aguascalientes smelter workers regularly engaged in what one North American superintendent called "fraud." When the company attempted to alleviate the workers' cost of living by selling them corn at reduced prices, their Mexican employees sold the corn in town at prevailing prices. More general was the workers' penchant toward petty larceny. They would throw sacks of ore over the smelters' wall, returning to pick them up at night. "The workmen had to be searched each night on leaving the works," reported a plant superintendent, "but despite this precaution they would attempt to carry off tools, and whatever else of value they could conceal."<sup>44</sup> Mexican workers at first seemed apathetic about learning to operate intricate machinery. They abandoned expensive imported implements such as tractors and stationary engines to the rain. Nor did they make small adjustments to keep nuts and bolts tight. Miners did not adopt even rudimentary safety precautions in their work. "They would insist," reported a North American mining engineer, "on breaking off dynamite fuses with their teeth."<sup>45</sup>

The Mexican's time-honored ethos consisted of entering and leaving the workplace of his own free will—not the employer's. He might walk off the job at any time over some slight: not being paid on time, abuse from a North American supervisor, or a misunderstanding over pay. A North American master mechanic lamented that he had been unable to obtain more than four and a half days of work from his Mexican assistants. When the rainy season began, the employees

<sup>42</sup> Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development in Northern Mexico," 284.

<sup>43</sup> S. Lief Adleson G., "Historia social del los obreros industriales de Tampico, 1906–1919" (tesis doctoral, El Colegio de México, 1982), 24–25. On the Chinese during the revolution, see Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), 2: 44, 331, 416; William K. Meyers, "La Comarca Lagunera: Work, Protest, and Popular Mobilization in North Central Mexico," in *Other Mexicos: Essays on Regional Mexican History, 1876–1911*, Thomas Benjamin and William McNellie, eds. (Albuquerque, N.M., 1984), 268. Chinese workers in the U.S.-owned mines of Chihuahua earned a little more than half of wages paid to Mexicans. *Morris B. Parker's Mules, Mines and Me in Mexico, 1895–1932*, James M. Day, ed. (Tucson, Ariz., 1979), 32, 34; *Mexican Mining Journal*, 17 (July 1913): 349.

<sup>44</sup> [Mr. Hamilton], "Smelter at Aguas Calientes," n.d. [1918], DRFR. Hamilton was superintendent of ASARCO smelter at Aguascalientes. Also see "Interview no. 278 with W. F. Stevenson of the Río Tinto Copper Co.," n.d., Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Robert Glass Cleland Research Material; William Stoneman to José de Landero, March 11, 1876, the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, the Alan Probert and Lillie M. Probert Collection (hereafter cited as Probert Collection), file E-40; Bernstein, *Mexican Mining Industry*, 90. The strip searches, an old technique of mine owners in Mexico, caused resentment among workers. Ruiz, *Sonoran People*, 66. These "everyday forms of resistance," as James Scott calls theft and other individual acts of defiance, are universal methods by which the underprivileged survive in unjust societies. See Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance," in *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in South-East Asia*, James C. Scott and Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, eds. (London, 1986), 6.

<sup>45</sup> Interview 538, "Labor Conditions in Mines," March 30, 1918; interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR. Also see Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment*, 35.

went off to plant corn. As soon as the corn was harvested, "the men return[ed] to the mines and [were] very bitter if their former jobs [were] not waiting for them." North American owners became sensitive to charges that they exploited the workers. Even if exploitation were present during the days of Díaz, argued a mining operator, the workers always exercised "the option of moving to another mine, where they could work under more favorable conditions."<sup>46</sup> One mining engineer said that the labor turnover was "200 or 300 percent" per year. A railwayman attributed the labor turnover at least partly to the availability of modern means of transportation. "Once the Mexicans had tasted the exhilarations of railway travel," he claimed, "many of them became veritable travel fiends."<sup>47</sup> The latter statement is an interesting but erroneous explanation. Short-term wage work was traditional among Mexican rural residents, enabling them to avoid gross exploitation and maintain individual dignity in an unjust society.

Workers also used liquor to reinforce their commitments to leisure time and resist the employer's efforts to squeeze them for increased efficiency. The problem of drinking was "the most difficult single problem [I] had to meet," reported one mining boss in Sonora. He said that his company maintained a company store, "well-stocked with all grades of goods," in order to prevent the employees from spending their wages on liquor.<sup>48</sup> A railwayman in Sonora found that workers were not usually absent on Mondays nor was their efficiency impaired because of weekend debauchery. However, the extensive consumption of *mescal* and *aguardiente* "tended to make [Mexican workers] still more improvident and consumed their small surplus of earnings." He also noted that the manufacture of beer was increasing steadily, as breweries proliferated along the West Coast.<sup>49</sup> The loss of Mondays was a problem elsewhere. A North American banana planter near Tampico asserted that their "predilection for strong drink" was the greatest cause of inefficiency among his workers. Weekends sometimes became so wild that half of his workers took off an extra day on "San Lunes." His employees "took a certain pride in becoming intoxicated, and conceived that it was a part of manliness to become drunk." The banana planter, like the local railway superintendent, had not wanted to employ men who refused to show up on Monday mornings. But they both found that such a regulation could not be enforced.<sup>50</sup> If they wanted any workers at all, they had to tolerate their drinking.

<sup>46</sup> Interview 570, "Labor Conditions in the Mining Industry on the West Coast," June 17, 1918, DRFR. For labor conditions in Chihuahua, see Mark Wasserman, *Capitalism, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1854-1911* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), chap. 8; French, "Peaceful and Working People."

<sup>47</sup> Day, *Morris B. Parker's Mules, Mines and Me in Mexico*, 33, 75; interview 76, anonymous, July 29, 1918; interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR; Costó Villegas, *et al.*, *Historia moderna de México*, vol. 7, part 2: 256-57; Leticia Gamboa Ojeda, "Mercado de fuerza de trabajo e industria textil: El centro oriental de México durante el Porfiriato," *Siglo XIX: Cuadernos de historia*, 1 (1991): 16; Jean Meyer, "Haciendas y ranchos, peones y campesinos en el Porfiriato: Algunas falacias estadísticas," *Historia mexicana*, 35 (1986): 482-85.

<sup>48</sup> Interview 541, "Labor Conditions in Mine," June 6, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>49</sup> Interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR. On growth of the brewing industry, see Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment*, 52-54.

<sup>50</sup> Interview 545, "Labor Conditions on Banana Plantations near Tampico," June 11, 1918, DRFR. Also see Ruiz, *People of Sonora*, 96.

North American managers experienced labor shortages that were related not to a lack of workers but to work practices. W. S. Morse of American Smelting & Refining wanted the Mexicans to be on the job for thirty days a month. Monthly rather than weekly paychecks would also save on hiring accountants. Under the circumstances, however, Morse got only eleven days of work per month. The men simply refused to work Sundays and holidays, and the smelter often had to shut down its furnaces in deference to the Mexicans' preferences. To remedy the problem, ASARCO undertook to import 400 Chinese coolies to work in its Mexican plants. But, one by one, the Chinese left the company to migrate illegally into the United States even before they had repaid the salary deductions for the passage from China. ASARCO had to develop employment incentives and restructure its employee relations in order to encourage less turnover. Instead of paying the workers monthly, one smelter began paying wages daily. "The increase in the work done was from 22 days to 24 days a month on an average," Morse said, still short of the level he wanted.<sup>51</sup> Mine supervisors at Cananea reported much the same thing. Their workers in the 1890s were toiling little more than half the desired time. But, as the years passed, absenteeism declined. During the Mexican Revolution, North American mining managers found that the skilled laborers, especially, were beginning to work as steadily as the foreigners.<sup>52</sup> Railway and mine employers were accomplishing the slow proletarianization of Mexican workers—albeit, as noted above, not on the terms the foreign employers desired.

For instance, the foreigners had to pay dearly. The Mexico City tramways, which operated 400 cars over 300 miles of track, used higher wages to create a stable labor force. Among the more skilled of its 6,700 Mexican employees in 1910 were gray-haired conductors, motormen, and shop workers who had been with the company for thirty years. In Parral, Durango, the mining company built houses for families to attract workers in a labor-scarce market. The Candelaria Mine in Chihuahua could not find enough competent pumpmen and master mechanics. Its North American manager found that "high skilled [Mexican] labor cost so much!"<sup>53</sup> Good wages improved the material life of the Mexicans, and the children of workers began to dress better than their parents. "I have noticed a peculiar thing about the Peones," an ASARCO manager said, "and that is that the man and his wife would often be seen walking through the streets either barefooted or dressed in ragged garments while their children walking beside them would be fully dressed in American clothes and even wearing shoes and stockings."<sup>54</sup> North American oil managers noted that the Mexicans started to demand the same clothes worn by the foreigners and to imitate their ways. Not all North Americans were pleased. "Mexicans demanded these things too quickly,"

<sup>51</sup> "Interview with Mr. [Willard S.] Morse of the American Smelting & Refining Co.," April 23, 1918, DRFR. By 1918, shifts had been reduced to eight and nine hours, at very little loss of efficiency if any, reported Morse. On the higher wages paid in northern Mexico, see Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution*, 124, 130.

<sup>52</sup> Interview 332, Cananea Copper Co., March 8, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>53</sup> Interview 574, "Labor Conditions and Problems in the Mexico City Tramway, Light and Power Company," June 14, 1918; interview 17, anonymous, n.d., DRFR. W. G. Laird to E. D. Morgan, February 3, September 20, 1909, Peirce Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Interview 541, "Labor Conditions in Mine," June 6, 1918; "Second Interview with Willard S. Morse," April 29, 1918, DRFR.



commented one employer.<sup>55</sup> Still, they would not stay on the job unless the capitalist was willing to pay them to do so.

Clearly, the North Americans' use of paternalism was also related to the need to develop a stable, trained work force. The skilled Mexicans benefited more than the unskilled. On the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the British railway builders in 1901 provided housing only for the skilled Mexican mechanics.<sup>56</sup> There was little paternalism found in construction work, because employers required predominantly short-term, unskilled workers. While building in Sonora, the Southern Pacific Railway did not consider itself liable for either injuries or pensions to its workers. "If a Mexican was killed," a construction engineer admitted, "nothing was done for his family." Fellow workers themselves took up a collection for the families of two timbermen who had fallen to their deaths at the Candelaria Mine. The families used the donation to return home from the mining camp. Such accidents occurred frequently in the old colonial mines resuscitated by foreign capital. Workers received few if any death and injury benefits.<sup>57</sup> Like other foreign employers, the Mexico City tramway owners did practice paternalism in an effort to induce its skilled employees to stay with the company. Therefore, the company provided the employees with a clubhouse, complete with library, billiard room, gymnasium, and barber shop. The tramway company did not have any legal liability in case of accident, there being no applicable Mexican legislation yet. But it chose to continue the employment of workers who had become disabled in the line of duty and to provide jobs for surviving wives and sons.<sup>58</sup> The employer, of course, could use paternalism as a method of social control, too. Threats of strike fell flat when a mining manager let it be known that "he was very sorry to be obliged to import a set of new miners since all of his present employees would have to abandon their comfortable houses and give up the various privileges the company had accorded them."<sup>59</sup> In any case, the foreign *patron* had to act the traditional part or else risk his best workers going to the competition.

In time, some employers came to regard the Mexicans as satisfactory workers. The replacement process proceeded relentlessly in the mining industry. The ratio between North Americans and Mexicans in mining was roughly one to nineteen. At the Moctezuma Copper Company of Sonora, 130 foreigners directed the work of 2,511 Mexicans. The ratio widened, however, as the mining operations matured. By the revolution, Mexicans had moved into positions as yard foremen, level bosses in the mines, assayers, chief electricians, store clerks, and skilled

<sup>55</sup> "Interview with Mr. W. W. Smith," May 11, 1918, DRFR. On the rise in real incomes of Mexican workers, see Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment*, 54.

<sup>56</sup> J. B. Body to Sir Weetman Pearson, July 26, 1902, and Pearson to Body, June 30, 1905, British Science Museum, London, S. Pearson & Co. Papers (hereafter cited as Pearson Papers), Box A-4.

<sup>57</sup> Interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR. W. G. Laird to E. D. Morgan, February 3, 1909; Laird to A. S. Dwight, February 17, 1909, Peirce Papers. On accidents at the Pachuca mines, see E. W. Van Saw, "Annual Report for the Year 1910," June 30, 1911, Probert Collection, file E-8.

<sup>58</sup> Interview 574, "Labor Conditions and Problems in the Mexico City Tramway, Light and Power Company," June 14, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>59</sup> Interview 541, "Labor Conditions in Mine," June 6, 1918, DRFR. For the agrarian antecedents of paternalism in Mexico, see *Paternalismo y economía moral en las haciendas mexicanas del Porfiriato*, Herbert J. Nickel, ed. (Puebla, 1989).

mechanics.<sup>60</sup> In 1906, the foreigners comprised nearly 40 percent of the total work force at Cananea. A strike during that year forced the company to adopt an active program of training and promotion of Mexicans. By 1918, 4,162 Mexicans and only 181 foreigners remained on the Cananea payroll.<sup>61</sup> The manager at the Candelaria gold and silver mine had a mania for saving expenses. He wished to get rid of all the North Americans and replace them with Mexicans, retaining one foreman for up to 400 miners. He could not accomplish his goal before the revolution broke out. But the combination of paternalism and high wages did achieve the desired results. ASARCO encountered fewer problems securing workers as the Porfiriato came to a close. After the Guggenheim firm established a smelter at Aguascalientes in the 1890s, laborers had migrated seasonally from farms to the smelter and back again. Twenty years later, the Mexicans who had been trained as mechanics were used to industrial work and "no longer went away to the farms."<sup>62</sup> Each industry's second generation of Mexican labor had become more stable.

Mexicans also learned the technology despite the obstruction of the North American workers, who never seemed to lose an opportunity to denigrate the natives. The manager of the Dolores Mine in Chihuahua agreed that the native workers eventually adapted to the new techniques, especially when treated with patience. But were their foreign supervisors inclined to treat them patiently? Concluded one mining foreman, "[T]o say that [the Mexican laborer] works as little as possible and steals as much as possible is the only safe maxim of the employer." Another North American said, "The average Mexican laborer is like a child."<sup>63</sup> A North American mechanic considered Mexicans incapable of sticking to their jobs. "They talk incessantly, chiefly about family matters," he reported. "It seems that there is always some new scandal for them to gossip about."<sup>64</sup> On the whole, the supervisors and skilled workers, many of whom worked in Mexico for periods of short duration and feared being replaced by Mexicans, may have been less sympathetic to domestic workers than were the top managers, many of whom had longer experience in the country.

The social distance that race, language, and culture established between the foreign industrial "teacher" and the Mexican "student" also worked to reduce the amount of skill transfer. One North American's daily work log reveals his disdain. Surveying the route for an oil field rail line in 1908, the North American complained frequently of the lethargic work habits and delays of the Mexicans. He encountered trouble among the forty peons of his survey party. "Fifteen of the

<sup>60</sup> "Informant: Officer of Moctezuma Copper Co. of Sonora," March 18, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>61</sup> Interview 332, Cananea Copper Co., March 8, 1918, DRFR. Replacement of American with Mexican workers occurred in other northern Mexican mines as well. The proportion of foreigners at one mine declined from 40 percent in 1905 to 13 percent in 1912. Dwight E. Woodbridge, "Labor Data of Northern Mexico Mine," *Mexican Mining Journal*, 17 (July 1913): 348-49.

<sup>62</sup> W. G. Laird to A. S. Dwight, March 10, July 16, 1909; W. G. Laird to E. D. Morgan, March 22, May 14, 21, 1909, Peirce Papers; [Mr. Hamilton], "Smelter at Aguas Calientes," n.d. [1918], DRFR.

<sup>63</sup> J. E. Wilson, "The Handling of Mexican Labor," *Mexican Mining Journal*, 12 (January 1911): 24-25; interview 541, "Labor Conditions in Mine," June 6, 1918; interview 53, "Mining Labor Conditions," March 22, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>64</sup> Interview 76, anonymous, July 29, 1918; interview 17, anonymous, n.d., DRFR.

peons announced their departure on account of poor eating arrangements," he wrote in the log book:

Not satisfied to go in peace they tried to get all the peons to leave and ended up by two of them coming out 2nd best in a row, one with several loose teeth to remember me by. After that most of them begged to be taken back and I let 3 stay. May live to regret it. Am probably foolish to put any confidence in these animals.<sup>65</sup>

North American drillers were particularly clannish in keeping the Mexican "helpers" in subordinate positions. Back in the United States, such men willingly taught the oil business to their white cousins who had come off the farms.<sup>66</sup> But they did not wholeheartedly impart the skills of modernization to those whom they considered racially or ethnically inferior.

Despite the opposition of the North American workers, the financially strapped railways found that promoting Mexicans made economic sense, even though the North American unions resisted. Among its 300 foreign-born workers, the Mexico City tramway company replaced the North American supervisors first with Spanish-born—not Mexican—labor bosses. The Mexicans had been found to be unable to assume large responsibilities, and Spanish immigrants were cheaper than North Americans. By the outbreak of revolution, however, many Mexicans had been promoted to *jefes de línea*, and three had become division superintendents on the tramways. While the Mexican line chiefs made 150 pesos (\$75) a month, the lowest-paid North Americans started at 250 pesos (\$125). A North American always served as traffic superintendent.<sup>67</sup> The alleged Mexican inferiority was offered as the reason for their slow advancement. The Southern Pacific in Sonora trusted only North Americans as train dispatchers, and Mexicans were not promoted as station agents until after 1912. And always, the North American was found superior as a company clerk. "The average Mexican in a clerical position would never look for anything to do beyond the task immediately set before him," concluded one train manager.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the Southern Pacific in Mexico began to hire Mexicans as engineers, firemen, brakemen, and conductors because the line was only "breaking even" in operating expenses. The financial weakness of foreign rail companies was well known. (The Mexican Central Railway, said its claims adjuster in 1906, "is in awful shape."<sup>69</sup>) Companies paid native-born supervisors less than North Americans. Promoting a Mexican fireman to replace North Americans as engineers also reduced the employer's

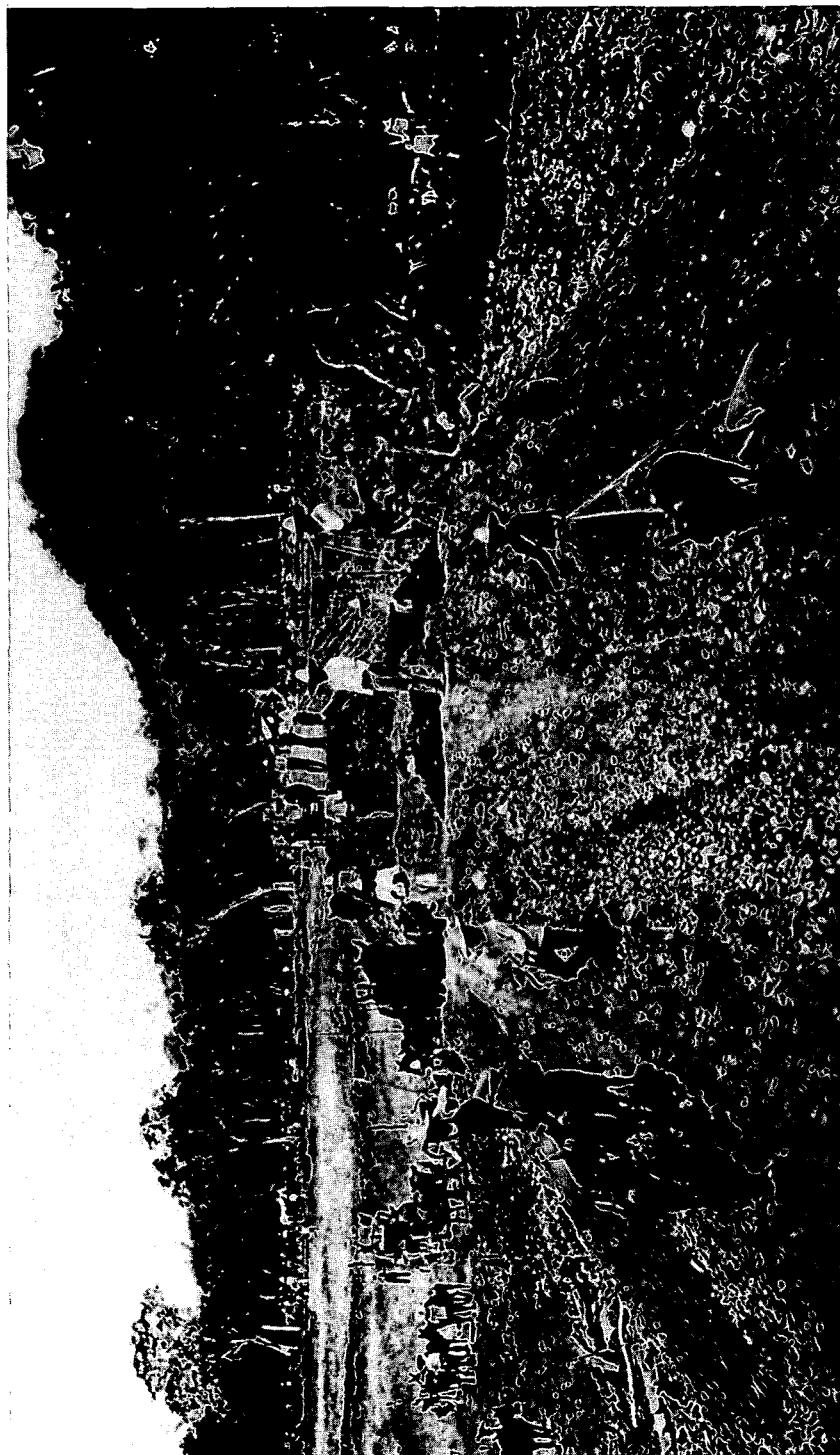
<sup>65</sup> Entry for March 19, anonymous, "Daily Field Book," 1908, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin, Oral History of the Texas Oil Industry Records, Box 3K10, file 6.

<sup>66</sup> In Texas, for example, experienced drillers from Pennsylvania quickly taught the craft to the Texas farm boys, although racial discrimination relegated African and Mexican Americans, more or less permanently, to jobs like cooking, cleaning, and lifting. See Roger M. Olien and Diana Davids Olien, *Oil Booms: Social Change in Five Texas Towns* (Lincoln, Neb., 1982), 110; *Voices from the Oil Fields*, Paul F. Lambert and Kenny A. Franks, eds. (Norman, Okla., 1984), 44, 46; Joseph A. Pratt, *The Growth of a Refining Region* (Greenwich, Conn., 1980), 155. On North American and Mexican workers in the oil industry during the Porfiriato, see Jonathan C. Brown, *Oil and Revolution in Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 81–89.

<sup>67</sup> Interview 574, "Labor Conditions and Problems in the Mexico City Tramway, Light and Power Company," June 14, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>68</sup> Interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>69</sup> Entry for December 31, 1906, White Diaries.



FIGURES 5 AND 6: Mexican peons use teams of mules to grade the roadbed of a narrow-gauge railway in the oil zone near Tuxpan, *circa* 1910. Photographs from the Eberstadt Collection, the Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin. Reproduced courtesy of the General Libraries, University of Texas, Austin.

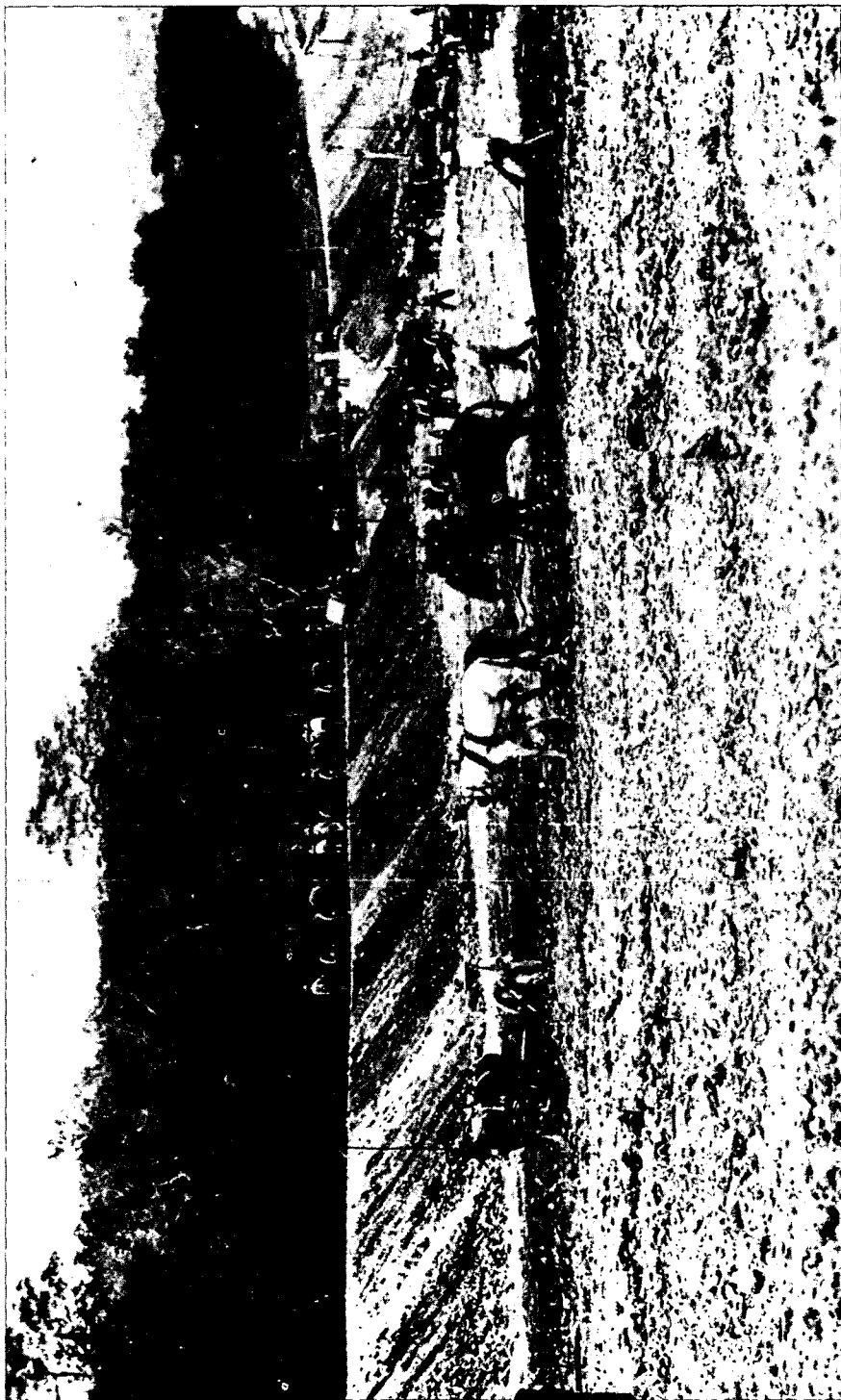


FIGURE 6.



wage scale. Some railway managers found that the Mexicans adapted rather well. They made "as good mechanics as do the representatives of any nationality if proper care is taken in their selection."<sup>70</sup> The process of promoting Mexicans proceeded rapidly after the Mexican government, in 1902, began buying railway stock, nationalizing the lines. Even on railways such as the Southern Pacific through Sonora, which remained outside the National Railways system, the Díaz government and management signed a contract, providing that at least 75 percent of the company's employees be Mexicans.<sup>71</sup> Native workers themselves pressed the owners to speed up the Mexicanization of the work force.

The continued prominence of North American workers provided the basis for a big strike of Mexican workers at Cananea in 1906. When the company announced a new pay raise for the North American laborers, the Mexicans went out on strike. They demanded similar wage hikes, promotions, reduction of the work day from nine to eight hours, and a limitation of North Americans to one-quarter of the work force. In this violent strike, six North Americans and thirty Mexicans died, and the governor of Sonora shamed the Díaz administration by asking the Arizona Rangers to restore order.<sup>72</sup> The management also claimed that North American union members had encouraged the Mexican rebellion so that North Americans could take over all positions. "The strike lasted only five days," the Cananea manager stated later. "The immediate result of this was the elimination of the members of the [North American] Western Federation of Miners, and thereafter the gradual reduction in the number of foreigners employed."<sup>73</sup>

Workers nationwide began to organize under the leadership of the skilled, proletarianized Mexicans. "A small class of agitators almost exclusively recruited from those more or less skilled such as Mechanics, Masons and Carpenters, have banded together under the motto 'Mexico for the Mexicans,'" reported the U.S. consul at Guanajuato, "for the purpose of driving out the better paid American laborer and securing for themselves these better positions."<sup>74</sup> North Americans noticed the paradox. In Zacatecas, the educated and working classes, precisely those benefiting most from the "better wages" and "higher standards" brought by North American businesses, were beginning to entertain a vague anti-Americanism. Indeed, the xenophobia was difficult to confine to one place on the political spectrum. Worker groups professed anti-Americanism, as did the Flores Magón brothers, self-styled anarcho-socialist lawyers and organizers of the oppositionist Liberal Party. But even in the more conservative Guadalajara, a political party connected to the Catholic church and opposed to Díaz warned darkly of "the

<sup>70</sup> Interview 551, "Transportation Problems in Mexico," June 11, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>71</sup> Interview 552, "Labor Conditions on the West Coast," June 10, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>72</sup> David M. Pletcher, *Rails, Mines, and Progress: Seven American Promoters in Mexico, 1867–1911* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1958), 238, 240–41, 249–50; Ruiz, *People of Sonora*, 113–16.

<sup>73</sup> Another strike in 1912 gained the Cananea workers shorter work hours and an end to a premium system that rewarded attendance. Interview 332, Cananea Copper Co., March 8, 1918, DRFR.

<sup>74</sup> Dwight Furness to Edward Gottschalk, July 4, 5, 1906, NADS, Record Group 59, Numerical and Minor Files of the Department of State, 1906–10 (hereafter cited as Numerical and Minor Files), no. 41.

American Invasion of Mexico.”<sup>75</sup> Anti-foreign sentiments united many disparate Mexican political factions.

By July of 1906, no one, not the North Americans, President Díaz, or the government-subsidized Mexican press, could ignore the anti-Americanism. Rumors abounded that, on September 16, Mexico’s Independence Day, the workers together with Mexican businessmen were going to stage an uprising to expel all the foreigners. Foreign capitalists hired informers to discover the veracity of the rumors. Whoever supported the sentiments, no one could mistake the intent of the handbills that began to appear throughout the republic. They announced:

We desire Mexico for the Mexicans and warn all foreigners that if they do not leave the country by the 16th of September they will be driven into the sea.

The principal industries and business of the republic are in the hands of the foreigners, principally North Americans. The railroads, although they apparently belong to the government, are the exclusive property of Americans; the Americans direct them. The mining industries are largely controlled by the foreigners, and our nation heretofore independent, is being made the servant of foreign capital.

We are on the border of an abyss and a great catastrophe menaces us all until we put the foreigners from the country and give our own people a chance.<sup>76</sup>

Mexican government officials dismissed the rumors of rebellion. Yet they, too, began to blame foreigners for the country’s problems. “[T]he authorities here are of the opinion that American and other foreign foremen in large industrial concerns often fail to display a proper degree of tact and judgement in their treatment of their Mexican labor,” reported *The Mexican Herald*. “They are, it is averred, harsh and rough, at times; both in word and deed and moreover do not give, it is said, their Mexican employes [*sic*] a fair show either, as to pay or advancement, but under all circumstances give the preference to their own compatriots.”<sup>77</sup> The Díaz regime promised to impress on foreign employers the need to treat Mexican labor with more justice, although a legal structure more solicitous of the growing working class would not be established until the revolution began.

Not all the foreigners were so sure that the threats against them were entirely specious. Mine owners in Michoacán imported two small Gatling guns, equipped their plants with searchlights, and organized the 500 American, English, and German employees to prevent sabotage by their 10,000 Mexican workers. Some foreign residents in Mexico recognized that the introduction of foreign capital into Mexico had aroused bitter opposition in many quarters. The Mexican working classes in particular, reported a U.S. diplomat in Mexico City, were aroused by intellectual leaders “not because of any particular race hatred but simply because our countrymen are extremely numerous here, are paid greater

<sup>75</sup> Edmund V. Gehren to Edward Gottschalk, July 7, 1906; Will B. Davis to Gottschalk, July 13, 1906, Numerical and Minor Files. On “Catholic conservatism” in Mexico, see Alan Knight, *U.S.–Mexican Relations, 1910–1940: An Interpretation* (La Jolla, Calif., 1987), 44.

<sup>76</sup> Phillip C. Hanna to Robert Bacon, no. 281, July 25, 1906, Monterrey Consuls.

<sup>77</sup> *Mexican Herald*, July 24, 1896, in D. E. Thompson to secretary of state, no. 131, July 25, 1896, U.S. Ministers. For a fuller treatment of Porfirian labor policies, see David W. Walker, “Porfirian Labor Politics: Working Class Organizations in Mexico City and Porfirio Díaz, 1876–1902,” *The Americas*, 37 (1981): 257–90.

wages for the same work than Mexicans, and, by reason of their very occupations as miners, railroad men, plantation overseers, etc., are not representative of our most broad-minded or cultured classes at home."<sup>78</sup>

However, the apparent xenophobic outrage of 1906 produced no noticeable violence against foreigners. The 60,000 persons attending the Independence Day celebrations actually shouted "Vive América" and "Vive los Americanos," phrases that could have referred to everything and everyone from the Straits of Magellan to Hudson Bay but that diplomats preferred to interpret as pro-United States sentiments. Díaz and his cabinet, all of whom were in attendance, must have felt vindicated; nonetheless, they had activated nearly 1,000 extra policemen in the capital, just in case.<sup>79</sup> North Americans were still wary. When two Indian villages south of Minatitlán armed themselves in a dispute over land and many railway employees became involved, a manager on the Tehuantepec line reassured the foreign community. It was "just a bit of local ugliness," he reported.<sup>80</sup> Mexican Independence Day came and passed without one North American having been driven out of the country. It was not, however, the end of labor agitation. Río Blanco was the next act.

Proletarians of Puebla, Jalapa, and Orizaba, who had established a long record of militancy since the textile industry there began developing modern, technologically advanced factory production in the 1870s, initiated a series of strikes in 1906. The basic issue was the increased cost of living. Managers of the French-owned Río Blanco plant retaliated by locking out some 1,800 workers. In January of 1907, as Díaz himself was preparing a labor settlement, troops opened fire on the workers, killing up to 200 strikers, and jailed an additional 400.<sup>81</sup> Yet neither the failure of the 1906 rebellion nor the violent suppression of the Cananea and Río Blanco strikes halted the new industrial proletarians from collectively seeking redress of their grievances. In the railway industry, the still prominent foreign workers became the focus of labor unrest.

<sup>78</sup> Edward Gottschalk to Robert Bacon, Mexico, September 10, 1906, Numerical and Minor Files, 100/53–55.

<sup>79</sup> D. E. Thompson to Robert Bacon, Mexico City, September 3, 1906; Gottschalk to Bacon, Mexico, September 10, 1906, Numerical and Minor Files, 100/90–95.

<sup>80</sup> D. E. Thompson to secretary of state, October 3, 1906; Gottschalk to Bacon, September 10, 1906, Numerical and Minor Files, 100/107; James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900–1913* (Austin, Tex., 1968), 134–56; John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 73, 93, 103; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *The Great Rebellion: México, 1905–1924* (New York, 1980), 106–07. My analysis above supports the viewpoint of Alan Knight, who argues against the above authors. Knight maintains that xenophobia and anti-Americanism did not contribute to the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. Nor did the workers object to foreign enterprise, only to individual American managers, skilled workers, and Chinese laborers. Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 1: 69, 103, 145, 171–72; Knight, *U.S.–Mexican Relations*, chap. 2.

<sup>81</sup> Moisés González Navarro, *Las huelgas textiles en el porfiriato* (Puebla, 1970), 68, 85–86, 90; Rosendo Salazar and José G. Escobedo, *Las pugnas de la gleba, 1907–1922* (Mexico City, 1923), 18–26; Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics," 281–82; Rodney Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land: Mexican Industrial Workers, 1906–1911* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 151, 164, 183; Cosío Villegas, et al., *Historia moderna de México*, vol. 7, part 1: 344, 420; Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries*, 5, 19; Carmen Ramos Escandón, *La industria textil y el movimiento obrero en México* (Mexico City, 1988), 72–77.

THE TEXTILE AND MINING STRIKES OF 1906 serve as dramatic demonstrations of the pressures that the workers were willing to bring on both the foreign investors and the Porfirian regime. Over the long term, however, railroad men led Mexican labor militancy. The maturity and structure of railroading, this critical agent of capitalist penetration, offered a rare opportunity for resistance on the part of its workers. At the turn of the century, Mexican railwaymen were entering their second generation. Trainmen traveled as a profession. Friendships and social relationships formed as the men of one city associated with those of another. They were bound together by a sense of "occupational community."<sup>82</sup> Mexican trainmen believed that they performed important work for the nation, so crucial were the railways to Mexico's industrial progress and economic well-being. Far from degrading them, their work gave them a sense of importance. The time had come to eliminate the foreign workers—with assistance from the state, if necessary.

Ironically, these Mexicans learned about industrial action from the North American workers. The foreigners had enjoyed enough privileges and benefits in Mexico to be willing to organize to protect their turf from the native-born workers. The motives were partly racial. Caucasian-American trainmen at home had also excluded African-American workers from their unions. But in Canada, the American railwaymen welcomed native-born whites.<sup>83</sup> The first strike in Mexico was apparently provoked in 1884 by North American mechanics, who were demanding higher salaries. They made no demands whatsoever concerning the lower salary levels of the Mexican workers. In 1886, when the companies attempted to use Mexicans as strikebreakers, North American engineers and firemen beat up scabs, derailed trains, and had to be subdued by Mexican troops. They had been protesting wage reductions.<sup>84</sup> Even into the first decade of the twentieth century, skilled North American workers retained enough power over the work process to impose their will. Engineers on the Inter-Oceanic line demanded higher wages to place them on the scale of wages earned by their countrymen on other lines. Management granted them a 10 percent wage increase. On the Mexican Central lines, North American workers pressured management successfully for a holiday on July 4. Even on the Mexican National system, owned by the Mexican government after 1902, North American telegraphers and station agents gained wage increases.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, the Mexican environment operated to impinge on North American suzerainty, for U.S. workers faced the opposition of the employers, the Mexican state, and Mexican workers. North Americans had always reverted to solidarity to relieve one of their greatest insecurities: imprisonment by Mexican

<sup>82</sup> Joel Horowitz, "Occupational Community and the Creation of a Self-Styled Elite: Railroad Workers in Argentina," *The Americas*, 42 (1985): 55–81.

<sup>83</sup> Richard Ulric Miller, "American Railroad Unions and the National Railways of Mexico: An Exercise in Nineteenth-Century Proletarian Manifest Destiny," *Labor History*, 15 (1974): 259; Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976), 152.

<sup>84</sup> Marcelo Rodea, *Historia del movimiento obrero ferrocarrilero en México, 1890–1943* (Mexico, 1944), 289; Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development in Northern Mexico," 290–91. The relationship between Americans and Mexicans had not always been hostile. Mexican railwaymen learned to play baseball from their American supervisors. See William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln, Neb., 1987), 21.

<sup>85</sup> *Mexican Herald*, June 30, July 3, 4, 1907.

authorities. North American trainmen struck in June of 1907 to pressure the authorities for the release of a conductor who had been jailed for shooting a Mexican boilermaker.<sup>86</sup> Company officials and Monterrey city authorities, late in 1907, cooperated to break up meetings of the U.S. motormen and street car operators. Many foreigners were arrested and charged with organizing a strike. The North Americans had been attempting to protest the government's increasingly effective efforts to hold the motormen accountable for accidents and damages.<sup>87</sup> Of course, the North American workers in particular resisted all efforts by the government to enforce the Mexicanization of the railways. They especially felt threatened by the new requirements to conduct business in Spanish. Most could not. Some complained that they were too old to learn a foreign language. The North American skilled workers, believing that they were indispensable, threatened to quit en masse. So what did the Mexican workers cleverly demand? *Que se hable español*.<sup>88</sup>

Skilled Mexican workers soon learned how to organize to protect their industrial jobs. They had good historical precedents. They could look back to the exclusiveness of Spanish artisans during the colonial period or to the traditional command of mine work by the pikemen (*barreteros*).<sup>89</sup> Now, the exclusive behavior of North Americans reinforced the experience. Approximately 800 skilled U.S. workers labored on the Mexican Central at the turn of the century. So did 1,000 skilled Mexicans but only as brakemen and yardman. Native-born workers responded by organizing the Supreme Order of Railway Employees, a mutual aid society. It suffered greatly in 1894. The organization supplied management with strikebreakers during the North American trainmen's strike of that year. Following the strike, the Mexicans lost these jobs to the returning North Americans.<sup>90</sup> In 1900, the Union of Mexican Mechanics was organized. Their manifesto cited the prevailing situation of "constant hostilities and vexations for the Mexican worker, compared to the distinction with which the Americans are treated."<sup>91</sup>

North American privileges stoked the Mexican railroader's initial job actions. Some succeeded; others did not. Six hundred workers at Orizaba demonstrated against the appointment of a new superintendent they did not like. Most ended up in jail.<sup>92</sup> Mexican machinists of the International line and firemen (*fogoneros*) of the National Railways protested the salary raises of the North Americans. The machinists gained a 25 percent increase in their own wages; the *fogoneros* were suspended from their work. Other Mexican craftsmen of the Inter-Oceanic Railway in 1903 struck for higher salaries. Meanwhile, a company attack on its

<sup>86</sup> W. D. Ives to S. E. Cross, May 25, 1907; D. E. Thompson to N. E. Presley, June 24, 1907, Tampico Post; *Mexican Herald*, June 24, 1907.

<sup>87</sup> *Mexican Herald*, January 5–7, 1908.

<sup>88</sup> *Mexican Herald*, January 15, February 14, 1908.

<sup>89</sup> Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521–1861* (Mexico City, 1954), 229, 232, 241; John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1983), 208–11; Doris M. Ladd, *The Making of a Strike: Mexican Silver Workers' Struggles in Real del Monte, 1766–1775* (Lincoln, Neb., 1988), 9, 14, 66–68, 79–80.

<sup>90</sup> Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development in Northern Mexico," 292–93, 195.

<sup>91</sup> *El democrata fronterizo*, August 28, 1900.

<sup>92</sup> *El democrata fronterizo*, March 8, 1902.



membership reduced the mechanics' union to its last branch in Chihuahua. The idea of solidarity extended to the boilermen (*caldereros*), who formed their trade union in 1903 and offered membership to foreigners, too. None joined.<sup>93</sup> Such attempts at organizing the different trades within the railway industry were duplicated in several cities throughout Mexico. Once again, an economic downturn preceded each new level of action. These early strikes were countered by North American workers, who specialized in defaming Mexican character and conditions in newspapers north of the border.<sup>94</sup>

During the Porfiriato, most Mexican strikes were uncoordinated local efforts of rather brief duration. Yet the various trade unionists were creating a coalition of railroad workers. In time, a national structure with headquarters at Mexico City was formed. Workers on the Inter-Oceanic and on the International lines initiated the formation of the Gran Liga Mexicana de Empleados de Ferrocarriles (the Great Mexican League of Railway Employees) in 1903. These unionists met biannually in Mexico City, where they were better placed to influence government decisions. By 1908, from 10,000 to 15,000 skilled Mexicans, mostly brakemen and mechanics, belonged to the Gran Liga. The unskilled, itinerant Mexican right-of-way maintenance workers were not organized.<sup>95</sup>

Strikes soon began to be more coordinated affairs. Solidarity came in 1905, after workers had suffered layoffs in the summer due to the trade decline, and continued through the financial crisis of 1907, when silver devaluation raised the workers' cost of living.<sup>96</sup> Economic resurgence and rising demand for industrial workers emboldened labor organizers even more, and the railway nationalization and the possible "retirement" of President Díaz opened opportunities for Mexican workers to form alliances with hopeful politicians. On the Mexican National Railway, Mexican machinists, joined by some lesser skilled workers, stopped traffic because a North American foreman had abused them. Boilermen of the Mexican Central went out on strike a month later, in October 1905, because their hours had been extended but not their pay. Sympathy strikers joined them at rail junctions from Torreón to Ciudad Victoria, shutting down the system for two weeks. When that action ended, many strikers lost their jobs. Yet they were not defeated. The boilermakers struck again at Monterrey for two weeks.<sup>97</sup>

Being a Mexican company did not prevent the National Railways from suffering labor unrest, for government ownership did not remove foreign

<sup>93</sup> *Mexican Herald*, September 3, 1903.

<sup>94</sup> "In fact," writes Lorena Parlee, "the strikes generally represented attempts by each nationality to defend their interests in relation to the other." Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development in Northern Mexico," 297–99. Both Carr and Ruiz argue that the rights of foreign workers were as much an issue as wages in the labor strife of the Porfiriato. Carr, *El movimiento obrero*, 40; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Labor and the Ambivalent Revolutionaries: Mexico, 1911–1923* (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 13–16.

<sup>95</sup> *El democrata fronterizo*, March 8, 1905; Lorena M. Parlee, "The Impact of United States Railroad Unions on Organized Labor and Government Policy in Mexico (1880–1911)," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 64 (1984): 455–57.

<sup>96</sup> As Rodney Anderson writes, "strikes took place in times of general economic expansion, while a downswing in the business cycle discouraged strikes; jobs were scarce, men were out of work, and a larger pool of surplus labor could be drawn on to replace workers." Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land*, 305. The years of labor strikes included 1881, 1884, 1889, 1890–1891, 1895, and 1905–1907. See Carr, *El movimiento obrero*, 32; Meyers, "La Comarca Lagunera," 258.

<sup>97</sup> *Mexican Herald*, August 12, October 14, November 4, 1905.

workers to the satisfaction of the Mexican workers. Most Mexicans were still not making as much as their North American counterparts. In Chihuahua, the mechanics commenced a strike on August 1, 1906. The carpenters and boilermen, even some yardmen at the National Railways in Monterrey, soon joined them. The mechanics had drawn up a list of demands that sought, above all, clarification of work rules, if not yet a collective contract. They asked the management to extend job security to veteran workers and regulate the advancement of apprentices.<sup>98</sup> The workers sent a delegation to speak to President Díaz, and a bargain was struck. Union leaders asked their associates to return to work, and the Mexican Central promised the government that it would provide equal pay for equivalent work and service to every employee, regardless of nationality. The railway company still refused to recognize the union.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, government intervention conferred new respectability on the Mexican workers.

A zenith of organization was achieved in 1908. The leaders of the Gran Liga held their third convention in January. By then, affiliated unions had joined from Oaxaca in the south, Jalapa in the east, Mexico and Puebla in the center, Mazatlán and Guaymas in the northwest, and Monterrey and Durango in the north. Many of these workers had participated in numerous stoppages during the previous year.<sup>100</sup> The Gran Liga showed itself to be something of a pragmatic, even nationalistic, movement. Leaders desired the recognition of the Mexican government; they wanted to establish trade schools in the principal railway centers of Mexico; they desired all official business to be transacted in Spanish; and they demanded Mexican doctors.<sup>101</sup> That most company doctors knew no Spanish apparently annoyed workers.

The Gran Liga itself became involved in the biggest railway dispute of the Porfiriato. It started innocently enough. In San Luis Potosí, the Mexican trainmaster discharged a Mexican clerk. More than 125 members of the Gran Liga there, mostly boilermen and blacksmiths, quit work "over alleged discriminations against league men." The management replaced them, and the trains continued to run. From Mexico City, Félix Vera, president of the Gran Liga, threatened a nation-wide work stoppage. The Mexican Central responded with its standard union-busting tactic: it refused to deal with spokesmen of the workers. "The Company is willing to hear and deal with all employes, [sic] but it is not its policy to recognize officially others who may want to deal with the Company for employes." For the most part, the governor and local officials supported the railroad companies, which replaced many of the skilled Mexicans with appren-

<sup>98</sup> *Mexican Herald*, August 6, 1906.

<sup>99</sup> D. E. Thompson to Robert Bacon, August 18, 1906, Numerical and Minor Files, no. 540; Rodea, *Historia del movimiento obrero ferrocarrilero*, 306–11; Parlee, "Impact of United States Railroad Unions on Organized Labor," 463–64. There was much precedence in the Díaz regime for cooperation with labor. The Congreso Obrero, a coalition of artisans, supported Díaz in the 1880s. See Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics," 267; Adolfo Gilly, *La revolución interrumpida: México, 1910–1920; Una guerra campesina por la tierra y el poder*, 5th edn. (Mexico City, 1975), 20–22.

<sup>100</sup> *Mexican Herald*, May 31, June 11, 14, 20, 26, July 10, 1907; Parlee, "Impact of United States Railroad Unions on Organized Labor," 443, 460.

<sup>101</sup> *Mexican Herald*, January 9, 19, 1908; John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico* (1910; Austin, Tex., 1969), 175–76. Mexico City was the scene of much ferment among the artisan classes, led by an intelligentsia espousing anarchism and syndicalism. See Jorge Basurto, *El proletariado industrial en México (1850–1930)* (Mexico City, 1975), 87, 148.

tices.<sup>102</sup> Lack of political support delivered a severe blow to the Gran Liga. The strike ultimately failed, provoking the disintegration of the organization from internal defection.<sup>103</sup> The Gran Liga lost the political battle, but the trainmen did not necessarily lose the war.

The agitation of the Mexican workers, on the whole, had been successful in achieving a number of objectives. While the government may have suppressed the strikes and condoned company strike-breaking measures, it also increased the pressure on foreign management to replace North American workers with Mexicans. U.S. labor organizations were unable to protect their turf. The government broke their strikes, too. Mexicanization of the railways signaled a host of subtle changes—translation of schedules and regulations into Spanish—for example, that worked to the disadvantage of North Americans. Mexicans replaced North Americans at the telegraph keys, and in 1909, the native-born telegraphers soon formed their first tentative organization, a mutualist society.<sup>104</sup>

The assertiveness of the Mexican workers rendered less effective the resistance of the North American railway unionists. In 1909, the manager of the Central Railways now had the power to resist the North American workers. “[I]f the Order of Railway Conductors insists upon [a wage] increase,” he told the North American workers, “the men will be relieved and native conductors placed in their positions.”<sup>105</sup> The once-powerful North American conductors suffered additional indignities. Management went ahead with plans to send inspectors aboard the passenger trains of the Mexican National lines. These auditors were to ferret out dishonesty and graft, long a common complaint about North American conductors.<sup>106</sup> Eventually, the conductors of the National Railways struck in protest of new government regulations. Twenty-eight of them lost their positions to apprentices.<sup>107</sup> In fact, the resistance of U.S. workers to gradual Mexicanization of the work force annoyed many powerful politicians. A strike by North American dispatchers who objected to two Mexicans being trained by the National Railways infuriated Treasury Secretary José Yves Limantour, architect of the railroad nationalization. He ordered the dismissal of North American troublemakers, the promotion of Mexicans, and the substitution of Spanish for English. Limantour’s plan had been to replace the North American workers through attrition, but their agitation in defense of their jobs gave him cause to dismiss them.<sup>108</sup>

Mexican workers also did their part to speed up Mexicanization. They participated in the fall of the Díaz regime, which despite its erratic paternalism toward labor, was seen as too weak in dealing with the North Americans. Many supported the alternative political movements of first Bernardo Reyes, then Francisco I. Madero.<sup>109</sup> The manager of Chichuahua’s Northwest Railway claimed that his

<sup>102</sup> *Mexican Herald*, February 4, April 22, 23, 1908.

<sup>103</sup> *Mexican Herald*, May 9, 16, 26, 30, June 16, 17, 1908. An account of the strike may also be found in Cosío Villegas, *et al.*, *Historia moderna de México*, vol. 7, part 2: 715–18.

<sup>104</sup> *El democrata fronterizo*, July 14, 1901; *Mexican Herald*, April 24, 1909; Ruiz, *Great Rebellion*, 65.

<sup>105</sup> *Mexican Herald*, June 7, 10, 1908, March 10, 1909.

<sup>106</sup> *Mexican Herald*, April 3, 11, 1909.

<sup>107</sup> *Mexican Herald*, November 14, 1905, January 27, 1906, February 5, 1909.

<sup>108</sup> *El imparcial*, August 11, 1909.

<sup>109</sup> Francisco I. Madero, *La sucesión presidencial en 1910: El partido nacional democrático* (San Pedro, Coahuila, 1908), 208; Rodney D. Anderson, “Mexican Workers and the Politics of Revolution,

crews "absolutely refused to handle troop trains" for the Díaz government. The North American superintendent of the Candelaria Mine suspected that its Mexican laborers were "sympathizers with the revolutionary movement."<sup>110</sup> The industrial proletariat participated in the breakup of political consensus that had supported Díaz for so long, even if they did not, like many small farmers and peasants, take up arms against the regime. The Mexicanization process was slow. There were only 130 fewer foreign railroadmen in 1911 than in 1909. Still, their days were numbered. The revolution, which broke out at the end of 1910, eventually provided the Mexicans with even greater opportunities to pressure the foreigners. By 1914, most had departed for the safety of the United States.<sup>111</sup> Thereafter, the disruptions of the revolution dispersed the railway proletarians into other industries, like the booming oil industry, where they continued their labor militancy, beginning with the cost of living crisis of 1915.<sup>112</sup> Labor agitation continued following the 1921 and 1930 depressions, until the industrial unions and the government of President Lázaro Cárdenas institutionalized the state-labor alliance that had been germinating fitfully under the Porfirian regime.

IN CONCLUSION, IT IS CLEAR THAT, during the Porfiriato, proletarianization was selective. It was completed only for the skilled Mexican workers of the older industries. The unskilled retained ties to the rural communities, a circumstance that calls into question some of the accepted interpretations about the "disruptive" and "oppressive" nature of foreign investment on the working class. The new industrial workers who entered the railway and mining industries did not appear to be displaced artisans or peasants who had lost land, and many kept their ties to agriculture while working part-time in the modern industry. They made their lengthy transition into industrial proletarians on their own terms. Nor did modernization seem to "de-skill" the workers. In time, Mexicans replaced the foreign workers in the higher paying jobs.<sup>113</sup> According to their own choice and

---

1906–1911," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1 (1974): 106, 108; Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics," 258, 269, 271; Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land*, 267; Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, 1: 63; Adleson, "Historia social de los obreros industriales," 46, 48; Wasserman, *Capitalist, Caciques, and Revolution*, 130; Knight, *U.S.–Mexican Relations*, 58.

<sup>110</sup> H. C. Ferris to E. D. Kenna, December 17, 1910; R. W. Dudley to H. C. Ferris, December 19, 1910, the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, Ferrocarril Noroeste de México, Archivo Parcial; W. G. Laird to E. D. Morgan, December 28–30, 1910, Peirce Papers.

<sup>111</sup> Lord Cowdray to J. B. Body, April 28, 1904; Cowdray to Board of Trade, October 10, 1914, Pearson Papers, Box A-3; "Data re American Refugees from Mexico, 1913–14," Tampico Post, 850.4; Parlee, "Porfirio Díaz, Railroads, and Development," 310–11; Miller, "American Railway Unions," 256. Also see William French, "Business as Usual: Mexico North Western Railway Managers Confront the Mexican Revolution," *Mexican Studies/Estudios mexicanos*, 5 (1989): 230, 236–37.

<sup>112</sup> The reader may think that I highlight excessively the conflicts between foreign and domestic workers, but I have found no evidence of cooperation between American and Mexican workers during the Porfiriato. The representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World arrived later, during World War I, and they influenced mainly the labor leaders, many of whom were lawyers, schoolteachers, or Spanish immigrants, and not the rank-and-file. Later, employers and consuls complained frequently about the ideological cross-pollination between the Philadelphia Wobblies and Tampico laborers. See Brown, *Oil and Revolution in Mexico*, chap. 5.

<sup>113</sup> Most workers in northern Mexico had not been artisans, as were Hobsbawm's labor aristocrats, and industrialization presented them with an opportunity to develop rather than lose skills. See E. J.

timing, native-born laborers entered the industrial work force after a long period of association with it as itinerants, then apprentices, and finally skilled employees. To make the transition worthwhile, they induced employers to raise wages and benefits and to accommodate Mexican traditions of work.

Moreover, these skilled workers were the ones who organized to combat the insecurities and indignities of their new dependency. They did not so much resist the penetration of capital as agitate against changes that capitalism seemed to demand in their lives. Individual choice, leisure time, use of the employer's property, working-class cultural solidarity: these were traditions the Mexicans considered worthy of preservation in the new industrial order. They fought individual, daily battles to retain them. Mexican workers also organized to speed up the departure of those foreign workers who monopolized the best jobs and of those foreign supervisors who belittled Mexican working-class culture. A second motivation for the proletarians to organize was control of access to their ranks. Without showing a willingness to subdue capital just yet, the skilled Mexicans indicated that they intended to wrest command of the labor market from the owners. They gained control of seniority and apprenticeships. These accomplishments certainly made their industrial dependence more tolerable and ameliorated the effects of depression-induced layoffs. They also lent a strain of conservative, trade-union consciousness to Mexican proletarians.

Finally, Mexican workers may have struck, agitated, goaded the North Americans, and committed violence against property, but they established no revolutionary tradition during the Porfiriato. Nothing in this evidence suggests that the rank-and-file desired to smash Capital. In fact, their actions imply instead that they very much welcomed the increased job opportunities that foreign investment and industrialization afforded them. Like Eric Hobsbawm's Edwardian labor aristocrats, they actively defended their rights but "they were far from revolutionaries."<sup>114</sup> Nor did the new industrial growth change the political relationship that laborers in Mexico, ever since the colonial era, had always had with their

---

Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1964), chap. 15. The textile and cigarette industries, where artisans were forced into factory work, may have been exceptions. For discussion of these issues, see Anderson, *Outcasts in Their Own Land*, 27, 30, 32, 308; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 167; French, "Peaceful and Working People," 51, 67, 73, 83; Stephen H. Haber, "Assessing the Obstacles to Industrialisation: The Mexican Economy, 1830–1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24 (1992): 16; Reynaldo Sordo Cedeño, "Las sociedades de socorros mutuos, 1867–1880," *Historia mexicana*, 33 (1983): 77; Rina Ortiz Peralta, "Desamortización y liberalización de mano de obra en México: Pachuca-Real del Monte (1850–1880)," *Siglo XIX*, 5 (1990): 84, 101; *Proletarians and Protest: The Roots of Class Formation in an Industrializing World*, Michael P. Hanagan and Charles Stephenson, eds. (New York, 1986), 8–9. (My thanks to Rodney Anderson for this last citation.) And the Porfiriato was a time of "agrarian compression," including both population growth and commercial boom. See John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 278.

<sup>114</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1984), 268. Alan Knight is correct when he writes, "Given half a chance, the organized working class opted for unionism and reforms (sometimes camouflaged under revolutionary rhetoric)." "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution, c. 1900–1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 16 (1984): 71. Also see Anderson, "Mexican Workers," 111–12. Unlike Cockcroft, I do not see proletarians attacking capitalism. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution*, 34. Nor do I agree, as does Hart, that the emergent industrial proletarians "developed strong revolutionary propensities." Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 52.



government. The Díaz regime maintained a paternalistic attitude toward the Mexican workers.<sup>115</sup> If anything, the dual role of foreign capital and of foreign workers in industrializing Mexico may have drawn the two together even more. Government eventually desired to regulate foreign capital; the proletarians wanted job security. Quite naturally, they worked together.<sup>116</sup> In fact, labor had been involved with government all during the Porfiriato and had preserved its long tradition of petitioning public officials.

What do these observations say about capital accumulation and proletarianization in Porfirian Mexico? Obviously, the foreign owners did not have a free hand in creating the kind of native-born work force that they had wanted—efficient, dependent, cheap, servile. Not only did they have to contend with Mexican workers who themselves resisted such a transformation, the capitalists also had to put up with a demanding, noisome group of U.S. skilled workers. Once entrenched, the North Americans organized to preserve their turf, run up the capitalist's labor bill, and keep out the Mexicans through cultural insults and control over technical knowledge. For their part, the Mexican workers organized and struck. The agitation of competing groups of workers raised the concerns of the governing elites about social control during the transition to capitalism. Public officials began to worry that, if they did not intervene, industrial progress would result in either an intolerable assault on their culture or ruinous social conflict. In Mexico, therefore, capitalism did not have a free hand to develop according to its internal, materialist logic.

<sup>115</sup> The government of Díaz "was the father of the family who appealed to the good sense of his children," writes Daniel Cosío Villegas. Cosío Villegas, *et al.*, *Historia moderna de México*, vol. 7, part 2: 706.

<sup>116</sup> As Lorena Parlee asserts, the presence of the foreigners undermined the class differences within Mexico and motivated alliances between Mexican workers and their government. Radical tendencies, meanwhile, were neutralized. Parlee, "Impact of United States Railroad Unions on Organized Labor," 474–75.

---

## Featured Reviews

---

JACQUES LE GOFF. *History and Memory*. Translated by STEVEN RENDALL and ELIZABETH CLAMAN. (European Perspectives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 265. \$29.50.

Jacques Le Goff's book collects four articles from the *Enciclopedia Einaudi* (1977–82). Published first in Italian, then in French, the articles make their way into English as a work of considerable interest, but with an unclear audience. The four sections, culled from Le Goff's contributions to the encyclopedia, are "Past/Present," "Antique (Ancient)/Modern," "Memory," and "History." The Italian edition of this book contains a number of pieces missing from the English edition: progress/reaction, ages of myth, eschatology, decadence, calendar, document/monument. "History" makes up the largest part, about half the book, but its 110-page span also contains much that is of diminished value because of the limits of the encyclopedic genre. The first three articles are the most valuable. Make no mistake: Le Goff, despite his writing for a reference book in a foreign country, and despite his sincere efforts to survey ideas and developments in the non-Western world, is a European, indeed a French, historian. Those Americans who are not historians of France will find surprisingly little reference to any historical work in the United States and will catch a few minor slurs along the way. This is beside the point, however, because the precise value of this book is two-fold: first, as an amble through important and fascinating terrain, guided by a master historian; second, as a specific historical document reflecting the opinions of a centrally located figure in an enterprise that has had a wide impact.

The approach to "Past/Present" reveals Le Goff's orientation, for he compares the French creation of the distinction between contemporary and earlier history generated by the French Revolution with the far more ambiguous Italian relationship to contemporaneity. Noting that the burden of history is greater for some nations than others, he begins his task of presenting the thought of the historical nation *par excellence*, France. Ambiguity, however, marks the trail at many turns. The flight from the present symbolized by Rousseau may be either a "flight to-

ward the future" or a "refuge in the past" (p. 4). Refuge in the past, by the same token, may be either one of those "returns" that Le Goff frequently warns historians against, especially the "returns" to the "banal, reactionary modes of history—narrative, the history of events, biography, and political history," or it may be one of those "renaissances" that, in turn, posits the ancient and the modern as two forms of progress, circular and linear. The notion of the ancient, however, is as ambiguous as the preceding terms, fluctuating as it does between wisdom and senility. When, Le Goff asks, did new and revolutionary become synonymous with better and more desirable? And, one might add, for whom?

Narrative is the mode that embodies many of the ambiguities that Le Goff describes. Written before Paul Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative* (3 vols., 1984–88) and Hayden White's *The Content of the Form* (1987), Le Goff's references to narrative seem a bit passé, but highly symptomatic. "Since historical time is usually expressed in the form of a *narrative*, both in the historian's work and in collective memory, it includes an insistent reference to the present, an implicit focus on the present. This is obviously especially true for traditional history, which has long been primarily a story-history, a narrative" (p. 7). The narrative elements informing *all* historical thinking escape Le Goff, who sees *science* and narrative as antonyms, and science as the only aspiration for history. In the age of the "documentary revolution," with its data banks and technologies, history must be a scientific social history and not a genre of literature. "The increasingly technical nature of historical science has made it more difficult for the historian also to be a writer" (p. xix). The genealogy of history as science is not unfamiliar: the founding of *Annales* in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, preceded by the usual parade of Gallic figures from François Guizot to Henri Berr, began the modern renovation of historical thought.

This scientific modernism, however, does not dull Le Goff's perspicuity in identifying the many complexities of the ancient/modern paradigm, which he links particularly to Western thought. Consciousness of modernity is linked to having consciously broken with a past conceived as senile rather than wise (p. 23). Modernity, however, is a self-consuming concept, always setting itself up to become some *future past*. We all recognize our breaks with the past in the perceived acceleration of history, especially between generations, by visible evidence of material progress, by external shocks to the social system. Modernity, nevertheless, still belongs to an "elite." In the unreasoned love of the modern inaugurated by Baudelaire, fashion, snobbery, and indifference to artistic content whirl about in "the vertiginous vortex" (p. 49).

The crux of this book is the concept of memory, which Le Goff both privileges and fears. "Memory is the raw material of history" (p. xi), he tells us, yet it is as ambiguous as the rest of his field. An excessive reverence for memory, such as the Greeks showed when they deified her as Mnemosyne, while it may provide an antidote for Oblivion, suppresses the historical instinct of investigation. Depending on its orientation, memory can lead toward history or away from it "into the unconquerable flow of time" (p. xii). Le Goff, the medievalist, offers us a well-developed sketch of the art of memory and its central place in an educational regime in which "to know by heart is to know" (p. 76). Drawing on Frances Yates (as he draws on Jack Goody, André Leroi-Gourhan, and many other scholars), Le Goff describes the mnemotechnolgy invented by Simonides and taken up by the rhetorical *paideia*. The long death of the art of memory seems to sadden Le Goff just a bit, and the objections of Erasmus, who saw the memory arts as residues of Scholastic barbarism, and Ramus, whose innovations sparked the modern claims of intelligence over memory, seem, again, ambiguous in their effects.

If the ancient art of personal memory is dead, however, the revival of historical studies and modernity itself has found a way to revive the trappings of memory and its "places." Although the Enlightenment saw a steady decline in the funerary commemoration of the dead, the French Revolution detonated an explosion of the manipulation of memory which has not let up: July 14, souvenirs, archives, museums, and all the places of memory studied by Pierre Nora and his new history of the pivot points of collective identity. Even the family picture album and picture postcard collection becomes "the new familial archives, the 'iconothèque' of family memory" (p. 90).

In the final essay, on "History," the ambiguities, paradoxes, and contradictions that Le Goff employed to shadow his earlier studies attain such a level of tension that his firm faith in the scientific endeavor of modern historical study in the French style is quite dissipated into a sense of crisis, attack, and danger.

The ambiguity of the very meaning of the word (familiar to all in the two senses of past event and the report of such a past) is met by the ambiguities of Claude Lévi-Strauss's apparent assaults on history, by the paradox that (in Ricoeur's words) the historian's work is justified because it occurs in the realm of the inexact. The most flagrant contradiction of history is that its object is singular, but its goal is general. To recognize the former privileges the primacy of the event, the role of individuals, and narrative—undesirable results, indeed (pp. 115–16). Le Goff recognizes that the fact only exists within a problem, but does not connect the construction of problems with the construction of discourse. "Never mind the fact that a narrative, whether historical or not, is a construction, and underneath its honest and objective appearance, a whole series of implicit choices are operative. Every conception of history that identifies it with narrative seems to me unacceptable today" (p. 117). And so he deplors Raymond Aron's notion that history must eliminate generality. History must generalize and explain; he does not accept narrative as a mode of explanation. There are no laws like the sciences, but Le Goff expresses his "conviction that the goal of historical work is to make the historical process intelligible, and that this intelligibility leads to the recognition of *regularities* in historical evolution" (p. 124). He prefers the term *system* to *plot* "because it stresses the objective more than the subjective character of the historical operation" (p. 124). But does it?

History "today" (circa 1980) is in crisis: the return of the event and the revival of narrative are counter-revolutionary signs. "That such people [who see the new trends as fads] are raising their heads in the domain of historians and neighboring fields—that is the real problem of the crisis" (pp. 213–14). At the same time all attempts to rationalize history collide with historical forces of fragmentation and illusory change. The battle for historical science goes on.

This is a work of a place and of a time. Its optimism seems built on the effectiveness of the semi-feudal hierarchies of the European research teams that have produced so much data in the past quarter century; American scholars will properly question how careers are built in this system. For some, it will be a stirring affirmation of the strictest venture to make history a model social science; for others, it must appear a document, a monument to a moment of hopes and useful labor that could not get a better perspective on itself than is granted to ordinary human vision. Both the graduate student and the professor will want to read this book for several reasons. Not least of these is the fact that even the whims of a figure like Jacques Le Goff can teach us something important about history and historians.

HANS KELLNER  
University of Texas,  
Arlington

LIAH GREENFELD. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xii,  
581. \$49.95.

Early investigators thought of nationalism primarily as an autonomous idea with its own strengths and purposes rather than as a socially constructed discourse. In the interpretation of authors such as Carlton J. H. Hayes and Hans Kohn, "the idea of nationalism," which is what Kohn called his classic work (1944), spread around the world after the French Revolution as an accompaniment to the other great ideas of the Enlightenment. If these authors considered social structure at all, they understood nationalism to reflect the rise of the middle class. Over the last twenty-five years, by contrast, most authors have considered nationalism an ideology rooted in the social and economic changes associated with modernization. Miroslav Hroch wrote that the development of exchange relations and a national market constituted the "decisive precondition for the formation of a modern nation," while Ernest Gellner held that nationalism was the only possible outcome when industrialization burst into an ethnically diverse world. Most influential was Benedict Anderson's argument that the nationalist style of imagining a community could be explained in terms of social factors as diverse as print capitalism and colonial career paths.

Now Liah Greenfeld has broken the continuity of the social interpretation with an unabashedly idealist explication of nationalism. Greenfeld does not ignore structure, but she presents a vigorous case on behalf of the causal primacy of the *idea* of nationalism. In doing this, she directly confronts a problem most of the social interpreters of nationalism have fudged: that historically "the emergence of nationalism predated the development of every significant component of modernization" (p. 21). To overcome this problem Hroch had to postulate an incipient bourgeoisie, while Gellner had to describe industrialization as "casting its advance shadow." Greenfeld attempts to avoid this difficulty by arguing that far from being an outcome of modernization, nationalism is in fact "the constitutive principle of modernity" (p. 491).

For Greenfeld, nationalism is an "emergent phenomenon," by which she means that it is not determined by the character of its elements but by the basic principle that the nation is "a *unique* sovereign people" (p. 8). The specific content of each individual nationalism depends on the historical trajectory that a given people has traversed and the elements of national character stressed by early practitioners. In other words, once the original idea of a sovereign people is established, then a routine process of social construction of the specific elements of any given nationalism can take place. Greenfeld's strategy obviates the problems of definition that have ensnared many a scholar. If nationalism is an open-ended

principle into which specific historical data are poured, the complexity of typologies of nationalisms need not surprise us and the example of Switzerland need not confound us. In addition, the analyst may move on to nationalisms that are not often discussed because of the difficulties they pose for the social interpretation, such as the United States.

Greenfeld reverses the approach used by Hroch, who concentrated on small European nations, and tackles England, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States. Her interpretation relies on two concepts: dignity, or, more exactly, the aspiration for dignity; and *ressentiment*, or the condition of envy and hatred felt toward peoples considered more advanced. In the cases of England and France, she claims, upper-class elements seeking status found in nationalism a satisfying route to dignity, while in Russia and Germany it was *déclassé* intellectuals who did so. In France, Russia, and Germany nationalism also reflected *ressentiment* toward England, the West, and France, respectively.

Nationalism first coalesced in England, Greenfeld argues, when the claim that every Englishman was worthy of dignity became widespread. In England, therefore, national consciousness was closely related to political freedom and individual liberty. The English nation was free because Englishmen as individuals were free. In France, by contrast, the idea of nation emerged in the eighteenth century when the idea of sovereignty completed its secularizing migration from God, through the king, to the state. As part of that process the idea of a nation separate from the king also emerged, but as a negotiable abstraction awaiting its actual content, which Rousseau and the French Revolution provided. In France the idea of nation was a reservoir of dignity of which the people partook. In England the nation emanated from individuals, but in France individuals attained their nationality from the collective. Greenfeld contrasts these two styles of filling in the generalization of "sovereign people" as, first, individualistic, liberal, civic nationalism; and second, collectivist, potentially authoritarian, ethnic nationalism.

Because in actuality France developed a civic definition that permits those who adopt French culture to become Frenchmen, Greenfeld places the purer authoritarian styles farther east, in Russia and Germany. The French were able to resolve their *ressentiment* toward England because England's enemy—revolutionary America—provided them with a positive model. But in Russia and Germany, *ressentiment* found no such positive outlets. In the case of Russia, Greenfeld holds (reminiscent of Michael Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People* [1961, 1969]) that the eighteenth-century discovery of the people opened

an identification gap for the intelligentsia, who fell between the two social poles of the autocrat and the people. The intelligentsia, by endowing the people with those qualities of dignity to which it aspired, carved out its own credible place in Russian society. But because both Slavophiles and Westernizers at root feared and resented the West, the qualities with which they endowed their people were just the opposite of those they hated in the West. Instead of calculation they claimed for the Russians spontaneity; instead of reflection they preferred faith; instead of predictability they extolled the ineffable.

The German case was slightly different, but the outcome was similar. The roots of German nationalism lay in the social marginality of the creative intelligentsia, which focused its *ressentiment* against the German nobility. But only when the French invasion during the Napoleonic period reinvigorated the vague ideas introduced by Pietism and Romanticism did nationalism jump to life among the Germans. From its beginning, German nationalism was anti-French, and because of its Pietistic and Romantic grounding it elevated Germans to the level of the only true nation. German nationalism rejected the pluralism of civic nationalism and therefore had an authoritarian character from its very inception.

The United States provides Greenfeld with her best example of the force of nationalism as an idea, since an American consciousness clearly existed before any of the social ingredients normally thought to produce the idea were in place. The main difference between American and Continental nationalism was that Europeans believed that the people were a unity and Americans held that the people were many. America was a community of sovereign individuals, and American nationalism was neither ethnically based nor a product of *ressentiment*. Its special quality was its stress on freedom and equality. The contradiction of these ingredients of the American national consciousness with the condition of slavery was, in Greenfeld's view, a basic cause of the American Civil War.

The scope of Greenfeld's ambition and the daring

of her undertaking is breathtaking. She defends an idealist position that is sure to ruffle social historians; she does primary research in all five of the countries she discusses, thereby exposing herself to the national historians; and she tries to turn the tables on conventional wisdom by making modernization the product of nationalism, rather than vice versa. In other words, she does what the best historical sociologists have always done: challenge historians to come out of their cozy corners.

But there are problems. Greenfeld maintains that the desire for dignity and the sense of *ressentiment* are independent notions that are not significantly products of modernization. But she also contends that the desire for dignity arose from social fissures and that *ressentiment* is related to the desire for power and international success. Had not significant modernization occurred in England (capitalism, industrial revolution, parliamentary government) and France (centralized, secular state with rationalist, revolutionary ideology) they would not have become the same objects of envy, nor would their social fissures have been so severe. Greenfeld's determinism is discomfiting. She states a belief in human agency, but in the cases of Russia and Germany she holds that the initial formulation of the contents of national consciousness formed the rest of that nation's historical development. Her country discussions are well researched and contain interesting insights and diversions, but they are not always inexorable in their logic. Her distinctions between the two types of nationalism are useful and well stated, but one wonders if they are not in fact restatements of the Hayes/Kohn contrast between good (English) and bad (German) nationalism.

Nevertheless, this is an admirable effort. Greenfeld has made the strongest statement of the idealist position in fifty years, and if the book is not entirely satisfactory, neither is it entirely unconvincing.

GALE STOKES  
Rice University

DAVID C. LINDBERG. *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xvlii, 455. Cloth \$57.00, paper \$19.95.

Those of us who teach courses in the history of ancient and medieval science have always been hard pressed to find appropriate reading material, and usually we must resort to assembling collections of books written for various audiences and then supplementing these with photocopied handouts. David C. Lindberg's study, which begins with the Egyptians and Babylonians and carries the story to the late

fourteenth century, offers an alternative to this situation.

This book has much to recommend it. Lindberg, in addition to being a noted authority on medieval science, is also an experienced teacher. He addresses an audience of reasonably bright but naive and culturally myopic readers and tries to make the whole scientific enterprise comprehensible to them, and he



has included a large number of excellent and helpful photographs and maps to arrest the attention of the verbally challenged.

One of the most commendable features of the book is Lindberg's conscious effort to include institutional, social, and cultural history in order to provide a context for his account of scientific development. He sometimes succeeds brilliantly in integrating this "background material" into his narrative, but in a few cases it seems merely juxtaposed. Still, this adds an important dimension to the book, and every textbook should leave something for the lecturer to do.

One thing most lecturers will want to do is to augment Lindberg's treatment of Egyptian and Babylonian science, which he seems not to take seriously, as well as to provide a further investigation of the pre-Socratics, especially Parmenides, whose *Way of Opinion* is not even mentioned. And some may wish to enhance Lindberg's evaluation of Plato.

But with his discussion of Aristotle, the quality of the book picks up, and there are few issues to complain about from that point on. Of particular value is the chapter on Islamic science, a subject that is often alluded to but seldom covered in American university courses. There are in fact many superb chapters.

But no one can write a textbook that will satisfy a reviewer in every respect. My most serious disagreement with Lindberg's account is the way the twelfth century is treated. I think its importance in the

development of European science is central, whereas Lindberg treats it as a quaint period of naive science awaiting the coming of the translation movement (apparently unmotivated) to transform it into something of genuine importance. A deeper investigation of the influence of cultural values on the development of science could have been exploited much more fully here.

The treatment is, for the most part, qualitative and descriptive. This undoubtedly makes the book accessible to a greater range of readers, but one might ask to what extent some actual contact with the content of science can be left out of a textbook on the history of science. Lindberg gives a superb qualitative account of Ptolemy's planetary models, but can one really appreciate the *Almagest* without a taste of the mathematics? Teachers will have to judge for themselves how well this book is suited to their pedagogical aims and their students.

But the book as a whole is a triumph. Solidly based on a competent knowledge of a huge variety of primary sources and secondary studies, engagingly written, and well produced, it provides us for the first time with an authoritative account of Western science from its beginnings to the height of the medieval scientific achievement.

RICHARD C. DALES  
University of Southern California

PAUL ROBINSON. *Freud and His Critics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. 281. \$25.00.

Freud-bashing is almost as old as psychoanalysis. Since the days before World War I, when Freud's few supporters battled the opposition at psychiatric congresses, the range of technical criticism has vastly increased. So has personal abuse. Freud has been called dictator, charlatan, immoralist, adulterer, pedophile, even failed murderer. One imaginative author has charged that Freud invented psychoanalysis in a siege of cocaine psychosis. Wisely, Paul Robinson makes only passing references to these outlandish denunciations as he disposes of three more interesting critics: Frank J. Sulloway, whose massive *Freud: Biologist of the Mind* (1979) portrayed Freud as a "crypto-biologist" (p. 19), an unwitting precursor of Edward O. Wilson; Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, who charged Freud in *The Assault on Truth* (1984) with having timidly abandoned his forthright theory that child abuse is central to neurotic suffering—the so-called seduction theory—for the sake of conformity; and Adolf Grünbaum, who rejected, in *The Foundations of Psychoanalysis* (1984), Freud's claims for the scientific validity of his theories. All three of these authors allowed themselves some snide comments or

implicit denigration of the man, but Robinson takes their critiques of Freud's work seriously precisely because they address substance rather than retailing gossip.

Robinson is extremely, but I think justly, severe with this trio—severe but not ungenerous. He finds kind words for Sulloway's diligence and for his reminder that "Freud's strongest allegiance was to science" (p. 73) rather than hermeneutics. He finds it harder to say anything positive about Masson's intense barrage, but discovers in him some useful readings in Freud's correspondence. And he calls Grünbaum, a distinguished philosopher of science, "sophisticated" (p. 263). Still, these are drops of honey in a bitter brew, probably the most telling counter-critique of Freud's critics yet written.

Since words are obviously central to the interpretation of texts, Robinson, whose own writings have always been marked by clarity, takes time to discuss these authors' style. Sulloway's book is "extremely dense" (p. 7), "strangely proportioned" (p. 22), and "shamelessly self-regarding" (p. 103). Grünbaum "writes in a unique philosophical jargon that is sur-

passingly intricate and pedantic" (p. 7). Masson, in contrast, writes clearly, apparently in fierce indignation, but he "makes up in deviousness what he lacks in density" (p. 8). Such dubious literary qualities make these attacks on Freud rebarbative reading, but Robinson perseveres to extract the core of their indictments.

Sulloway constructed a Freud who remained all his life a biologist at heart, contrary to his own boast—one parroted by his servile admirers—to have founded a truly psychological psychology rather than a biological psychology in disguise. He attempted to dismantle the "legend," propagated to elevate Freud to the stature of original genius. As Robinson unravels Sulloway's "dubious logic" (p. 41), he shows that this version of Freud's intellectual history requires a cavalier reconstruction that minimizes the influence of Freud's cherished teachers like Ernst Brücke in Vienna and Jean-Martin Charcot in Paris, but grossly exaggerates the impact of less significant contemporaries. Robinson calls this procedure "diminishment by association" (p. 24). Worst of all, Sulloway strangely discounted Freud's commitment to the unconscious, the most indisputably psychological aspect of the mind, which according to the Freud "legend" (and reality) constitutes the indispensable building block of Freud's theory.

In the end, all of Sulloway's saber rattling—Robinson, discussing it, freely resorts to military metaphors like "tactic" (p. 20), "maneuver" (p. 23), and "strategy" (p. 26)—amounts to very little, concealing the poverty of his case behind pretentious lists of myths exploded at last. Obviously, Freud's self-appraisal, to say nothing of the worshipful exegeses of his followers, should not be taken as gospel. But, as Robinson shows, the traditional version of Freud's theorizing is far closer to the facts than Sulloway's tendentious retelling.

Robinson's demolition of Masson is even more devastating and rather less polite. It is also less demanding, because much critical spadework had been done since *The Assault on Truth* first appeared. While Sulloway and Grünbaum are scholars whose readership is bound to be specialized, Masson has gained notoriety with spectacular self-revelations about a bizarre childhood, sensational sex life, and a brief, disastrous career as a favorite of the psychoanalytic establishment. Yet Robinson fastidiously stays away from this publicity to concentrate on what Masson has virtually invited the reader to call *his* assault on truth.

Masson fastened on a single event in Freud's life, his abandonment in 1897 of the "seduction theory." Once again a canonical account of Freud's development was under fire, and once again this account proved far more credible than the revision. Freud himself, his biographers following in his wake, argued that to abandon that theory was to renounce a mistaken generalization, and thus to open the way to an understanding of fantasies, and with that to psy-

choanalytic theory as we have come to know it. Masson, denouncing this traditional account, held instead that in disowning the seduction theory as inherently improbable (even though Freud never denied sexual violence against children) Freud showed himself, in Robinson's terse paraphrase, "a liar and a coward" (p. 108). Freud, Masson claimed, retreated because he found the icy and hostile reception by the Vienna medical society too much to bear. Robinson's response to this reconstructive surgery—that the seduction theory was worth scuttling and that Freud could develop a coherent and convincing theory of the unconscious only after that—may be obvious but retains its pertinence because Masson's views continue to enjoy support. If Freud had wanted to appease his elders, he would not have defied them further by publishing his offensive paper. Nor would he have committed himself to even more scandalous propositions such as infantile sexuality, inherent bisexuality, or nonconformist views about homosexuality. Hence Robinson's verdict on *The Assault on Truth* is as harsh as it is conclusive: he finds Masson's interpretation "irreverent, poorly supported, and improbable" (p. 115). Neither liar nor coward, Freud followed the evidence. Linking Masson's revisionism to wider cultural currents, he reproaches Masson with making himself the spokesman of the "sexual counterrevolution" (p. 174) of the 1980s and of the anti-Freud mood in the ascendant. It has been a counterrevolution of which Freud has been the most conspicuous, and least appropriate, victim.

Grünbaum raises very different issues, although Robinson finds him no more successful in his critique than the others. Since Grünbaum "has only the most primitive sense of how to compose a book," and is, moreover, addicted to "a highly technical philosophical vocabulary" (p. 182), Robinson cannot—and does not—evade some fairly abstruse reflections. Grünbaum argued that Freud, aspiring to a scientific theory of mind, must rest his case on a single criterion: cures of neurotic patients that can be shown to be the result of psychoanalytic treatment alone. In one of his popular lectures, Freud had argued in passing that the analysand can benefit from the analyst's interpretation only if it can be shown to "tally with what is real in him" (quoted from Grünbaum's p. 214). Grünbaum made heavy weather with this "Tally Argument" (p. 209), and argued that since Freud rejected experimental confirmation of psychoanalytic propositions (nor have his heirs been hospitable to it), and since he cannot prove his claim that psychoanalysis is superior to all other forms of mental healing, his system must collapse for lack of evidence.

Robinson demonstrates that Grünbaum's argument, although wrapped in profound-sounding language, is confused, obsessive, and largely irrelevant to the true import of psychoanalytic theorizing. "Despite extraordinary ingenuity and special pleading, Grünbaum is unable to show that the [Tally] Argument figured centrally in Freud's thinking" (p. 259). In-

deed, it hardly figured in his thinking at all. Freud relied on other evidence to substantiate his theories, evidence to which Grünbaum paid no sustained attention. Hence Grünbaum, misreading the direction of Freud's ideas, trivialized a world-shaking intellectual trajectory to serve purposes that Robinson—in general reluctant to attribute motives—finds hard to fathom.

Not content with merely discussing three critics of Freud, Robinson offers interesting reflections on their appearance in the 1970s and 1980s, and he connects their prominence to the emergence of political feminism and the "neopositivist intellectual backlash of the 1980s" (p. 12). These issues enlivening recent cultural history deserve more space than Robinson could (or I can) give. But whether Sulloway, Masson, and Grünbaum are revealing cultural symptoms or simply individuals trying their hand at discrediting adoring Freud legends, Robinson's analysis

adds up to an important and overdue polemic. I should, I suppose, declare an interest: Robinson thinks well of my Freud biography. But he could have written his book without looking at mine. What matters is that while at first glance *Freud and His Critics* seems a specialized tract chiefly appealing to the narrow public that enjoys controversies over psychoanalysis, it should be of interest to anyone who wants to know, accurately, how we, in the late twentieth century, have come to be what we are. It is a model of intellectual history, tenacious and rigorous, which should serve to restore Freud, that complex and rewarding figure, to his deserved eminence, so often questioned and yet beyond doubt. Since we all speak Freud now, it is useful to know what we are talking about.

PETER GAY  
Yale University

LAURA ENGELSTEIN. *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 461. \$35.00.

What people have to say about sex, Laura Engelstein shows in this original and provocative study, articulates norms of civic as well as private life. Among Russia's educated elites, discussions about sexual behavior grew steadily in the nineteenth century and explosively after the revolution of 1905. At issue were not only changing sexual moralities but also ideas about civic power and social order with which sexual discourse was intertwined.

The object of Engelstein's investigations is not sexual practice—indeed, she implicitly questions the possibility of knowing the realities of intimate life that lay behind the ways observers perceived and chose to record these. Nor does she explore popular sexual mores directly. Her focus instead is on the troubled emergence of a liberal civic culture among educated elites in Russia as reflected in their discourse about sex. The logic of this investigation is comparative. Engelstein views the jurists, physicians, public activists, journalists, writers, and others whose opinions she examines as representing an emerging bourgeois middle class. Although she recognizes the peculiarities of the social and political situation in Russia, the emphasis of her argument points to the emergence of a liberal civic culture that was much the same as that in Western Europe and the United States, which is to say it was ambivalent in its commitment to liberty and equality. Had tsarism been succeeded by a liberal state, Engelstein argues, these professional elites would "undoubtedly have imposed the same kind of normative values, social inequities, and disciplinary constraints as those that operated in the bourgeois West" (p. 422). The elites' views about sex were

emblematic of their hesitant liberalism, and perhaps even contributed to it.

Engelstein shows again the inadequacy of the persistent stereotype of Russian political culture as antagonistic toward the liberal notion of the autonomous individual endowed with natural rights and dignity. Already in the nineteenth century, progressive jurists and lawmakers, influenced by their knowledge of Western European thought, began reinterpreting established notions of sexual crime—incest, homosexuality, and prostitution, for example—to accord with liberal principles of personal dignity and individual autonomy (including the right to privacy and bodily inviolability). For instance, the influential jurist Vladimir Nabokov (the novelist's father), although professing a personal view of homosexuality as "deeply repugnant," insisted that the state had no place imposing its moral values on autonomous individuals; it might only protect individuals from abuse. Outspoken professionals and other educated elites similarly indicted conditions and laws that violated "freedom and respect for the person," "human dignity," and "autonomous individuality." These ideas became commonplace. Even the best-selling author Anastasiia Verbitskaia—whose novel about personal and sexual exploration and independence, the original *Keys to Happiness* (1910–13), was immensely popular in prewar Russia—dedicated her autobiography to those who shared her devotion to "the affirmation and growth of the self [*lichnost'*]" (p. 401).

Russian liberals found themselves in a "different moral universe" (p. 177) than that of their counterparts in Western Europe. Facing a political regime

that stubbornly kept social elites away from the levers of power, Russian reformers were not so likely to compromise their liberal values, for they had less cause to defend and secure their domination of public life. On the contrary, in Russia "candidates for political life were more likely to use socially marginal groups [especially women and peasants] to exemplify their own disempowered condition than to affirm a monopoly of power they did not possess" (p. 162). Thus, whereas Western European liberals were anxious to bolster and legitimize their own authority by defining subordinate groups (peasants, workers, women) as biologically deficient and even pathological as evident in their sexual behavior, Russians were likely to see virtue and victimization. Russian medical and legal professionals, for example, hesitated to acknowledge peasant promiscuity or non-coital sex and especially willful sexual deviance or even initiative by women. The virtue and powerlessness of the subordinate was a needed symbol in their own politicized professional discourse. This would change. After 1905, as the lower classes seemed more threatening and as the autocracy slightly loosened its grip on state power, these myths of the virtue of the oppressed eroded.

The contrast with Western Europe, however, even before 1905, was only relative (although Engelstein's argument here is not altogether clear or perhaps consistent). Even Russian liberals, it seems, were never prepared to embrace the full logic of liberal emancipation, much less to extend it to all, even though their own disenfranchisement restrained them from the more blatant hypocrisy of the Western bourgeoisie.

Modern individualistic subjecthood troubled liberals. Already in the nineteenth century, observers linked rising criminality, including sexual crime, to the erosion of traditional moral constraints by emergent individuality. Abortion was similarly lamented as "a sad accompaniment of the growth of personal needs" (p. 113). Even schoolboy masturbation seemed a troubling symptom of weakening community and growing self-absorption. Although liberals were often eager for the growth of self-esteem and personal autonomy in the village, they were reluctant to witness the crumbling of the collective bonds that, they felt, had preserved popular virtue. These apprehensions intensified along with the evident symptoms of unleashed individuality after the revolution of 1905.

Least of all were liberal writers prepared to recognize female autonomy and will. Sexual agency—and, by analogy, civic agency—was persistently seen as a male preserve. Women, like children, were denied the assumption of autonomy, responsibility, and will. Women were almost always seen as sexual victims rather than as willful actors. Similarly, prostitutes were viewed not as women asserting their independence against the restrictive patriarchal life of the village and the family, but rather as "self-abasing" victims. The image of women and the poor as "insult-

ed and humiliated" was an expression of protest, but it also rearticulated, in more liberal terms, social and sexual hierarchies.

Educated elites viewed modernity itself with a mixture of admiration and alarm. Their perceptions of the city—the site and symbol of modern secular culture—are illustrative. Although liberal professionals criticized the collectivist tyranny of the traditional village and prized the "civilizing" functions of urban life, they also evinced a deepening anxiety about the city's moral corrosiveness, pervading anonymity, and crass pursuit of wealth and pleasure. Especially before 1905, sexual excess and depravity were treated most often as a class trait of the cultivated elite, reflecting their greater access to the material and cultural luxuries of modern city life. The lower classes, especially peasants and workers with strong rural ties, were seen as more natural and hence virtuous. But even as the sexual life of the poor began to seem unruly and dangerous—as the lower classes became more threatening socially—the corrosive effects of an increasingly ubiquitous urban civilization were blamed.

Elite anxieties about modern life were stimulated, Engelstein suggests, by a deep dread of unreason. In the troubled years after 1905 especially, professionals and other contributors to civic debate were preoccupied with "transgression, disorder, chaos, and desire" (p. 216) in both private and public life. The revolution appeared as a moment of libidinous release, the unsettling effects of which were still felt. Liberal elites felt understandably threatened by the unruly political and social desires of the lower classes. But many believed that the higher classes too, perhaps themselves personally, no longer mastered their own impulses. Eros, now associated with social upheaval, became more than ever a menace to control. So, like the European bourgeoisie, Russia's cultural elite began "taking itself in hand" (p. 226), placing a controlling "grip on the irrational" (p. 255). Physicians began counting, charting, and classifying even their own sexual practices in order to define and promote normalcy and rational regularity. Young men were warned to beware of the "deceptive and enticing" pleasures of even heterosexual intercourse, which "paralyzes good sense and silences reason" (p. 232). Continence became the epitome of rational self-control and sublimation into physical labor was the recommended "corrective to a shattered imagination" (p. 231). This was not, Engelstein maintains, an illiberal reaction. The aim was not to repress private and public desire, but to harness it to the interests of a regulated civic life. The liberal devotion to the rule of law, for example, represented an urge to restrain individuals even as their autonomy and worth were recognized.

Engelstein wants us to hear the voices she describes as representing an emerging liberal, bourgeois civic culture. This framework provokes us to think more critically about emerging Russian liberalism, but it



seems both too encompassing and too confining. In social and political matters, Russian liberals were divided over such fundamentals as the social role of the state and the morality of capitalism. Were they any less divided over sexual freedom, individual autonomy, or civic personhood? Engelstein describes disagreements—such as over the sexual subjectivity of women—but blurs them in her argument.

More important, ambivalence toward “modern subjecthood” extended well beyond the parameters of the liberal professional elite. Reluctant modernizers were everywhere: among reform-minded government officials; among business owners and managers adhering to a paternalistic model of capitalism; among worker and peasant *intelligentsy*, who were also preoccupied with the allure and peril of urban life, individual freedom, and emotional expression; even

among revolutionary socialists. Lenin and other Bolsheviks (as Engelstein alludes), no less than the bourgeois liberals they despised, were ambivalent about the benefits of personal autonomy and free subjecthood and therefore determined to harness and control spontaneous desire.

For many Russians, including but not only liberal elites, the *fin de siècle* was a time of uncertainty and doubt. It is Engelstein's achievement to have examined with subtlety and complexity some of the most critical cultural dilemmas of that time—efforts to define relationships between community and individuality, order and disarray, reason and passion—through the prism of discussions about sex.

MARK D. STEINBERG  
Yale University

PAUL BOYER. *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. (Studies in Cultural History.) Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 468. \$29.95.

Divination texts are one important literary genre that Assyriologists have identified in deciphering ancient cuneiform tablets. Examining the livers of animals, for example, priests urged that certain organic conditions were omens of future events. Paul Boyer's intriguing study of students of the prophetic books of the Bible in twentieth-century America reminds me of nothing so much as these ancient religious leaders. The difference is that in Babylonia priests and scribes were the intellectual elite, while modern-day prophets are barely literate. Thereby should hang a tale.

Boyer begins with an introduction to those parts of the Bible—mainly but not exclusively the last book, Revelation—that deal with prophecies about the end of time. Then he gives a comprehensive history of the interpretation of these texts in Western Christendom from the first century to about 1800 A.D. From that time on he focuses on the United States and sets the stage for his examination of the recent past, an exploration that becomes more dense as he approaches the present. Most of the initial survey is *terra incognita* to me, and I can only report that it seems authoritative and is certainly substantially detailed. In those areas where I am competent to evaluate, Boyer is a reliable guide.

In obscure language Revelation and other books of the Bible tell of the end of the world, which includes a titanic struggle with evil and the punishment of unbelievers. Recent interpreters of this material are committed “fundamentalist” Christians, often “pre-millennialist.” They think that Jesus Christ will bodily return before a thousand-year earthly reign. According to one popular account, there is a seven-year-rule of the anti-Christ (the Tribulation) immediately prior

to Christ's triumph. Following the millennium is a final, doomed, uprising by Satan; the resurrection of the dead; and history's final event, the last judgment. All of these occurrences are triggered by my favorite happening in the cycle, the Rapture, the moment when all believers rise to meet Jesus in heaven. One picture of the Rapture that Boyer reproduces gives a flavor to the mind-set he is investigating: as their former occupants fly to the clouds, driverless cars crash into other vehicles, creating havoc and misery.

The bulk of the book analyzes premillennial prophecy in America after World War I and especially after World War II. To accomplish his goal Boyer has read and interpreted for his readers hundreds of volumes by evangelical Protestants. He summarizes what they have said and what believers have been told the Bible prophecies have meant in the context of American life in the last fifty years. Boyer also calls attention to how the prophecies have shifted as America's cultural imagination has altered. Written soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, this book still has room, for example, to demonstrate the decline in the role of the Soviet Union as anti-Christ. Indeed, Boyer is quite good at showing how the persistent falsification of prophecies has little to do with their general acceptability. (This was also apparent with liver divination.) He does an admirable job of locating believers socially, attending to the likely audience of the Biblical interpreters, their own social milieu, and the place of their peculiar ideas in American life.

Boyer is defensive in taking up the intellectual history of belief in prophecy, but his attitude is unfortunate, for historians study all sorts of things. As Boyer himself points out, any belief system that



has consistently commanded the thought of millions of Americans over the past two centuries demands study. The author also suggests that the masses who adhere to these views today—including to some degree former president Ronald Reagan—are telling us something about the supposed secular nature of the society.

Boyer makes various perceptive forays trying to “explain” belief in prophecy. He notes that, linked to a religious belief system, apocalyptic notions are immediately awarded more status than other peculiar constellations of ideas. Religious interests still have a claim to respect, and so too do their more extreme offshoots. Boyer also indicates the great difficulty in assessing the meaning of belief itself. If Reagan believes that the Soviet Union is the evil empire, how can he befriend Mikhail Gorbachev? Reagan need not be either a hypocrite or a political opportunist; the connection between belief and action is complex. Expounders of prophecy can get around its failures and behave in ways that perhaps do not mesh with their prophetic zeal without having their views regarded as insubstantial. In some related passages Boyer is worth reading, if not entirely persuasive, when arguing that these religious beliefs in the millennium have shaped wider public attitudes toward arms control, the Common Market, Middle Eastern politics, and the environment. Boyer also warns against calling such ideas paranoid. It would be foolish to denigrate as delusional a *Weltanschauung* that commands wide support and that has empirical components shared by everyone. Finally, Boyer implies the real intellectual troubles to which belief in prophecy speaks. The meaning and purpose of the historical process are not issues that professional historians like to address. Yet it is an interesting question to ask whether the enterprise of historical understanding makes sense if there is no directionality in the passage of time. Without Christ, said Jonathan Edwards, history is no more than the endless crashing of the waves on the rocks. It is not an empty metaphor.

What makes Boyer uncomfortable about his topic is not its significance but rather his own notion of intellectual history. The approach, he says, is “text-based,” “reading texts” (pp. x, xii). The idea is to read all these books, make some sense of them, and synthesize them for the reader. So most of his study consists of exposition of these texts. As I have said, Boyer puts this material into its historical context and, in passing, makes various other appraisals. But all of the interpretive material here is tangential. To read

the body of the book requires slogging through chapter after chapter of exegeses of the meaning that popular expositors attach to a series of strange Bible passages. That is to say, Boyer’s strategy is in the main descriptive. In explicating this world view, however, the book cries out for some theoretical stance to tell us what is going on with these believers.

It is not the falsity of these ideas that wants attention. We all have many false beliefs. It is something more: these beliefs are tasteless and embarrassing. I return to pictures of the Rapture to illustrate the vulgarity. What, beside *ressentiment*, is going on in the heads of people who take such delight in having automobiles run amok, or who find a trip to the sky likely in the near future?

If we were anthropologists studying some “primitive” tribe, we would have no difficulty in coming up with various theories to grasp this cache of ideas, just as Assyriologists have come to grips with the ancient students of animals’ livers. But when we get to twentieth-century Americans and feel the weight of respect accorded the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is far more difficult. Boyer thinks these people are off their rockers, colloquially speaking, but he is more than circumspect in telling us how or why. It goes without saying that we ought to show greater respect to liver divination and cargo-cult religions. But we also need to be more critical—and more harshly critical—of those beliefs that are still privileged in America.

This study provoked in me much reflection, which is more than can be said for most books I read in American history. But Boyer is also an author who frustrates. He shies away from tackling some hard but fascinating problems. One missed opportunity struck me again and again. When Jonathan Edwards reasoned about the apocalypse, he was a member of the colonial elite. Now the expounding of prophecy is carried out by groups of experts who make even most Christian scholars blush. Boyer calls this shift “profound” but does not explore it because such a study would “involve nothing less than writing an intellectual history of the modern world” (p. 79). This is a weak excuse for someone who has just compressed the story of almost two thousand years of thinking about the end of history into some eighty pages. In understanding how and why the learned dropped an entire battalion of views without convincing a large segment of the public to go along, we might grasp what is in the minds of believers in prophecy.

BRUCE KUKLICK

University of Pennsylvania

---

## Reviews of Books

---

### GENERAL

MARK POSTER. *The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. 179. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

This book by Mark Poster seeks to delineate the new postmodern from the old modern culture by comparing the oral and print modes of communication of the past with the electronic communications technologies of the present and showing how radically these new technologies have altered our sense of ourselves and our relations with others and to the world at large. Oral and print communication constituted the subject as autonomous, rational, and integrated, and as someone for whom language is a direct reflection of a recognizable reality. The electronic stage in contrast, Poster argues, with its abolition of space and time coordinates, manipulation of contexts, self-referential language, and ability to "extend the nervous system throughout the earth" (p. 15), reconstitutes the subject as decentered, dispersed, and suspended in perpetual instability. To help understand this new configuration of the subject and the new forms of social interaction electronic communication generates, Poster offers the concept of "the mode of information"—a play on Karl Marx's focus on the mode of production—signifying a paradigm shift required by late capitalism and emphasizing the linguistic over the economic, psychological, and ethical dimensions of contemporary information exchange. Poster also maintains that it is less the content than the configuration, or "wrapping," of information that distinguishes one mode of communication from another: it is the "wrapping" of electronic language that has reconstituted our lives and our whole network of social relations (pp. 8 and following).

Poster grounds his wide-ranging analysis of our electronically permeated culture in poststructuralist theory, which focuses on language, in contrast to the modernist theories of Marx, Max Weber, Jürgen Habermas, Daniel Bell, and others, which Poster criticizes for being "totalizing," "action-based," science-oriented, and white-male-centered (chap. 1). He examines four modes of electronic communication, relating them to four poststructuralist theorists: television advertisements to Jean Baudrillard, data

bases to Michel Foucault, electronic writing to Jacques Derrida, and computer science to Jean-François Lyotard. The purpose of this approach is to highlight the novel features of contemporary social space and to test the potential of poststructuralist theory to point the way to a new politics. Using the insights offered by poststructuralism to show how our electronic culture constitutes us differently from our forebears, Poster aims to provide a theoretical framework for identifying structures of domination and the means to contest them.

Readers who have, like Poster, made the "linguistic turn" are likely to view this challenging study as a welcome alternative for more conventional historical approaches to understanding contemporary modes of communication and, by extension, the defining features of postmodern culture in general. Those who remain hopelessly "logocentric" may balk at Poster's consignment of old-fashioned humanism and the legacy of the Enlightenment to the dustbin of history and see this work as little more than an updated version of Marshall McLuhan's "global village." Poster himself admits that his agenda is more political than epistemological. What he does not seem to recognize, however, is that poststructuralist theory, whatever its merits, is no less ideological, no less distorting than the positions it seeks to displace. Thus, while he generously acknowledges the (limited) value of positions different from his own, he tends to be impatient with those that do not privilege the linguistic dimension of information exchange. For example, in his discussion of television advertisements he insists that their social effect is not economic or psychological but linguistic. Why? Because this assertion is demonstrably "true"? No, rather because other approaches "will miss the point, will obscure the language of the code" (p. 59). Now, it is one thing to stress the importance of decoding television advertisements (or any other mode of communication), which Poster does very effectively; it is quite another to valorize linguistic codes, which he also does effectively.

This is only one of many instances throughout the book of linguistic overkill. The credibility of this overkill, however, is due not only to the often novel and compelling actual arguments Poster (and post-

structuralist theory in general) bring to the analysis of social phenomena (in this case, electronic communication), but also, and just as importantly, to the (usually unacknowledged) impression they give of the receivers of information as something like blank pages on which anything can be encoded. In other words, poststructuralist theory itself reconstitutes the subject in much the same way as the postmodern culture it purports to deconstruct. And this, too, is ideology. Poster's jeremiad against "orthodox rabbis and academicians in the humanities and some of the social sciences," whom he regards as the last bastions of "logocentrism," could well apply to him and to his poststructuralist models (all of them, incidentally, white males): "It behooves these groups, if they are to avoid the dangers of myopic self-universalization, to be wary of regarding their own practice as a model for all humanity" (p. 80).

On balance, however, this book is an informed, insightful, provocative account of phenomena that have transformed virtually every area of public and private life in our time.

ROBERT ANCHOR  
Phoenix, Arizona

HARVEY J. KAYE. *The Powers of the Past: Reflections on the Crisis and the Promise of History*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1991. Pp. vi, 202. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

Harvey J. Kaye has written a Marxist analysis of the contemporary crisis of history, distinguishing his preferred version of Marxism—Western Marxism—from the "encrusted, orthodox, dogmatic and 'official' doctrine of Marxism or Marxism-Leninism, dictated and propagated by Soviet ideologues and those of their ilk" (p. 152). It must be emphasized, however, that the logic of Marxism had collapsed even before the East European dictatorships, and this collapse compromised all versions of Marxism, Western or other.

The logic of Marxism as Kaye employs it looks like this: "The demise of the post-war liberal and social-democratic settlements and the enervation of the narratives associated with them, freed historians to pursue the kinds of scholarly investigations and innovations previously attempted only by the more radical among them" (p. 63). The problem with this statement is that there is no knowledge of any process that would justify linking the demise of postwar settlements to the way that history came to be written, and there is no evidence that the two events, the demise of postwar settlements and the writing of history, are linked. Moreover, it is difficult even to say what would constitute evidence, because of the absence of any knowledge of the process by which events occurring in one sphere affect the way people think and act in another. The sole warrant for this inferential logic is Marx's unverified belief that this is the way that

ideological processes work. Marxist scholars pursuing both numerate and literate studies (for example, statistical studies of class, cultural studies of ideology or "hegemony") have had ample time to verify this belief by identifying and describing the process, and they have come up with nothing. Yet one could as readily link these events in terms provided by Max Weber, Alexis de Tocqueville, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, Clifford Geertz, and still others, and the only basis for beginning to discriminate better from worse among the many different terms is that the kind of unified behavior that Marx predicted on the basis of class has not occurred significantly or reliably enough over time to justify the kind of logic Marx employed. As scholars in different disciplines have come to understand, the same holds true for any other similar social category or social location such as age, gender, religion, ethnicity, and so on, which is why the influence of social history (and of sociology) waned so quickly. In short, the groups that have responded to events historically have been too heterogeneous, the occasions too discontinuous, and people have construed the significance of events to themselves in terms of too many different and changing social locations for the social historians of an earlier generation to have realized their goals. Hence the current preference for various forms of cultural history that are themselves too inferential, and therefore also affected by the question of process, of how events affect outlook.

Kaye is aware that issues of heterogeneity, discontinuity, and agency are current in historiographical discussions, and he does use the language. But he does not see how these empirical issues undermine Marxist perspectives, or how these issues might themselves be a significant source of the crisis of history he refers to. Kaye's work is scholarly, many of his discussions are certainly interesting, particularly his discussions of different conservative perspectives on history and social process. But even the truest believer should now understand that it is time to move on.

FRED WEINSTEIN  
State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

JANET COLEMAN. *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 646. \$85.00.

What St. Augustine said about time might well be said about memory: when not asked about it, we know very well what it is; when we are asked, we do not really understand it at all. Yet memory, like time, has been examined and speculated about for many centuries, and Janet Coleman offers here an impressively learned, highly intelligent, and heavily argued survey of the theory and to a lesser extent the practice of memory from Plato and Aristotle to the later Middle Ages. She has done nothing less than to rethink the

ancient and medieval philosophical canon in terms of this aspect of speculative psychology, centered especially on Aristotle's *De Anima*, together with his lesser-known essay *De Memoria*, and the long tradition of commentary and criticism.

In the course of this survey Coleman presents, among other things, expositions of a number of significant texts, both familiar and unfamiliar; ingenious interpretations of monastic efforts to control mind and memory; and comments on twelfth-century historiography. I cannot praise this part of her effort too highly and am only sorry that she could not extend the story into modern times. Francis Bacon certainly would fit into her story, but I think also of Giambattista Vico, who (like so many medieval commentators) identified memory with imagination. Coleman also seems to be telling the story of memory in general (*memoria qua memoria*, as she might put it), and does so with due reference to selected modern psychological theories that serve as a modern gloss. This leaves me with a small puzzle concerning both the "memory" at issue and "the past" to which it is directed: is it the faculty which we all know (or do not know), or is it the Platonic-Aristotelic-Augustinian-via-modernist creation whose story Coleman reconstructs, and does it make any difference?

In any case, this is a magisterial performance, a major contribution to the history of philosophy and especially to our understanding of a number of medieval authors concerned with memory theory, and as such it is surely the best book on the subject in any language. It is also (and here some of the problems begin) an extended apology for scholastic thought written in an unabashedly neoscholastic mode. She especially favors the British variety of scholasticism that found expression in the work of William Ockham, the *via moderna* usually associated with him, and Thomas Hobbes as the chief modern beneficiary of this tradition. Coleman is very much at home in the world of scholastic epistemology, and she moves with ease among the logical and propositional manipulations of classical and Christian theories and beliefs treating the speculative mechanics or imaginative cartography of the soul, in which the various faculties and divisions of the mind—reason, will, sense, memory, and its twin, imagination—are subjected to endless permutations and combinations by Arabic and scholastic commentators, with twentieth-century glosses added for orientation or reinforcement. Anyone looking for exposition and analyses of the works of medieval theorists of memory from Peter Abelard to William Ockham (including not only Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus but also such less familiar authors as John Blund, David of Dinant, and John of La Rochelle) can hardly do better than to consult her chapters.

Coleman has not been content, however, with this comprehensive and appreciative review of ancient and medieval epistemology. She also wants to make large claims about historical thinking and writing in

later periods and in general, and here, it seems to me, she rather oversteps her scholarly and conceptual competence. Her discussion of *historia* is philosophically sound, but the richness of the term (and the extensive literature on its extra philosophical meaning even during the medieval period, as in the book of Jochen Schlobach on medieval varieties of *historia*) is wholly neglected. Even for the twelfth century, moreover, it seems to me a sort of category error to assimilate historiographical practice to—or to judge it according to the standards of—purely philosophical theories of memory and the abstractions that she takes as the common currency of logical analysis.

Ever more questionable, perhaps, are her revisionist views of the post-medieval period, which have the effect of subordinating humanism to late scholasticism. I would be the last to deny (and indeed have argued) that the medieval period had a "sense of history" in a significant form (especially in the case of law, on which Coleman has written more recently), but this is not to confound the linguistic attitudes of authors like Petrarch or Valla with the terminism of the *via moderna*, or even to join them historically, as Coleman tries to do on the basis of supposedly shared philosophical positions. She admits that humanists like Leonardo Bruni attributed "barbarity" to the arguments of logicians like Ockham, but her accompanying comment ("one wonders on what evidence") suggests how far she is from penetrating the literary world of what George Holmes has called the humanist "avant garde" (p. 559).

What makes this belated philosophical backlash against the anti-philosophical inclinations of humanism inappropriate is something alluded to by Coleman herself, although not taken very seriously in her arguments: the "genre shift" which distinguishes the Renaissance from the Middle Ages (p. 573). For philosophical conceptions of memory and what Coleman scholastically calls "the pastness of the past" (*praeteritio qua praeteritio*, I suppose it would be) are a far cry from the alternative paths to recollection associated with the *studia humanitatis*. This is especially true of rhetoric, which does not figure conceptually in this book (nor is there even a reference to Brian Vicker's *Defence of Rhetoric* [1988]), and poetry, which does not figure at all. For Coleman philosophy seems to function as a kind of universal solvent in which the conscious ideas of authors of all sorts can be mixed, compared, and judged according to the logical standards and propositional arrangements of universal reason. A differentiated sense of history and of language dissolve in this dialectical solution.

One of Coleman's main complaints is the attribution of a modern "sense of history" to Renaissance scholars like Petrarch and Lorenzo Valla (p. 548). It may well be that scholars like Peter Burke and myself (Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past 1400–50* [1969], and D. R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship* [1970]) a quarter of a century ago exaggerated the "historicist" character of Renaissance



philologists, but her objections do not join the issue. Of course "history" did not mean the same thing then that it does today (and indeed the empirical meaning, from Pliny to Bacon, deserves more emphasis in Coleman's account), nor were humanists "Historically Correct" in many of their judgments. Cultural things do change, and even we are occasionally wrong or anachronistic. But their attitudes, methods, and (especially) views of language were seen retrospectively as significant—"anticipating," it should be needless to say, is a shorthand for this cultural phenomenon, not an indication of clairvoyance—and the proof of this fact is to be found in the history not of terminist philosophy but of classical scholarship.

In short, I do not think that Coleman's philosophy permits a "sense of history" in anything but a scholastic sense, nor does it accommodate the attitudes of humanists or recognize the quality of the linguistic turn that they took, a move away from all the scholastic *viae* and logical virtuosity. I regret spending so much time on this marginal aspect of Coleman's book, but for readers of this journal it seems most relevant to report my opinion: that Coleman has produced a book that as history of philosophy is outstanding, but that as intellectual history is more than slightly misconceived.

DONALD R. KELLEY  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

THOMAS LAQUEUR. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 313. Cloth \$27.95, paper \$12.95.

In the early eighteenth century a young woman, having fallen into a death-like coma, was raped. She later revived and gave birth to a child. Contemporary physicians, holding the opinion that a woman could only conceive if she experienced pleasure in the sexual act, concluded that she could not have been as insensible as her relatives claimed. But by the nineteenth century, doctors like Michael Ryan were asserting that such a scenario was possible. Medical science now knew that women did not have the same sexual needs and feelings as men.

This anecdote is only one of the many fascinating tales Thomas Laqueur employs in his ambitious attempt to argue that the Western world witnessed a relatively recent yet monumental shift in belief from a one to a two-sex model. The Greek view, he tells us, was that men and women were sexually different in degree but not in kind. Both produced seed and the pleasure of each was required for procreation to take place. The male seed was, as to be expected in a patriarchal society, believed to be superior, but otherwise the experiences of the two sexes were thought to be similar. This "common sense" view of sexuality, answering as it did such knotty questions as why characteristics were inherited sometimes from one

parent, at other times from both, was to enjoy a long life. Such was the power of this one-sex model, argues Laqueur, that the masters of the scientific revolution, including Andreas Vesalius and William Harvey, succeeded in squaring new observations with old beliefs. Even the idea that the two sexes had more or less the same genitalia—men having on the outside what women had on the inside—was retained into the sixteenth century. "Believing was seeing."

But eventually a two-sex model emerged. The older hierarchical ranking of the sexes that located women slightly below men, although on the same continuum, was replaced by a clearly demarcated horizontal placement in which men and women were now called "opposite sexes." Women, once regarded as sexually active as men, were described by nineteenth-century doctors as inherently passive and passionless; the woman's need to reach orgasm in order to conceive was denied. Why did this shift, this new assertion that the female body was the exact opposite of the male, occur? The obvious and old-fashioned answer would be that it was a result of scientific experimentation and observation, which undermined the old paradigm. But Laqueur points out that many key discoveries were made after rather than before the paradigm shift and, in any event, many of the same biological findings could be turned to support either the one or two-sex model. "The ways in which sexual difference have been imagined in the past are largely unconstrained by what was actually known about this or that bit of anatomy, this or that physiological process, and derive instead from the rhetorical exigencies of the moment" (p. 243).

Laqueur's book is entertaining and often insightful. He is most successful in turning up evidence to support the contention that scientific theories are socially constructed. He is, of course, neither the first to advance such an argument nor to note that reproductive theories went through a marked shift in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I assume that it was because I advanced this argument—in *Reproductive Rituals: The Perception of Fertility in England from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (1984)—that I was invited to review this book.

Where Laqueur disappoints his readers is in grappling with the very questions that he presents as the focus of his study: what was the reason for the emergence of the two-sex model, and when was this new interpretive strategy adopted? Science did not play the key role, asserts Laqueur, because "the chronology of discoveries did not line up with the reconceptions of the sexual body" (p. viii). But his own chronology is maddeningly vague. The great shift occurred, he tells us, near the end of the Enlightenment, or when the old social order was undermined, or when factories emerged. Central to Laqueur's difficulty is his attempt to downplay the fact that from the time of Aristotle proponents of a two-sex model were making their case heard and were never silenced. By ignoring such continuities the



task of explaining where the two-sex model suddenly came from is made unnecessarily mysterious. Moreover, the author's penchant for arguing backwards—from Galen to Aristotle, from Freud to Aeschylus—clouds rather than clarifies the chronology.

Laqueur does not tell us when the shift took place, nor does he tell us why it occurred. His failure to discuss at length the political context that he claims was crucial to the articulation of the notion of two incommensurable sexes is particularly puzzling. This context emerged, he hints, when sometime between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries the writings of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau created a new politics. Laqueur's coyness—asserting that he will not state what the specific causes were for the emergence of the two-sex model while peppering his text with suggestions—ultimately becomes wearying. The reader who hopefully marches on through the last chapter is treated to accounts of marriage manuals, the Paris Commune, feminism, Rousseau, John Millar, Mary Wollstonecraft, menstruation, phrenology, masturbation, prostitution, and Freud. Laqueur never fails to tell a good story, but ends his book with a fancy flurry of anecdotes, not a knock-out punch.

Given its overarching argument, many readers will want to like this book. With the sociobiologists still unembarrassedly trumpeting their simple-minded message of biological determinism, a convincing demonstration that sexuality is a cultural, historically contingent product, and that biological accounts are themselves interpretive "fictions" that demand textual analysis, would be warmly welcomed. Such high expectations are frustrated by a book that poses challenging questions but provides few convincing answers.

ANGUS McLAREN  
*University of Victoria*

JOHN M. RIDDLE. *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 245. \$39.95.

Did classical Mediterranean societies possess any effective pharmaceutical methods of regulating human reproduction? If they did, which, if any, of them continued to be known during the European Middle Ages and the Renaissance? What, if anything, did medieval medicine add to this branch of pharmacy? These are the intriguing questions that John M. Riddle sets out to answer. His findings carry important implications for the history of theology, casuistry, pastoral care, social history, the history of sexuality, and the history of popular culture, as well as the history of botany, pharmacy, medicine, and biochemistry.

Riddle centers his account primarily on botanical agents that could be ingested orally or administered transdermally through suppositories or topical application to genital tissues. He pays only passing atten-

tion to alternative means of reproductive control, such as coitus interruptus or mechanical obstruction of the cervix with pessaries, surgical abortion, physical therapies (jumping, running, sneezing, and the like), and magical therapies, such as amulets and incantations.

Most writers on ancient and medieval sexual practices, including myself, have doubted that any ancient or medieval contraceptive strategies were likely to be highly effective, although it seemed likely that at least some of the more powerfully toxic abortifacient preparations and the more violent kinds of physical therapy might well induce uterine contractions that would result in fetal abortion. Riddle makes a strong case, however, that we skeptics may have misjudged the effectiveness of at least some of the botanical preparations that folk medicine had prescribed to restrain, if not absolutely prevent, conception. He shows that a small group of the biological agents that ancient and medieval medical authors described as contraceptives have proved in modern laboratory studies to restrict the incidence of conception in rats, mice, monkeys, and other common experimental animals.

Among the effective botanicals that reappear time and again in medical and pharmaceutical handbooks are pennyroyal, Queen Anne's lace, willow, pomegranate, rue, myrtle, and myrrh. Modern chemical analysis has shown that some of these plants are reasonably abundant in estrogen and other sex hormones, which explains their contraceptive or abortifacient actions. The efficacy of such agents as these varies widely and depends among other things on finding the proper strain of the plant, harvesting it at the optimum time, appropriate preparation, and administration at the right point in the reproductive cycle. At best, moreover, these and the other agents that folk medicine and some learned physicians prescribed as contraceptives, emmenagogues, and abortifacients would rarely be effective more than about 70 percent of the time (and they often worked at half that rate or even less), whereas modern contraceptive agents are usually expected to work with better than 95 percent efficiency and the best closely approximate 100 percent effectiveness.

Still, even at relatively low efficiency rates many preparations that appear in ancient and medieval herbal and medical texts held out the possibility of achieving a modest measure of reproductive control. These are important findings and should earn Riddle the gratitude of the numerous historians for whom the reproductive strategies of past generations are an important issue.

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE  
*University of Kansas*

WALLY SECCOMBE. *A Millennium of Family Change: Feudalism to Capitalism in Northwestern Europe*. New York: Verso. 1992. Pp. vii, 343. \$59.95.

Anyone trying to present a viable vision of a millennium's history on a continental scale has four choices: claim nothing changed; adopt a stage scheme; search for an algorithm generating both change and variation; fake it. Having recently written a millennial history of European states that purported to adopt the third choice, and that struck some reviewers as embodying the fourth, I was eager to learn how Wally Seccombe has addressed the problem. He chooses the second option, but sometimes unwittingly falls into the last. Seccombe's stages are classic modes of production, feudal and capitalist, with the former preceded by something called antiquity and the latter subdivided into transitional, protoindustrial, and industrial phases. Concentrating on northwestern Europe, in each stage he seeks to relate predominant family forms to demographic dynamics and the organization of production.

More particularly, Seccombe seeks to counter the claim of the Cambridge Group that the nuclear family household has prevailed in the West since medieval, or perhaps even Roman, times. He argues instead that household structure varied and changed significantly as a function of demographic conjuncture, and especially of class relations rooted in the organization of production. Seccombe makes that point at length and convincingly. He does so in part, however, by shifting the question from household composition in a strict sense to family cycle and coresidence including adjacent dwellings, a move anticipated by Lutz Berkner's important article in this journal twenty years ago ("The Stem Family and the Development Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," *AHR* 77 [1972], 398–418). Through many a meander, he shows that age at marriage, employment of children, power of women, and other features of family life varied significantly with the ways that households gained their livings.

Declaring oddly that historical sociologists may take liberties with chronology that social historians could not tolerate, Seccombe infers many features of the "feudal" peasant family from studies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century villagers, a procedure that runs the serious risk of confusing synchronic and diachronic variation. He likewise mixes geographies. Evidence from Pyrenean Montaignou and the Florentine *contado* mix with observations of open-field England in arguments concerning family relations and inheritance in peasant households. Seccombe relies, furthermore, almost entirely on published work in English. (Even in English, recent scholarship by Lenore Davidoff, Jack Goldstone, William McNeill, Douglass North, and Emmanuel Todd are conspicuously absent from the bibliography.) Do not, then, consult this book for differences among the commercial Netherlands, small-farming Scandinavia, mixed-economy Alpine regions, large-estate England, and clan-organized Ireland, or for precise timing of demographic changes by region. Forcing all of Europe

into a scheme that begins with classic Rome, proceeds to Germany before A.D. 1000, then moves to the history of something like Lancashire since the millennium, the book deals boldly with correspondences.

What correspondences? Of stem-family arrangements to lordly control over manorial tenements, of dot and dowry to the exclusion of noninheriting children from indivisible means of subsistence, of conjugal families to proletarianization, of female dependency to economies organized around wage-earning males, and so on; in short, of marital arrangements and household composition to the changing economic relations of adults. On his way to establishing these correspondences, Seccombe offers many an interesting aside. For the standard distinction between impartible and partible inheritance, Seccombe substitutes a continuum running from "tight" systems restricting marriage to those who meet the requirements for a fixed and limited number of places on the land to "loose" systems adapting places to "the stream of youth reaching marriageable age" (p. 96). He also provides an interesting sketch of possible differences in the consequences of rapid population growth in medieval manorial conditions (the creation of a mass of cottagers) and under those of early modern Europe (polarization of the peasantry between substantial landholders and the landless). Many a good idea pops out at an unexpected location.

Yet Seccombe incorporates enough loose, dubious formulations to bother specialists in almost any branch of his field. For example, he presents *Kaufsystem* and *Verlagssystem* as well-defined early and late stages of a standard process of protoindustrialization—no longer a defensible summary since such scholars as Pat Hudson (*The Genesis of Industrial Capital* [1986]) have looked closely at textile entrepreneurs and their work forces. Although in detail Seccombe often displays a fine awareness of differences among contemporaneous settings, he makes no effort to construct an account of geographic variation within Europe to complement his chronological framework. Treated as a grand exploration of materialist work on European families studded with critical reflections and lively half-documented hypotheses, but not as a definitive synthesis, Seccombe's extended essay should provoke valuable discussion, new research, and perhaps a more coherent counter-synthesis.

CHARLES TILLY

*New School for Social Research*

VRON WARE. *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History*. (Questions for Feminism.) New York: Verso. 1992. Pp. xviii, 263. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

Coming out of a personal history of antiracist activism in Britain, Vron Ware writes "in an attempt to understand the links between racism and male dominance so that being against one form of oppression

involves the possibility of being against the other" (p. xiv). She has selected several historical moments that allow her to explore the negotiation of feminist and antiracist politics by various white British and American women, some more successfully and some less so. These moments include the transatlantic network of women involved in the antislavery movement, the work of Annette Ackroyd and Josephine Butler in India, and British women's support of Ida B. Wells's antilynching campaign.

Ware's study is unconventional compared to most historical monographs reviewed in the *AHR*. Although it is informed by scholarly research, specialists will not likely find unfamiliar information from their own subfield. Americanists, however, will find what they know about the United States juxtaposed intriguingly with what they may well not know about Britain or the British empire, and vice versa.

Ware's citations range from the feminist movement of the 1960s to 1980s in Britain and America, to nineteenth-century British and U.S. abolitionism, to studies of imperialism in India, to the antilynching movement, and back to contemporary feminist theory. And each episode is analyzed in the context of how prevailing notions of white femininity intersected with notions of race, both heavily influenced by the nineteenth-century scientific conceptualization of difference, nature, and hierarchy. Her claim is that "the construction of white femininity—that is, the different ideas about what it means to be a white female—can play a pivotal role in negotiating and maintaining concepts of racial and cultural difference" (p. 4).

The juxtaposition of commentary on contemporary culture with assessment of historical movements for change is stimulating. For example, she queries the relative absence of reflection among present-day white British feminists over their familial links to the former empire. Later, she examines the activities of Ackroyd and Butler as part of an attempt to see "whether [feminists'] politics offered, consciously or unconsciously, an alternative view of popular imperialism" (p. 120). Still later, she dissects the promotion of Body Shop cosmetics as environmentally progressive: "The world of the Body Shop and the connections between women and nature that it seeks to encourage—cleanliness, fragrance, ideas about bodily hygiene—are all associated with a particular kind of femininity which dates back to the sanitary reform campaigns of Victorian Britain" (p. 247). Rather than being disunited, her well-written discussion moves persuasively from subject to subject, period to period.

Ware attempts a transformative analysis, rather than "add women and stir" approach: "learning about what white women did to pass the time in [a] society would not necessarily contribute much to an analysis of how it reproduced itself, whereas prying apart the social relations which connected white women to white men as well as black men and black women is likely to shed more light on the mechanics

of power and domination under colonialism" (p. 43). Her aim is ambitious, her arguments and analysis interesting. Her evidence points to transatlantic communication among feminists that is often overlooked in narrowly nationally defined studies. Readers may not conclude the book with a fundamentally transformed understanding of the antislavery movement, colonial society in India, or the antilynching movement; nonetheless, they will have had a thought-provoking read.

MARGARET STROBEL  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

THOMAS NEVILLE BONNER. *To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 232. \$34.95.

Thomas Neville Bonner means by his title that, in the late nineteenth century, women in Europe who wanted a first-class medical education had to go to Zurich. The medical schools of their own countries—France, Britain, Germany, and Russia—would not admit them. The most striking presence in Zurich was Russian: more than three-quarters of the 10,000 women studying there and in Paris came from the tsar's empire, a majority of them Jewish. Bonner's illumination of this scene tends to the perfunctory. He largely ignores radical politics, including the Marxist Left which, while welcoming women, opposed feminism. The eventual growth in the numbers of women studying medicine in Russia followed from changed government policy in response to the trend: better they study in Russia than in Zurich, where they were made into both radicals and feminists. By 1914 women doctors were far more common in Russia than anywhere else in the West, as Bonner's statistics indicate.

What of the United States? Europeans had long assumed that America was in the vanguard in educating women. This seemed true of medicine. In 1880 nearly 2,500 American women identified themselves as physicians, far more than in any other country. But were these women fully trained as doctors? Women got their training in special women's colleges. Top university medical schools were practically closed to women. As mainstream medicine grew more professional and scientific, the women's colleges faded away. The orthodox schools did not open their doors correspondingly (Harvard, for example, continued to bar women until 1945). Hence the number of women studying medicine dropped "precipitously" (p. 156). American women lagged well behind European women in medicine far into the twentieth century.

The heart of Bonner's study is its comparative structure. Although Russia and the United States are given the fullest accounts, chapters on Britain and Germany confirm Bonner's basic finding: no overarching general thesis on gender relations fits the data.

He offers an argument that does: the key to women's status in medicine during the years 1860–1960 has nothing to do with modernization, feminism, or social liberalism. It has to do with the state. When European governments decided women doctors were needed, women doctors were forthcoming. In the case of the “American failure,” “private interests” prevailed, “unchecked by government or powerful political forces,” and these, primarily an evolving medical establishment increasingly self-conscious about its professional status, were averse to women (p. 165). The United States thus was less an advanced than a peculiar, and even for decades a retrograde, nation.

Again, one wishes Bonner had associated his data more explicitly to larger themes, especially to American feminism. Nineteenth-century American feminists, divided between expanding woman's sphere and demanding entry into man's, proved unready either to defend women's medical colleges as cradles of an alternative medicine or to exploit their decline as a reason for insisting on entry into mainstream institutions. But the structure of the book sees Bonner through. Here is a case where gendering history promotes particularity, rather than universality, in our narratives.

DONALD MEYER  
Wesleyan University

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN. *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894–1915*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 301. \$27.95.

As the centenary of the arrest of Alfred Dreyfus in October 1894 approaches, we may expect a clutch of publications both simply commemorating and trying also to take a new look at the great affair. Albert S. Lindemann has entered the field early with this study, which places the French archetype alongside two other trials of Jews that attracted similar interest and discussion at the time: the Beilis affair in Russia (1911–13) and the Leo Frank affair in the United States (1913–15). Juxtaposing the three is a valuable exercise and provides the basis for a much-needed comparative discussion of anti-Semitism. Here chapters on each of the affairs are prefaced by general ones on hostility to Jews in each country and also by a broader historical introduction. Throughout, the book relies on secondary works, from which (with some lapses) it produces a competent up-to-date synthesis. It does have greater ambitions, however, about which one must be more doubtful.

Lindemann aims to convey the “fascination” of the affairs and to bridge the gap between professional academic and popular history writing. In this perspective, the framework and methodology of the book are disappointingly unadventurous. The two-thirds “background” to one-third direct treatment

format means lack of focus and integration. A “micro-historical” approach, using analysis of the specific events to reveal underlying structures and attitudes, would have been preferable. As they stand, moreover, the general chapters are necessarily inconclusive, since they do not adhere to any clearly stated common criteria. Nor does Lindemann really deliver on the color and excitement that he suggests in his preface. In particular, he fails to convey the passionate nature of people's involvement in the Dreyfus affair.

This is partly because he is concurrently engaged in a “revisionist” account of anti-Semitism in the period. He argues that insufficient attention has been paid to the “real” factors that prompted modern anti-Semitism, and notably the “rise of the Jews,” that is, the arrival of Jews in positions of prestige and power, the increase in Jewish population from the later nineteenth century, and the migration of Jews to the cities and from Eastern Europe to the West. The importance of anti-Semitism, moreover, has been exaggerated—it was not even decisive in the arrests of Dreyfus and Frank. Countervailing forces, including Jewish resistance, were strong and had triumphed by 1914. There was thus no inexorable “rising tide” that would culminate in the Nazi genocide. There is much to welcome in this approach. Understanding, which must be the paramount goal, is prevented by the mythologizing into which horror at prejudice and later atrocities still tempts some historians of anti-Semitism. Dreyfus was not a saint and anyone who expressed anti-Semitic sentiments was not ipso facto an ogre. One does need to place anti-Semitism in its historical contexts in order to explain how and why it persisted, developed, or took different forms. The process of modernization, of integration into nation-states, and the presence of real Jews are crucial elements here, but they were filtered through perceptions, individual and collective, that were more or less distorting. The comparative method is the way forward, as Lindemann rightly sees, but it needs to be pursued with more sophistication, more systematically, and, above all, at a more localized level if the share of reality as against fantasy in anti-Semitism is to be assessed and our general understanding of the topic seriously advanced.

STEPHEN WILSON  
University of East Anglia

M. C. HOWARD and J. E. KING. *A History of Marxian Economics*. Volume 2, 1929–1990. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 420. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Volume 1 of this book, covering the period from the death of Marx in 1883 to 1929, was published in 1989 and featured mainly German and Russian Marxists. The present volume, in contrast, is dominated by West European and North American writers. M. C.



Howard and J. E. King divide the volume into five parts: part 1, "The Great Depression and Stalinism," contains three chapters; part 2, "The Long Boom," has five; part 3, "New Theories of Imperialism," has three; part 4, "Value and Exploitation," has four; and part 5, "Current Controversies," again three chapters, thus making a total of eighteen chapters, plus a brief introduction and conclusion.

The authors, both economists, are clearly keen on their subject (they collaborated on a previous book, *The Political Economy of Marx* 2d ed., [1985]). Each chapter has copious references (placed, unfortunately, at the ends of the chapters), including cross-references within the volume and to volume 1. This, together with a somewhat pedestrian style of writing, does not result in "a stimulating account," as claimed on the back cover of the paperback; nevertheless, a patient reader interested in Marxian economics over the last sixty years or so should be able to find what he or she is looking for with the help of dual indexes of names and subjects.

The former lists 285 names, although not all of them were or are Marxian economists; John Maynard Keynes and Paul A. Samuelson are included, for example. Of those who were or are Marxists, the following, in alphabetical order, rated the largest number of entries: Paul A. Baran, Otto Bauer, Nikolai Bukharin, Maurice Dobb, Friedrich Engels, Rudolph Hilferding, Michael Kalecki, Karl Kautsky, V. I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernest Mandel, Karl Marx, Ronald L. Meek, Joan Robinson, Piero Sraffa, J. V. Stalin, Paul M. Sweezy, and Lev D. Trotsky. As the above listing indicates, not all of the writers listed made their contributions between 1929 and 1990, and that is another difficulty with the book; on some subjects the treatment goes well back into the nineteenth century.

Marxian economists have never been unanimous on almost any subject. Much of the substance of the book is discussions of debates among Marxists over minute points of analysis or dogma that will be of little or no interest to those outside the camp, much like the arguments of medieval theologians about how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. In view of events since 1989, one wonders who might be interested. But Marxian economists are a stubborn lot. In their conclusion Howard and King list "four essential components of a twenty-first century Marxian economics": "the class nature of capitalist society," "problems relating to the reproduction of this society," "contradictions in the processes of reproduction," and "the concept of uneven development" (p. 394). Then they add: "Only if they prove to be of rapidly declining significance is it likely that Marxian political economy will 'wither away'" (p. 395). I predict that they will, and it will.

RONDO CAMERON  
Emory University

JEFFREY KNAPP. *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest*. (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 16.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 387. \$48.00.

In this complex, wide-ranging, and idiosyncratic study, Jeffrey Knapp sets out to disprove the venerable notion that the unparalleled brilliance of England's literary renaissance not only reflected the vision of empire engendered by the discovery of the New World but also drew its inspiration largely from it. Although few scholars are still likely to accept such an extreme interpretation, together with the Victorian sense of empire that underlies it, without at least damaging qualifications, Knapp devotes himself with enthusiasm to the task of laying it to rest once and for all. Fortunately that is not all he has accomplished. By casting an intense light obliquely on those authors who had anything to say on the subject of empire, he has come up with a wealth of provocative insights that, however debatable they are, deserve the attention of anyone interested in the English Renaissance. His investigations often lead, in fact, well beyond the strictly defined limits of his subject. Primarily a literary study, this book nevertheless takes a fresh look at the problem of English isolationism during the Renaissance years and will for that reason be of special interest to historians. Readers will not have an easy time of it, however: Knapp leads them, and on occasion risks losing them, through a maze of paradoxes engendered by the circumstances of that age of paradoxes, and enhanced by the author's own fertile mind; nor is the reader helped by an arcane and at times ambiguous use of ordinary words.

As Knapp perceives it, the underlying paradox stems from the fact that England's literary efflorescence took place at a time when thoughts of empire had been frustrated by the growth of the Spanish empire, when such attempts at actual colonization as the Elizabethans made had fizzled, and when England had become isolated and rendered correspondingly irrelevant in world affairs. After the break with Rome and the loss of Calais, the nation turned in on itself. Faced with failure and isolation, patriotic men of letters had little choice but to make a virtue of weakness and to seek a certain superiority in non-material, other-worldly sources, and value in small things, in what Knapp calls "trifles." This, he argues, helps to explain both Tudor attitudes toward empire and the quality of the literature they affected: "The sense of a New World empire depended not only upon the colonist's trifling beads but also on the poet's trifling books" (p. 6). Knapp has a lot to say about "trifles" and "trifling." He defines both words loosely and flexibly in terms of "an indirection variously considered as unworldliness, superstition, error, incapacity, introversions, distraction, or disgrace" (p. 7), or, more positively, of an ability to discover sublimity in inconsequentiality. "Trifles" range from the beads



and bangles the colonists used to bargain with the natives, to tobacco considered as the eminently trifling product of a trifling imperialism, to "the sort of pastoral-heroic imperialism" (p. 197) that impelled Sir Walter Raleigh's abortive projects and inspired Edmund Spenser's fairy epic. Seen in this light, Elizabeth herself becomes a trifle, glorified in spite of, or even because of, the weakness believed to be inherent in her sex. The poets and men of letters on whom Knapp relies were profoundly ambivalent in their attitude toward empire. They would not avoid the challenge presented by the New World, yet they shrank from the prospect of actual expansion. Their vision of empire tended accordingly to culminate not in a plan of empire, but in imaginary "Nowheres," arguably typified by Thomas More's *Utopia*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and William Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Things changed, of course, as the Elizabethan moment gave way to the more somber realities of the Stuart century. Under pressure of events Raleigh himself moved from an idealized version of an empire uncontaminated by the Spanish lust for gold to a realization that gold was after all a legitimate objective, in a sense "a better trifle" (p. 198). More realistic and even hostile attitudes toward expansion began to appear.

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to either the virtues or defects of this remarkable book. The above summary undoubtedly oversimplifies its thesis and highlights its peculiarities. Yet it is hard to avoid a certain uneasiness about it, a feeling that the author has carried an interesting if debatable thesis to the edge of absurdity and to outright historical distortion. Tudor England did, indeed, suffer from something of an inferiority complex, intimidated, as it tended to be, both by Italian culture and Spanish power, and it was certainly in a measure isolated. But separation from Catholic Europe was far from complete, nor was it the mind-warping disaster here implied. Neither England nor the poets who spoke for it were as "marginal" as Knapp would have us believe. The continental magnates who sought so earnestly to marry England's queen would surely have been surprised to know that she was herself a "trifle."

ARTHUR FERGUSON  
EMERITUS  
Duke University

TONY FREYER. *Regulating Big Business: Antitrust in Great Britain and America, 1880-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 399. \$59.95.

Tony Freyer undertakes to offer an extensive comparison of American and British economic and legal discourse, public policy, and business practice amid developing corporate concentration and perceived threats to effective competition during the century

after 1880. Freyer, author of several respected studies in American legal history, seeks both to account for the initial divergence and later convergence of antitrust regulatory efforts in two advanced industrial nations and to explore more closely the roles state policy and legal frameworks played in conditioning the form and timing of big businesses' rise to preeminence. This latter concern yields a gentle corrective to the works of Alfred Chandler (*The Visible Hand* [1977] and *Scale and Scope* [1990]), insofar as Chandler gave law and policy quite modest weights in this process, but Freyer sustains Chandler's broader argument that British rejection of corporate managerialism (and, by extension, of American-style regulation) was a significant drag on the modernization of Britain's business system. Freyer does not engage critiques of Chandler's model, nor does his study show contact with recent theoretical debates on states and economies, yet a number of his findings are nonetheless instructive, particularly for American historians unfamiliar with British business-government relations.

In large part because British firms articulated a system of interfirm collusion and self-regulation that long coexisted with the performance incentives of an external free trade regime, because English courts long exercised judicial restraint, and because non-competition agreements energized no politically potent interest groups, the utility of American-style statutory action and court-centered antitrust enforcement was minimized. British common and case law authorized covenants to restrain competition, but made them voluntaristic and unenforceable in litigation, leading parties to disputes to avail themselves frequently of commercial arbitration, rather than lawsuits. A gradual transition toward greater state surveillance arose chiefly in the 1940s, but pressures from Britain's domineering ally to adopt American prohibitions were resisted. As Freyer documents (chap. 7) from one of his infrequent forays into archival sources, government and parliament established a publicity-oriented rather than sanctions-oriented regulatory scheme, echoing Charles Francis Adams's efforts at the post-Civil War Massachusetts Railroad Commission. Only in the 1950s and 1960s were more punitive acts passed regarding interfirm collaboration. Outlawing cartels "encouraged mergers," and the "triumph of managerial capitalism in Britain thus coincided with the strengthening of anti-cartel and merger policies" (p. 297). The contrast with American patterns is substantive and striking. Here, as Freyer ably details, federal and early state-level initiatives were far more moralistic, politicized, litigious, and aggressive, despite ebbs and flows of antitrust enthusiasm; and the prospect of treble damages sparked private suits that reached the thousand mark yearly in recent decades.

Still, this is a problematic book. It is far less rewarding to read than to ponder. Not only is the writing unusually leaden, the thematic structure of chapters 2

through 4 also features mind-numbing repetitions, summations, and cross-references. This difficulty speaks to Freyer's inability to solve the rhetorical challenges of comparative narration, and in turn reflects his theoretical agnosticism. The fact that a great deal of post-World War I regulatory context in both nations involved linkages among small businesses is registered rather than probed. To this degree, the title is misleading. Freyer's key concept of "convergence" between American and British "business structure and official policies" (p. 284, chaps. 6-8) is underspecified. Were there actually a pattern of mutual rapprochement, in which each nation's institutions and practices evolved toward an amalgam initially present at neither pole, we might have convergence. But as Freyer shows, the process was overwhelmingly a one-way street, for in the postwar environment, "Britain completed the course pioneered by the United States" (p. 284). This naturalization of processual issues that concern contingency and power undermines the analysis, although such dynamics arise suggestively in the archivally based section on Britain in the 1940s. Freyer seems to argue that Britain was "late smart," thus attaching his effort to leading themes in the secondary literature, but his own primary research suggests a far more complex nexus of development in which differences in culture, institutions, resources, and power, rather than putative convergences, were and remain critically salient. The topic is important, but this study will more likely establish a research agenda than a lasting interpretation.

PHILIP SCRANTON  
Rutgers University,  
Camden  
Hagley Museum and Library

DANIEL YERGIN. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Paperback edition. New York: Touchstone. 1991. Pp. xxxii, 885. \$16.00.

Daniel Yergin's masterful account of the history of oil is unlikely to be superseded. He has succeeded in putting oil into its political, financial, commercial, foreign policy, and strategic setting, which no one else has succeeded in doing before with two notable exceptions: the 1952 staff report of the Federal Trade Commission (*The International Petroleum Cartel*) and the 1974 Senate Committee on Foreign Relations' record of hearings (*Multinational Petroleum Companies and Foreign Policy*), which were important sources for Yergin's book. Apart from such indispensable sources, Yergin had to mine hundreds of other scattered sources to piece together his account of how oil was found, developed, and sold from the nineteenth century through the Desert Storm war with Iraq.

No ordinary "business" history of oil would capture the role of governments and of companies in the

exploitation of this resource. Yergin, however, recounts how the access to oil became a matter of increasing importance to industrial countries and how rivalry between companies and governments defined their interests and relationships in all major producing regions, especially in the Middle East. He reminds the reader of the importance of oil in World War I when the inability of Germany to obtain more oil to prosecute the war was a fundamental factor in its defeat. During World War II, similar needs and great difficulties in securing additional volumes of oil became crucially important once again. Of course, the vital need of Japan to obtain secure and continuous flows of oil spelled its own defeat when the allied forces—especially the U.S. Navy—intercepted Japanese tankers and were instrumental in Japan's surrender. Yergin traces these events and puts oil into its true strategic context. All the while, the complex and often bitter rivalries of companies and their host governments for supreme oil power through the obtaining of key concessions were a vital part of oil history. He reveals the continuous competition between Royal Dutch/Shell, British Petroleum (BP), and Standard Oil (later the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey) during which their own great interests became inextricably linked to those of their governments; Yergin tells also of the frequent efforts to construct monopoly arrangements between the companies and how they failed.

Consequently, the reader learns about the struggles between these companies and the governments of producing countries, and the often supportive role of the British and U.S. governments. But Yergin also makes clear that these governments were not supportive of companies when issues larger than oil interfered. Thus, the record of negotiations to preserve concession rights was by no means always won by the oil companies. The story of Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Indonesia makes this clear.

We need to know more. Why, for example—with increasing evidence of the strategic importance of oil to the United States and its allies in the Cold War—were so many efforts attempted to define a U.S. national energy strategy with long-term commitments to limit the growth of its own dependence on oil imports and why did they so often fail? Why was so little recognition given to the strategic fact that while the United States floundered from one administration's efforts to the next, the Soviet Union continued to be energy independent? Did not this great difference between them have some consequence in the conduct of the Cold War?

Yergin deals with the quite extraordinary period of the years between 1960 and 1980; why have those years been so little appreciated? In terms of the sheer strategic, political, and financial importance of oil, how was it possible that by the mid-1970s all of the significant concessions had been expropriated by

weaker oil-producing countries? How was it possible that in just a few years, much of the management of oil—the setting of prices and of volumes—had been removed from the control of oil companies in what must be one of the greatest transfers of wealth we have known? Yergin writes of this experience when, quite literally, the wealth of nations was surrendered, without a shot being fired.

As comprehensive as is Yergin's history of oil, there are events that call for further inquiry so that the lasting significance of his volume will almost certainly be its encouragement of scholars and students to search even further.

MELVIN A. CONANT  
Washington, D.C.

CLIFFORD M. FOUST. *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 371. \$35.00.

Clifford M. Foust's study of rhubarb offers something of value to historians interested in medicine, botany, long-distance commerce, the efficacy of state monopolies, cultural contacts between East and West, and even the development of modern cuisine. In the West, rhubarb's literary trail begins with Dioscorides of Anazarba in the first century A.D.; in China, from whence the plant came, it is recorded in Li Shih-chen's *Great Pharmacopoeia* (1552–78), a herbal encyclopedia compiled from data going back at least six or seven centuries. Although known for its settling effect on the stomach, rhubarb was to make its reputation as a purgative and laxative with a following astringent action. Arab medicine, probably using the Chinese root, made this connection, and it was one peculiarly suited to the humoral medical system Galen developed in the second century A.D., and whose influence persisted around the Mediterranean and throughout Europe for seventeen hundred years. Even with the advent of modern scientific medicine, herbal remedies have remained current, and rhubarb retains its place. Now, however, it is also possible for chemical analyses to suggest how rhubarb was able to do so much for so many throughout the long history of its use.

The questions Foust explores all begin with rhubarb's medical effect, which made it important to know where the plant grew, what varieties produced the best root, whether it was possible to domesticate true rhubarb, and, a particularly important issue, how the drug could reach the West in ever increasing quantity. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two patterns emerged: the preparation and transshipment of root through Muscovy, later imperial Russia, and the carrying trade of the British East India Company. The former received rhubarb overland from China's inner borders; the latter brought it from Canton. The point of origin was the same, although this was not understood until later. The

Russian trade was a state monopoly with one brief period of free trading under Peter the Great. It lasted in this form to the later eighteenth century. Because of the extraordinary care taken in collecting, sorting, preparing, and storing the root, "Russian rhubarb" became the standard for quality and always commanded top price. The Russians severely limited supply to maintain price and were able to achieve a return the government found acceptable. The East India Company overwhelmed the Western market and then responded to the price collapse that followed by monitoring supply. Both succeeded, although in different ways and to different degrees, and the detailed comparisons Foust's data make possible are revealing. This material is especially valuable for its description of the inner working of the Russian monopoly.

There is one point the author does not take up that would have added to the book's considerable value. He refers to a "rhubarb mania" (pp. xvi, 57) in the eighteenth century, and the trading figures he uses amply demonstrate it. Its genesis, however, is obscure, and apart from such formal sources as herbals or botanical treatises, we read virtually nothing about how "the wondrous drug" was popularized and distributed, the image it had among the general population, or how people came into contact with it or any other pharmaceutical preparation. Did greengrocers sell the powdered root? Did it reach Everyman, or was the mania restricted to urban centers and the relatively well-to-do? Foust treats the technical problems of adulteration, of botanical classification, and of breeding and crossbreeding with admirable clarity. It is disappointing that his energy and creative imagination were not applied to digging out the popular side to the rhubarb mania. To do so would have further advanced his admirable purpose of dealing with the interaction of humans and nature in a historical context. But this also leaves a subject for another historian. Foust has served us well in producing a wholly fascinating and valuable book that deserves the widest possible audience.

RODERICK E. MCGREW  
EMERITUS  
Temple University

ALLEN GUTTMANN. *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*. (Illinois History of Sports.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 191. \$24.95.

The ideals of the modern Olympic games are so self-contradictory that observers can find anything they want in them—from sport as peace to sport as surrogate war, from blood in the pool to a remake of *Romeo and Juliet*. One's ideals, or lack of them, determine the result. The games are the world's biggest regularly scheduled international event; for many sports they are the highest level of athletic competition; and they are also show business. The competi-

tion draws spectators, thereby justifying the expense of staging this stupendous party. Those who put up the money want people watching—and buying.

In his telling of the “composite story of sports and politics” (p. 4), Allen Guttman, one of the leading historians of sport in the United States, subscribes to traditional Olympic ideals, including those embodied in the terms “social movement,” “Olympic movement,” and “Olympism.” He sees nationalism and internationalism now clashing, now harmonizing. In the course of a century, “some of the internal contradictions of Olympism” have been partially eliminated, although new tensions, “like commercialism and drug abuse,” have arisen (p. 4). He ends with a thought about “cultural imperialism” (pp. 171–72): the games are carrying Eurocentered sports to the rest of the world; should they not force Europeans to play non-European sports?

Guttman defines his book as aimed at “the serious non-specialist reader” (p. xi). The work reads like recorded lectures, replete with excursions. On one page, for example, the reader finds as successive sentences: “When full German unification finally came in 1990, it occurred without the assistance of the International Olympic Committee. The 1952 Winter Games at Oslo went smoothly” (p. 96). There are errors of omission and commission. The author should have discussed the U.S. Congress’s mandated reorganization of the USOC in the 1970s. Since he discusses GANEFO, why not discuss the Goodwill Games? Finally, at the end of the basketball game in Munich in 1972, the referee, Renato Righetto, did sign the scoresheet (p. 138). Guttman’s occasionally sarcastic tone, moreover, leaves one wondering whether it is a typographical error or not when the author calls the Melbourne games “remarkably ironic” (p. 101).

I would particularly cavil with the author’s cavalier attitude toward Soviet studies: “Speculation on the internal debates within the Politburo is idle for anyone but Kremlinologists, and perhaps for them too” (p. 158). There is in fact a well-grounded, serious, and rapidly growing literature on Soviet sports. The memoirs of the organizer of the Moscow Games in 1980, for example, offer a very different picture of why the black African states attended the Moscow Olympics than does Guttman, who chooses to focus on Mohammed Ali (p. 150).

In a field where “histories” are updated every four years, this volume seems already outdated as an introduction to the competition in the games: only twelve pages deal with “1988 and after.” New histories of the Olympic Games will now have to deal with the concept of “Post Cold War Games,” but for an introduction to the inherent politics of the Olympics, I would still recommend *The Olympic Games*, edited by Lord Killanin and John Rodda (the original edition [1976], not the later editions, which,

in the show-business tradition of sequels, decline in quality).

ALFRED ERICH SENN  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

#### ANCIENT

DONALD B. REDFORD. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 488. \$39.95.

This book will undoubtedly enjoy a number of audiences, including individuals concerned with Syro-Palestinian and Biblical history and students of the history and culture of ancient Egypt. Readers from these groups will find themselves well served by Donald B. Redford’s book, which is clearly written and immediately accessible, yet a work of scholarly depth. The author’s considerable acumen as a philologist and archaeologist constantly enriches the historical narrative and allows the engagement of a wide range of primary evidence in dealing with ideational issues as well as important aspects of physical culture. The data intended for the specialist do not impede the flow of the book’s narrative, however, but are readily accessible in well-written footnotes.

Chapters 1 through 5 sketch the history of Egypt and the Levant and discuss their interaction from the prehistoric period to the beginning of Egypt’s New Kingdom. Redford makes a good case for a northern route of entry—via the eastern Mediterranean—for the Mesopotamian stimulus that briefly but deeply affected Egypt’s development at the beginning of this period. The evidence for a number of successive historical problems such as the early Bronze/middle Bronze transition in the Levant is outlined with clarity.

In chapters 6 through 8 Redford tells the story of the creation of the Egyptian empire in the Near East and deals with the resultant infusion into Egypt of Near Eastern peoples, goods, and ideas. There is no ancient megalomaniacal “*Drang nach Osten*” here, as is sometimes intoned in less-scholarly works, but a number of much more subtle factors which are carefully considered.

The following two chapters deal specifically with the great migrations that took place in the Eastern Mediterranean at the close of the Bronze Age as well as with the origins and background of the Israelite peoples in this period, with the Exodus being seen as a folklore memory of the expulsion from Egypt of the Hyksos. Chapters 11 through 15—over one-third of the book—then deal with the interrelations of Egypt and the developed Hebrew Kingdoms at both the historical and cultural levels.

From the point of view of New Kingdom Egypt, the area of Canaan represented a useful peripheral region that was certainly a potential source of tribute and material goods, but more importantly it was a



vital buffer region needing to be carefully controlled. For the indigenous Canaanite populations, for much of their history, Egypt was a menacing and none-too-distant superpower. It is one of the strengths of this book that Redford moves between these two viewpoints smoothly and sympathetically so that his narrative maintains an unforeshortened perspective.

The many interpretations of individual historical trends and developments over the book's broad spatial and temporal field cannot possibly be enumerated in a single survey, although the author certainly covers most of the bases. In a few instances—such as the nascence of ancient Israel from a Canaanite matrix—the eclectic approach might lead some readers to wish for a little more information than is given. The origin of the Israelites and their religion among the wandering, Bedouin-like "Shasu" is certainly an idea with its own credentials, but the various models defining mechanisms whereby this development occurred are not really discussed. This is, however, a minor criticism at worst. Redford is persuasive and proposes no idea without careful evaluation. The result is a finely crafted and valuable study.

Substantive yet never prolix, scholarly yet highly readable, this book achieves a successful synthesis of a wide range of current scholarship and also stands as a study that is not without a good many insights of its own.

RICHARD H. WILKINSON  
*University of Arizona*

SUZANNE DIXON. *The Roman Family*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 279. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$13.95.

Given the great surge of interest in the Roman family within the last decade, it is timely that we be provided with a synoptic overview written by one of the new generation of researchers. Suzanne Dixon's contributions, including a book on *The Roman Mother* (1988), and another forthcoming on women and property, have been at the center of this new drive to constitute the family as a key item on the agenda of modern-day historians of Roman society. Hence there are some great expectations. The obvious hurdles she faces are the oppressive weight of traditional legalistic approaches to the subject and the problem of synthesizing the recent outpouring of studies on family and gender. Some of the difficulties posed by this deluge of new work are indicated by the eighty-three pages (nearly a third of the whole book) devoted to footnotes and bibliography.

Dixon launches her work with a coherent survey of the current state of research, providing her with a base from which to pass to the succeeding chapters on the legal framework of family relations and on the place of marriage in family formation. These efforts, however, are fairly standard in content; only the last two chapters in the book, devoted to children and the

life cycle of the family, offer genuinely new perspectives. The whole is supplemented by an excellent selection of well-annotated plates that complement the text.

It is only to be expected that a survey traversing so much new terrain will raise a few objections. One must, for example, question if Dixon has struck the right emphasis in relegating matters such as "legacy hunting" and "parricide" to the realm of literary motifs and "irrational fears" (pp. 156–58). A number of spectacular parricide trials in Italy in recent years (with whole soccer stadia of fans supporting the accused and chanting "kill the father") would seem to indicate, even if actually attested cases are not rife, that the phenomenon is not just pure ideology or "irrational fear." There are also some disconcerting lapses: following a plethora of studies on the demography of the Roman world in the last decade, it is no longer acceptable to use A. R. Burn's outmoded and indefensible hypotheses on life expectancy in the Roman world (p. 149).

Moreover, having committed herself to a survey-of-the-evidence approach, Dixon is perhaps compelled to impart a rather pedantic textbook-like feel to her work, a rhetoric of replaying the relevant data and not much more. Those who know another side of Dixon as a committed feminist writer and actor must be somewhat disappointed that this aspect of her seems strangely absent from a subject so suited to, indeed crying out for, a radicalization of perspective. Her bibliography refers to works from Sylvia Yanagisako and Mary Daly to Hélène Cixous and Jacques Lacan, and yet their theoretical frameworks are scarcely in evidence in the text. The big shake-up in approach suggested by the work of those theorists (among many others) must surely be the next step, to be taken by someone who might accept current accounts about Roman family in terms of simple "facts," but who would be willing to infuse the subject with a whole series of questions about gender, domination, power, economics, state, and politics. Until then, Dixon's survey will be a welcome point of departure, a measure of where we stand at the beginning of the 1990s in our understanding of a millennia-old fundamental structure of Western society. But we should demand more, and better, especially from this talented scholar.

BRENT D. SHAW  
*University of Lethbridge*

LESLIE KURKE. *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy*. (Myth and Poetics.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 287. \$43.50.

The forty-five surviving poems of Pindar of Thebes (first half of the fifth century B.C.) have long been regarded as the most obscure and involuted body of writing from classical Greece. All but one were designed for the public celebration of an individual's



athletic victory (which might come from owning, though not driving, horses in chariot races). The poet's role in composing these *epinikia* has been seen as no better than that of a fawning toady, paid well to praise his rich patrons extravagantly, and the poetry itself as irrelevant to the burgeoning world of the city-state. In recent years, the conventional elements in the poetry of praise have been elucidated so as to show the poet playing a traditional rather than a venal part. Some have proposed that his task was to reintegrate the victor into his community of fellow aristocrats after the extraordinary prominence won in the Olympic or other great games. That reintegration was, in fact, the goal can only be inferred from the language of the poems, an argument which Leslie Kurke makes thoroughly and effectively, although she also calls attention to situations when the poet employs "the superlative vaunt" (pp. 223–24). Flaunting success is never far from the desire to return to the fold.

Kurke has read widely in the anthropological literature, and while building on recent scholarship, the author aims to go much further in demonstrating how the poems reincorporate the victor into all the concentric circles of society: family, class, and the community as a whole. The fabric of archaic aristocratic life Kurke skillfully reconstitutes has as essential strands gift exchange, *charis* (generosity and the gratitude it invokes), formal guest-friendship (*xenia*), public display and expenditure, and the concomitant envy and fear of the elevation of the individual to a tyrannical position.

There are, however, problems about the nature of the relevant community. Many of the poems are for Sicilian tyrants or their kin, already established in an extraordinary position vis-à-vis their society. Their relationship to their fellow citizens is significantly different from that of a victor in a democratic or even oligarchic city-state. Kurke notes that the *epinikia* after their initial performance seem to have circulated in closed, aristocratic contexts (p. 5). The audience from the beginning may have been less heterogeneous and inclusive than Kurke argues.

The "economy" of Kurke's subtitle is seen as inseparable because it was "embedded" in the structure of the society's values. The poet uses the vocabulary of gain and loss largely metaphorically. (One may wonder at Kurke's fondness for "economy," if it is a concept so foreign to the society.) But Kurke sees change threatening the archaic world of the aristocrats, and she is surely right. Coinage, however, which Kurke regards as a relatively recent and disturbing introduction, is less a factor than she supposes; commerce and the accumulation of wealth did not await the invention of coined money. The dynamics of profit, I would contend, were operative well before the fifth century B.C., but, conversely, the social and political controls on them changed but were never lost. The shift of initiative to the state as a whole that made demands on the wealth of the elite,

in democratic Athens in the form of "liturgies" (it is not clear how much this happened elsewhere), is significant and is discussed well by Kurke, although the relevance to Pindar's poetry remains uncertain.

Was the system of values promoted by Pindar ever fully operative anywhere? Kurke, in another connection, says that "for my purposes, the level of ideology, of self-representation and aspiration on the part of poet, victor, and audience is more important than reality" (p. 5, n. 14). This is a reasonable position for the study of Pindar. For a broader view of Greek society, one might ask whether, to the extent that Kurke is right in seeing the community as a whole, and not just the elite, involved in the victory celebrations, the practice was intended as an instrument of legitimation and control for the ruling elite (of increasingly uncertain effectiveness) rather than a finely tuned, traditional mechanism for internal harmony. After the city-state, the polis, came the Hellenistic kings and the Roman emperors who once again required poets and performances to demonstrate and, they hoped, reinforce the relationship to their society that they desired.

The new historicism has been late in coming to ancient literature. This is a vigorous, scholarly, and admirably open-minded example. Kurke provides excellent, precise analyses of Pindar's language and symbolism, many key passages and one poem (*Isthmian* 2) in detail. Because the passages Kurke quotes are translated, much inevitably depends on the careful discussion of words and phrases, and here the more general reader will be at a disadvantage. Kurke writes clear and effective prose when not tempted by jargon or betrayed by her penchant to create verbs such as "concretize" and "emblemize," and to use the monstrous noun "recontextualization." If it has not disguised itself too well in fashionable but ephemeral language, this book will be valued as an important contribution to the study of Greek poetry and society.

MICHAEL H. JAMESON  
Stanford University

JOHN D. GRAINGER. *Hellenistic Phoenicia*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 228. \$55.00.

Regional histories seem to be a popular sub-genre in ancient history in recent years. John D. Grainger's book is a fairly typical example, exhibiting most of the merits and flaws the genre is prone to. The major merit of the regional history is the chance it offers to do a comprehensive study, bringing in all known evidence concerning a given region and covering events and institutions there in depth. The major flaw is that this type of study can too easily degenerate into a rather simplistic "tell all you know" narrative, lacking any clear focus or analytical structure, and consequently having only limited interest for most readers.

Grainger's coverage of what is known about Hellenistic Phoenicia is certainly comprehensive. The book is divided into chronological chapters that take the reader from the declining years of Achaemenid power in the 350s B.C. until the definitive Roman conquest in the late first century B.C. A final chapter on Phoenicians abroad—focused especially, if (to my mind) rather too skeptically, on Phoenician trade—closes the work. The narrative is by and large clear and incisive, and taken as a basic politico-military narrative it is effective and readable, although the works of other scholars are too rarely referred to and a few other criticisms might be made.

To give some examples, in introducing Phoenicia the city of Berytos is essentially ignored although Grainger's subsequent chapters show that it was an important city in the early Hellenistic era (pp. 1–20). The assumption that being part of the Ptolemaic realm in the third century would have prevented the major Phoenician cities from trading with the rest of Asia, which was under Seleukid authority, is highly debatable to say the least (p. 195). I doubt that it would have been either Ptolemaic or Seleukid policy to disrupt the well-established patterns of trade linking Phoenicia to Mesopotamia, except of course in times of actual war. On more minor matters, Grainger's system of referring to ancient authors using Roman numerals (for example, Diodoros XVI.II.xxxiv.6 rather than 18.34.6) is clumsy and irritating; Grainger refers to the well-known officer Ptolemaios son of Thraseas as "son of Mnaseas" (p. 98); we read that those who attacked the city of Arados "succumbed to negotiation," whereas what is meant is that the Aradians so succumbed (p. 173); and known Phoenicians abroad are listed as being mostly from three cities—half from Sidon, a quarter from Tyre, and a fifth from Arados—but the note giving details mentions four cities and indicates that twenty-three such persons (about one-eighth of the total) were from Berytos, another example of the curious downplaying of Berytos in this book (p. 206, n. 47).

The major flaw of the work, however, as already indicated, is its lack of a sense of focus and purpose. The author never considers the question of what importance Phoenicia had for a broader understanding of Hellenistic history, perhaps because the answer to that question would inevitably have been so disappointing. For all its undoubted importance in the first half of the first millennium B.C., it is clear that Phoenicia in the Hellenistic period was a minor and unimportant region, its former economic and naval power lost to the Greeks. Phoenicia assumed occasional temporary significance in the context of the frontier wars between the Ptolemaic and Seleukid empires, but its basic history in this period is one of decline into virtual insignificance, and to tell even this story the scarcity of evidence forces Grainger to resort to extensive speculation on almost every page. This would have been justified had some new and interesting insights into broader Hellenistic develop-

ments—for example, concerning the nature and degree of Hellenization among the subject peoples—emerged, but such is not the case. Unlike with Grainger's excellent earlier book *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* (1990), one's ultimate feeling after reading this book is one of disappointment at the basically straightforward and unadventurous narrative, and the very thin results of such analysis as is possible.

RICHARD A. BILLOWS  
Columbia University

ROSS SHEPARD KRAEMER. *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 275. \$24.95.

With *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics: A Sourcebook on Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World* (1988), feminist historian Ross Shepard Kraemer made available in English translation a sizeable collection of hard-to-find primary materials dealing with the religious beliefs and observances of pagan, Jewish, and Christian women. The present volume was originally intended to accompany that book, providing context and commentary lacking there. It still seeks, as a first aim, to offer a descriptive survey of Greco-Roman women's religions from approximately the fourth century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E.

While the book was in progress, however, Kraemer expanded its scope to include a large theoretical component. That departure limited its usefulness as a sourcebook supplement, since many texts had to be omitted. In her preface the author acknowledges problems created by her venture into theoretical terrain, but argues in her own defense that the religious experience of Greco-Roman women could not have been explained adequately in terms of previous paradigms oriented exclusively toward male behavior.

Kraemer begins with a frank assessment of the methodological constraints on her endeavor. Factual description is problematic because sources for the study of women in antiquity remain fragmentary and biased, despite feminists' success at uncovering evidence previously overlooked. Theoretical analysis of religion as a social phenomenon is no less tricky, for its links with other aspects of social reality are not clearly understood. Rejecting the idea that religion compensates for deprivation, Kraemer instead resorts to Mary Douglas's anthropological model of social experience, articulated in *Natural Symbols* (1970; rpt. 1973) and in *Cultural Bias* (1978), which categorizes cultures by their combined levels of "grid" (regulation of individuals) and "group" (communal support for individuals). If religion, as Douglas contends, reinforces and replicates social conditions, women's religiosity may be observed to differ in accordance with grid/group structures found in particular milieus. Kraemer tests that hypothesis by investigat-

ing specific cohorts of ancient worshippers: devotees of Olympian divinities and more marginal cults, pagan priestesses, Jewish synagogue leaders, and members of orthodox and heretical Christian congregations, among others.

Specialists may dispute Kraemer's handling of certain topics. Her treatment of Roman cults, for example, appears to overlook much of the hearty controversy surrounding the Roman family and the public roles of elite Roman women. In general, however, her descriptive accounts are comprehensive and illuminating. The book will be consulted frequently as a standard source of basic information.

I am not altogether comfortable with Kraemer's final theoretical position. She sees female autonomy, in both antiquity and the modern world, as achieved only through repudiation of the body and its sexual and reproductive associations, which she equates with "psychic self-destruction" (p. 208). Falling back on an either-or dichotomy does not do full justice to the manifest complexity of ancient or modern women's choices. Furthermore, the high value Kraemer attaches to embodiment may itself be ethnocentric, for late-antique society notoriously did not share that positive view of sexuality, and some contemporary cultural subgroups, like my own, are relatively ascetic in outlook. This quibble aside, I strongly recommend her book.

MARILYN B. SKINNER  
University of Arizona

DAVID COHEN. *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 259. \$49.95.

David Cohen has written a sophisticated and provocative analysis of the relationship between public norms and private morals in classical Athens. In this "exercise in historical legal sociology" (p. 5), Cohen presents a strong challenge to traditional (and some more recent) orthodoxies about Athenian attitudes toward sexual and moral "misbehavior" and also to the traditional "isolationist" stance of Greek social history. The social historian should not view law simply as an "either/or" means of enforcing morality; the more significant question is "how Athenian citizens oriented their behavior and expectations towards norms, how they reacted towards and characterized those who violated such normative expectations and the role which the law played in that process" (p. 7). The need for an appreciation of the essential "manipulability" of law as social norm is made forcefully and repeatedly in two long and densely written chapters that follow a brief introduction. Although in these chapters Cohen presents an intimidating first seventy pages of reading, with frequent reference to and footnoting of recent work in sociology and social anthropology, he successfully makes a point crucial to the rest of his book: ambigui-

ty and complexity are an essential feature of Athenian (and most all) normative systems, particularly in relation to sexual behavior. We should not hope or expect to find simple and "correct" answers to such questions as "what was the status of women in Athens?" or "what was the Athenian attitude toward homoeroticism?" Rather, Athenian moral norms were "many-hued," complex, and often contradictory, encouraging the "knowledgeable" social actor to "define, manipulate, interpret, ignore, violate, and, ultimately, reproduce them" (p. 23).

Cohen next turns to the specific application of his theoretical argument to the interpretation of the Athenian "public/private" dichotomy (chap. 4) and of the Athenian laws on adultery, homosexuality, and impiety (chaps. 5–8). The two themes are linked by the argument repeated throughout the book that Athenian laws were directed not toward moral behaviors per se, but rather toward the public consequences of moral (or immoral) behavior. Thus, adultery is regulated only insofar as it is a source of public violence and disturbance, homoerotic behavior is reprehensible only to the extent that it "corrupts" potential citizens and disqualifies them from participation in public life, and "wrong" beliefs about the gods are punishable only if they are taken to endanger the public well-being. All of this is certain to provoke heated debate; but however the final votes fall on particular issues (does, for example, the term "*moikheia*" refer to the violation of marriage, as Cohen alleges on the basis of a survey of common Athenian usage, or to the violation of a man's female household, as has been traditionally accepted?), Cohen's reworking of Athenian social history is welcome.

On the question of "status" of Athenian women, Cohen argues convincingly that Athenian women enjoyed a more expanded and flexible social role than current and long-standing (from at least the mid-nineteenth century) orthodoxy allows. He even suggests the existence of strong erotic/sexual bonds between male and female Athenians, whether within marriage or without. Regarding Greek homosexuality, Cohen is critical of the newly emerging "Foucauldian" orthodoxy. By insisting that "sexual desire was not distinguished according to its object," this view falls into the trap of a "monolithic sexual normativity" (p. 171) that misses the cultural anxiety and ambivalence surrounding same-sex sexual relations in classical Athens.

As important as these issues are, however, it is Cohen's focus on the character of the Athenian "public/private" dichotomy that makes his book distinctive and groundbreaking. The theme, prominent throughout, receives a final twist in the last chapter on "The Enforcement of Morals." The Athenians, Cohen argues, connected radical democracy with the protection of the private sphere: "Thus the role of law, according to the Athenian conception of radical democracy, is not to enforce an *intrusive* order regulating all aspects of life, but rather to provide a

*delimiting* order which defines the boundaries beyond which the state or private individuals (hubris, calumny, assault, theft) may not enter one's private domain (house, sexuality, family, friendship, property, livelihood, etc.) The democratic polis, then, does not attempt to root out immorality, but rather to keep its harmful effects out of the public sphere" (p. 230). Against this democratic ideology he sets the behavior and aspirations of tyrants, oligarchs, and philosophers, who all show a penchant for invading and violating the right of citizens to "live as they choose."

The thesis is striking and certainly attuned to contemporary political debates, but it is vulnerable on two counts: the rhetorical conflation of tyrants and philosophers, and the odd failure to consider the peculiar "contours" of the Athenian public/private dichotomy emphasized earlier in the book.

First, although Cohen rightly notes that "in the Athenian view democracy is made possible by the rule of law," and although he illustrates the ways in which tyranny (whether the "Thirty Tyrants" of 404–05 or the hypothetical tyrant of the *Republic*) invaded the private realm, taking at will men's wives, property, and even lives, the real distinction here is not between tyranny and democracy but between tyranny and the rule of law. Law and the legal process, not democracy per se, protected a man's family and household. Indeed, we might profitably recall the image of the "tyrant demos" charged with the abuse of the property and persons of its wealthier citizens. Certainly one could argue that "aristocratic" theorists such as Plato were just as concerned about the protection of the citizen from tyrannical abuse of power and about the rule of law as was the democratic citizen. Indeed, Cohen's argument also conflates two different kinds of "invasion" of the private sphere: violence to persons and property, and the control or regulation of sexual behavior. The first is clearly the mark of the tyrant; the second is the business of both the demos itself and the philosopher.

In both democratic Athens and the philosophers' ideal states, law invades as well as protects the private sphere, regulating in various ways behavior and relations of household members. As philosophic lawgivers, Plato and Aristotle advocated the systematic regulation of private life; but based on Cohen's own earlier discussion, it could be argued that the philosophers simply tried to replace the composite of often contradictory legal and social norms around which contemporary Athenians constructed private life with their own "enlightened" legislation.

The last point leads directly to the second objection to the idea of an "ideology of privacy" in classical Athens: as presented by Cohen in his final chapter, the argument fails to emphasize adequately the difference between the Athenian view of what private behavior has harmful public effects and what does not, and our own liberal understanding of this distinction. In brief, if adultery disqualified an Athenian woman from participation in public festivals and

cults, and if "passive" sexual experience was seen as "corrupting" an Athenian man and as a threat to citizen participation, then what does it mean to speak of a protected private domain?

The argument of the final chapter therefore appears to ignore the more convincing thesis of the book as a whole, that is, the importance of complexity and contradiction even in the area of ideology. For all the Athenians who might at one moment agree with Pericles, "We do not get in a state with our neighbor if he enjoys himself in his own way . . . we are free and tolerant in our private lives" (Thucydides 2.37), there would no doubt be others, at another moment, who would say with Demosthenes: "Of all forms of government, the most antagonistic to men of shameful habits is that in which it is possible for anyone to make known their shame. And what form of government is that? Democracy" (22.31). Appropriately, both of these passages are quoted by Cohen (pp. 90, 97).

CYNTHIA PATTERSON  
Emory University

#### MEDIEVAL

CLARISSA W. ATKINSON. *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 274. \$24.95.

In this examination of motherhood, Clarissa W. Atkinson argues that rather than a natural phenomenon independent of surrounding social, economic, political, and material conditions, motherhood is a complex and changeable construction. Using such diverse sources as canon law, hagiography, letters, and popular literature, Atkinson surveys the development of motherhood in the West from the beginnings of Christianity through the early modern period. The result is a fascinating survey of attitudes toward one of society's fundamental relationships.

Within the context of early Christianity, motherhood did not impede women from either sanctity or full participation in the community. Indeed, for martyrs like Felicity and Perpetua, the physical challenges of birth were comparable to those encountered in martyrdom and consequently enhanced a woman's ability to witness to her faith. This evaluation of motherhood was profoundly altered with the development of monastic culture in the early Middle Ages. Virginity became increasingly important, and a new vision of spiritual motherhood emerged to replace physical motherhood. Thus, virgin mothers, caring for their spiritual children in convents across Europe, were promoted as the Christian ideal while married women, struggling to raise biological children in the harsh world, found themselves overwhelmed and marginalized by masculine society. Significantly, Felicity and Perpetua were transformed from martyred mothers to virgins.

The changing evaluation of motherhood is seen in the transformation of the Virgin Mary from majestic



queen of heaven to gentle intercessor. The cult of the Virgin, Atkinson argues, "stimulated a new recognition of the erotic aspects of mother love and appreciation of its passionate intensity" (p. 143). The extent to which this change influenced the condition and evaluation of earthly mothers, however, remains problematic.

The appearance of new forms of domestic and mystical experience in the later Middle Ages suggests that the traditional devaluation of physicality and sexuality was being replaced by values that no longer considered sanctity and maternity mutually exclusive. The popular Patient Griselda stories linked motherhood with suffering. Increased interest in the holy family promoted the value of family life. Increasingly after the thirteenth century, mother-saints began to appear: Elizabeth of Hungary, Birgitta of Sweden, and Dorothea of Montau. Yet despite the emphasis placed on their status as mothers, these women did not achieve the full expression of their vocation until widowhood freed them from their children and domestic responsibilities. The chastity of widowhood therefore paralleled that of virginity. The new mother-saints nevertheless did help enhance maternal power and responsibility. This was complemented by a new form of mystical experience in which the mother-saint conceived and gave birth to the Christ child, thus linking physicality and sanctity in a new way.

The social restructuring of the sixteenth century also brought changes to the ideology of motherhood. For Protestants and Catholics alike women were increasingly excluded from the public sphere and domestic authority came to reside in the patriarchal head of the household. Traditional medieval notions of holiness were overturned and obedience replaced virginity as a sign of sanctity. Whatever their positions within the private sphere, all women were to be obedient subjects of a male authority figure, be it father, husband, son, priest, or bishop.

Atkinson concludes that "The mother at home, installed in a patriarchal household and naturally inclined toward service and sacrifice, was created for the West in early modern Europe. Her image is so familiar that we fail to recognize its originality: we are inclined to see her as eternal" (p. 235). This book's careful and compelling argument should dispel any such future inclinations. Motherhood has now joined the ranks of its cognate institutions, marriage and the family, as socially constructed, malleable, and manipulable. Medieval motherhood has a history, and whether our interests lie in the past or present we will all benefit from knowing it.

JACQUELINE MURRAY  
University of Windsor

RICHARD P. ABELS. *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 313. \$39.95.

Richard P. Abels's book is of much wider importance than the title indicates, for it is a work that will undoubtedly prove to be essential reading not only for Anglo-Saxonists but also for those interested in Anglo-Norman England as well as kingship, lordship, land tenure, and military service in the earlier Middle Ages. Abels deals intelligently and soundly with the nature of the Anglo-Saxon host, the *fyrð*, and in doing so he takes up an amazing range of related topics necessary for a sound understanding of his main theme, including freedom and social classes in Anglo-Saxon England, land holding, the hide, Anglo-Saxon law, the Burghal Hidage, ship-sokes, and the military arrangements of the Welsh marches.

It is to Abels's great credit that he skillfully and generally convincingly weaves his way through the complex and inconsistent documents that have been the object of intense scholarly debates for well over a century. Archaeological data are brought to bear on these thorny questions, as well as German-language studies, and Abels is quick to acknowledge Frankish precedents for Anglo-Saxon institutions and practices.

Abels's primary aim is to demolish the concept of the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð* as the "nation-in-arms," an army composed primarily of free peasants serving in defense of their homeland. Abels compellingly argues that this sort of *fyrð* never existed, and in its place he presents the Anglo-Saxon host as always having been the king's personal following. Thus, lordship, not a universal military obligation, is the key to understanding the institution.

Abels argues that the early Anglo-Saxon *fyrð* was composed merely of the king's retainers and their own followers, all serving their lords out of personal obligation. There was no necessary relationship with land tenure in this military service, nor was there a true sense of kingship in this process, which was derived from lordship. The king was seen as no more than the lord of other lords.

This system changed in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries due to the spread of bookland tenure. The granting of royal lands in perpetuity threatened the king's resources, so essential for war; thus the king imposed on holders of royal bookland "common burdens" (the *trinoda necessitas* of bridge-work, fortress-work, and attendance at the *fyrð*) to ensure that the king could still meet his military needs. The host became an assembly of the great landowners, commended to the king and serving as a consequence of holding bookland, and their own contingents. In time, the number of fighting men owed by these great landowners became specified, based on the hide, an economic valuation of the estates held by bookright. Generally the late Anglo-Saxon soldier was a man commended to his lord and serving out of personal obligation or one of the lord's household retainers serving for a salary. There was no place for the ordinary Anglo-Saxon peasant, the *ceorl*, in the *fyrð*.

Implicit in this view is a feudal England little



different from the Continent, at least regarding land tenure and military obligation, long before the Norman Conquest. The king granted land to sworn followers in return for a specified type of military service, and at the royal summons those lords in turn contributed their own sworn retainers to the host.

Abels's general picture is forceful and will require a reassessment of the wide range of points he takes up. Most of his challenging revision seems solid, as he disentangles Anglo-Saxon history from a heavy encrustation of myth and romanticism. His implication, however, of a purely Germanic kingship (itself certainly a myth) in early Anglo-Saxon England, and his argument that kingship was essentially a species of lordship throughout this period, seem highly improbable. Continental and Biblical notions of kingship were prominent at royal courts from the time of Augustine's arrival at Canterbury. Moreover, Abels presents an indistinct view of what powers arise out of kingship and what from the king's lordship. No doubt Abels's revision will require some revision itself, but on the whole it is a fresh and sound challenge to old and at times deeply entrenched debates.

STEVEN FANNING  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

JANET L. NELSON. *Charles the Bald*. (The Medieval World.) New York: Longman. 1992. Pp. xiii, 349.

Scholars have waited a long time for Janet L. Nelson's biography of Charles the Bald (823–77), and they will not be disappointed. She has already established herself through a series of articles as an authority on this ninth-century monarch, the most significant ruler of the West Franks between Charlemagne and the twelfth century. The present book does much more than pull together these earlier studies (twenty-four of which are listed in the bibliography). It is both a political biography of Charles, following him year by year through his life, and a reassessment of his position in French history.

Historians have generally compared Charles the Bald unfavorably with Charlemagne, his grandfather. According to the usual assessment, the first Charles created a centralized state that the grandson squandered, allowing magnates to establish principalities independent of royal authority. Refusing to dismiss the mid-ninth century simply as a period of collapse, Nelson sets out to reexamine the political situation during Charles's reign on its own terms, especially emphasizing the king's own goals and purposes. For example, in discussing the 877 Capitulary of Quierzy, in which Charles allowed counties to be inherited in certain circumstances, Nelson argues that this decision was neither a novelty nor a sign of weakness, but rather a sensible action to ensure loyalty. She describes the final years of Charles's reign not as a decline but as a period of triumph, of

"glittering prizes" (p. 221). In an epilogue, she argues that the disintegration of Charles's empire came only after his and his son's deaths and was not a necessary outcome of his reign.

A secondary theme of the work is that Charles created the realm of France, although not entirely intentionally. Here again Nelson is careful to see the ninth century in its own terms, pointing out that "France" in the late-medieval or post-medieval sense did not yet exist and was certainly not inevitable. Insofar as it did exist, it was as a series of *regna* united only in that Charles ruled them all.

The central force in ninth-century politics is for Nelson the palace, the king and his family surrounded by a constantly shifting group of nobles and retainers, an arena dominated by personal relationships. One of the book's strengths is that Nelson seems to know all the different people who played a role in Carolingian politics. As she observes, the aristocracy was not a monolithic bloc, and although family could help one's position, brothers—and even fathers and sons—were often locked in fierce competition. Personal qualities and closeness to the king (*Königsnähe*) counted as much as one's relatives.

The book is organized chronologically, from Charles's birth as the youngest child of Louis the Pious to his death as emperor. In addition to disentangling the complicated political events of the time, Nelson touches on such topics as learning, liturgy, the nature of counties and duchies, and royal tax policies. Like all biographies, of modern as well as medieval figures, this one has the problem that the sources do not tell us everything we would like to know about an individual, and the author has to resort to phrases such as "no doubt he," "he must have," "there is no direct evidence, but," and the like.

Nelson writes clearly; information and insights are densely packed, but never her prose. Although useful to Carolingian specialists, the book should also be accessible to upper-level undergraduates. Most of her footnotes are to the primary sources, but the book includes an extensive bibliography, as well as an annotated list of the principal sources, helpful maps, and family trees.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD  
University of Akron

MARY STROLL. *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 24.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1991. Pp. xxiii, 239; 44 plates. f. 140.00.

In 1939, Hans-Walter Klewitz laid the foundation for what became an influential thesis elaborated by Franz Joseph Schmale, Stanley Chodorow, and others, about the double papal election of the year 1130. Rather than simply a local power struggle among Roman families, advocates of this view see the elections of Anaclet II and Innocent II creating a schism

on vital issues such as ecclesiastical-secular relations and church reform between two parties claiming European-wide representation. In a book published in 1987 titled *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130* (Anaclet was the great grandson of a Jewish convert), Mary Stroll took issue with attempts to understand the dispute on the basis of religious ideologies. Summarizing her position in the introduction to this book (p. xix, n. 4), she writes that the causes of the schism of 1130 "were basically political rather than ideological," and the maneuverings of powerful churchmen leading up to that break were not concerned with "a shared religious philosophy" (pp. xx–xxi).

Stroll's perspective in this study is in the same vein as her earlier book. She intends to examine how the two popes who reigned before the schism, that is, Calixtus II and Honorius II, and Anaclet and Innocent themselves, reveal their positions on the papacy and secular authority in works of art, liturgy, and pageantry. The conclusions reached, she believes, affirm that the Klewitz-Schmale theory "is gradually being eroded" (p. xix), and that the complicated ideological alliances proposed in that view did not exist. Yet the difficulties in deploying twelfth-century artistic monuments and liturgical texts to fortify that rejection are manifold: The works of art often cannot be dated or attributed precisely. Some—such as the apse frescoes in the chapel of St. Nicholas at the Lateran (pp. 132 and following)—have perished and must be studied through medieval or early modern descriptions; others are fragmented or badly decomposed, such as the altar of Augustus in St. Maria in Capitolio (pp. 150 and following), or the frescoes at St. Maria in Cosmedin (pp. 5 and following). Few if any contemporary texts are at hand as guides in an attempt to retrieve whatever programs underlay the monuments' symbolism. Liturgical *ordines* have their own complications and often elude precise dating and assignment to a specific author. Striving to employ material of this type to discover the views of specific churchmen about papal and imperial authority involves skating, at times furiously, on rather thin ice. Or, as Stroll writes, "there will always be cause for new interpretations" (p. xxii).

Stroll's conclusions, assembled from examination of basilicas, frescoes, mosaics, altars, thrones, inscriptions, *ordines*, and so forth, see the pontificate of Anaclet II as "A Dip in the Curve," as the title of chapter 15 puts it. While Calixtus II and Innocent II emerge as champions of papal aggrandizement, Anaclet "harked back to the paleochristian church" (p. 209). That means that Anaclet, as opposed to Innocent and Calixtus, is seen as imbued with a zeal to pursue the ideals and traditions of the pre-Constantinian church. If he had been recognized as legitimate pope, Stroll speculates, there might have been "a hiatus in what proved to be a march from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII." Perhaps, but the problems of interpretation make this study's conclu-

sions tentative at best, and however tantalizing the existence of the monuments may be, getting them to speak as historical witnesses is another matter. An apse fresco, to take only one example, was painted in San Lorenzo in Lucina sometime in the twelfth century (pp. 115 and following). Dates range from 1130 to 1196, and the work has been destroyed, although a seventeenth-century copy by Antonio Eclissi survives. These problems are acknowledged when Stroll uses the painting as a source for attitudes of important churchmen about the events of 1130, yet her conclusion that the fresco "adds support to other evidence" that prior to the schism there was no dissonance between future Innocentians and future Anacletians probably requires more nuance.

Stroll necessarily casts her discussion throughout the volume in hypothetical terms, and at times she moves to a level impossible to control. What is meant (pp. 99–100), for example, in treating Cardinal Peter Pierleoni's choice of Anaclet as a papal name, that "in the popular mind" Anaclet I was associated with St. Peter, or again that this connection was "in the public mind" at the time of the schism? The early modern and modern references offered in the notes are of little help. As someone who has spent a good deal of time pondering eleventh-century papal records, I profess bewilderment at reading that "A tiara of two bands would have been consistent with Gregory [VII]'s hierocratic claims in the *Dictatus Papae*" (p. 208).

Yet even amid such problems, medievalists still can welcome the information that Stroll provides about Roman churches and religious art from the first half of the twelfth century. The forty-four plates are of high quality, nicely coordinated with a table at the front of the volume, and display an interesting selection of artwork of various types, including representations taken from manuscripts, which is not readily available.

ROBERT SOMERVILLE  
Columbia University

MICHAEL A. KÖHLER. *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert.* (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, new series, number 12.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1991. Pp. xix, 478. DM 268.

Michael A. Köhler deserves our appreciation for a significant contribution to the history of relations between Westerners and the Islamic world, not only during the period of the Crusades but more generally insofar as his research in Arabic sources provides a much firmer foundation for understanding Muslim perspectives on these relations. His work is a credit to the German tradition of Islamic studies, but it also reflects the maturing of this field in international

scholarship during the past thirty years. Köhler presents a fully integrated study of Frankish-Muslim diplomacy in the period from First Crusade through the early thirteenth century. He actually begins with a brief section on the thirty years prior to the First Crusade, during which time important developments in Asia Minor and Syria paved the way for the successes of the crusaders. Because Köhler makes such extensive use of Arabic sources, even those not available in printed editions, he brings a different perspective to these events, viewing them not simply in relation to the crusade but as part of an internal development affecting relations among the various Muslim rulers of Syria and Egypt.

Köhler divides his book into four major parts, the first three treating Frankish-Muslim relations in chronological order and the last dealing with the legal basis on which the various instruments and treaties concluded between the parties rested. Beginning with the political fragmentation that marked the years before the crusade, he stresses the internal rivalries between the rulers of Mosul, Aleppo, and Damascus. A product of the Seljuq conquest, these conflicts matched efforts to maintain traditions of local rule and independence against efforts to incorporate the cities into a larger state based in northern Syria. The entry of the Franks into this scene did not derail this process, but it did necessitate adjustments. From the point of view of local Muslim rulers, the Franks were either a source of danger or of potential support. It was a role into which the local Frankish rulers could fit without great difficulty.

Although the concept of jihad or holy war had appeal in both popular and religious circles, Köhler suggests that it had only a secondary impact on the formation of policy by the rulers; more often than not, it served their interests as propaganda. In his view, events such as the Second Crusade, which loom so large in Western crusade literature, ought to take a backseat to the main developments within the region. Without making a major point of it, he blends the crusade into the history of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to some degree reversing the usual process. But the effort is carried out in such a way that it does not do damage to the result. What suffers most is the kind of romantic comparison of East and West that still crops up too often in general books. Richard Lionheart and Saladin may lose some of their charm, but they both become more understandable.

The final section of the book deserves serious consideration, because Köhler presents a discussion of the legal impediments to treaties and truces between Christians and Muslims and the ways in which these were surmounted. He demonstrates the considerable common ground that made it possible for the parties to reach agreements based on trust as well as the circumstances that might vitiate such agreements. The most valuable contribution of this chapter, however, is his discussion of the adaptation of existing institutions and practices to bridge the cultural dif-

ferences between the Franks and Muslims. His knowledge of both Western and Muslim law is commendable. Indeed, it is one of the strengths of this volume, since many specialists on the East are not very surefooted in dealing with Western legal institutions. This has long been a source for misunderstandings. The very real cultural differences between East and West are well illustrated by the manner in which the Eastern practice of conferring robes of honor on favorites was used to cement agreements between Christian and Muslim rulers. Likewise, his discussion of particular negotiations is technically valuable. The negotiations between Frederick II and al-Kāmil, although treated rather briefly, are described with great accuracy.

Under these circumstances it may seem ungenerous to point to a limitation of this fine work, but it is important to suggest that the author might also have delved more deeply into the social and anthropological aspects of these relationships. Given his superb legal background, Köhler could have made an even greater contribution to the topic. Also, from the Western side, I missed any discussion of *utilitas* and *necessitas*, which were the usual underpinnings for maintenance of relations of this kind.

Books of this kind are seldom translated into English. That is a pity, for this work deserves to be widely known not merely among specialists in the history of the crusades, but to all who are interested in East-West relations.

JAMES M. POWELL  
Syracuse University

ALESSANDRO BARBERO. *Un santo in famiglia: Vocazione religiosa e resistenze sociali nell'agiografia latina medievale*. (Sacro/Santo, number 6.) Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier. 1991. Pp. 326. L. 48,000.

The first of its kind, this important work surveys how medieval hagiographers described the familial conflicts brought on by a saintly member's conversion to the religious life. Alessandro Barbero assumes the vast task of reviewing and categorizing this substantial body of texts. Well-written and reasoned, excellently documented with wide reading in several national literatures, Barbero's effort should certainly find its way into English.

Barbero's central question is whether hagiographers in different ages and during ecclesiastical reforms emphasized or played down the family conflict theme. At the beginning of his account, he finds early Christian families often unmentioned by the martyrologists. After Irish missionaries established in the central Middle Ages the rigorist canon of conflict reporting, which emphasized the merit of radical separation from the birth family, there arose a tendency to play down conflict or at least report happy endings. In the latter part of the book, Barbero finds that Dominicans continued to minimize conflict, while

Franciscan hagiographers followed their founder in emphasizing familial tensions among their saints.

Barbero discovers that hagiographers demonstrated certain thematic continuities across the ages, ones that survived the ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh century and the founding of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth. These include a hatred of carnality, a fundamental divide between the (clerical and lay) *saeculum* and the religious clergy, and a consistent tendency to canonize mostly aristocrats (and when perchance a bourgeois saint does intrude, to imbue him or her with an aristocratic ethos).

Impressive as these continuities are, Barbero carefully isolates the peculiar forms these general themes assumed in each age. For instance, he locates that point in the High Middle Ages when the social unit that spoke out against a vocation became the extended family rather than the parents alone, as had earlier been the case. Barbero's attention to the familial bonds involved in these conflicts is, indeed, another strength of the work. He often distinguishes the different role of father and mother in such conflicts. He notices cases of sisterly and mother-daughter solidarity and does not bypass the importance of brothers in later conflicts.

For all its merits, this book is not without problems. First, Barbero commonly misses the social and economic implications of such conflicts, mainly because, like his sources, he views these conflicts as ones between willful individuals and collectivities. The struggle, however, was commonly between the family corporation and the incorporated monastery or order the hagiographer served. It was the wealthy order that provided cover for the fiction that the saint could actually leave the *saeculum*. Second, again in concert with his sources, Barbero provides little in the way of material or legal context that might help explain why a saint entered a religious vocation and why his relatives might object to it. Such matters as oblation, dowries, inheritance, or duty to widowed mothers receive little attention. Third, the author does not inquire into the audience for such works of hagiography, and thus is often innocent of their representational or theatrical character. The writers in fact shaped these lives to fit the shifting representational needs of the monastic and mendicant communities.

Despite these faults, Barbero's presentation and organization of the hagiographers' *topoi*, and his usually sound exploitation of texts on this socially important theme, leave us in his debt. Now social historians have easily available much raw material to feed their interests.

RICHARD C. TREXLER  
State University of New York,  
Binghamton

STEPHAN R. EPSTEIN. *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval*

*Sicily*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 464. \$89.95.

Stephan R. Epstein demolishes historical orthodoxies with a barrage of facts. Sicily's economy did not decline precipitously because of the wars following the Vespers. Its problems are not the result of exploitation by foreign merchants. From Benedetto Croce onward, many have portrayed the wars between Angevins and Aragonese as the principal cause of the island's political decline, but Epstein demonstrates that its population and prosperity fluctuated in tandem with those of other European regions. Demographically, the plagues were decisive. In Sicily as elsewhere they caused wages to rise, rents to fall (impoverishing the lesser aristocrats), and productivity to increase as marginal land was converted to pasture. The putting-out system and seasonal employment in the silk, sugar, or cloth industry bettered peasant living standards.

Demolishing step by step Henri Bresc's massive two-volume compendium (*Un monde méditerranéen: Économie et société en Sicile 1300-1450* [1987]), Epstein argues that grain exports, only about five percent of Sicily's total crop, were too small-scale to turn it into a colonial dependency of North Italian and Catalan merchants. Likewise, the high-quality cloth that Sicily imported was only a small portion of the total consumption; medium and low-quality textiles were produced locally. Epstein emphasizes the importance of the trade within the island and between it and Calabria (whether they were united politically or not). He contradicts the "dualistic" theory of Bresc, according to which foreign merchants ruthlessly turned the island into a backward producer of grain, sugar, and other cheap agricultural products. Rather, the "island for itself" prospered economically through its own regional exchanges. Foreign trade and investment were peripheral, not central to its development. The aristocracy was not always oppressive. The notorious problems of the *mezzogiorno* did not set in before the seventeenth century.

Period by period, industry by industry, crop by crop, region by region, Epstein shows the facts do not support assumptions that wars or exploitation by foreign merchants caused decline in later medieval Sicily. The island's economy changed so frequently and in so many different ways after the Vespers that any generalizations about it not related to the Black Death fail to stand up under scrutiny. Prosperity varied by region and sector, not for the island as a whole. There were years of dearth and years of plenty over the centuries. Government regulations, wars, taxes, technical improvements, and climate had greater impact than foreign merchants and bankers. The overall trend was not toward turning Sicily into an exploited colonial hinterland, but the greater



integration of the island's own economic sphere to the profit of most of the islanders.

WILLIAM A. PERCY  
University of Massachusetts,  
Boston

MARJORIE O'ROURKE BOYLE. *Petrarch's Genius: Penthimento and Prophecy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 216. \$34.95.

As Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle suggests, scholarship on Petrarch has long been unduly compartmentalized, divided between literary critics studying the poetry and intellectual historians examining the prose. A student of theology and rhetorical theory, Boyle seeks to bridge this methodological chasm by providing a close theological reading of Petrarch's vernacular and Latin poetry. In doing so, she hopes to offer a more integrated, revisionist view of Petrarch's poetic vocation that synthesizes his traditionally competing roles as love poet, theologian, and Italian nationalist.

Castigating historiographical clichés that propose a dialectic between medieval spirituality and Renaissance secularism, Boyle rejects the view of Petrarch as a figure whose thought reveals a profound tension between the demands of the sacred and the allures of the secular. Her thesis is that the true tension in Petrarch is between his aspirations and his failures as a prophetic, holy poet for his age. Dismissing the notion that Petrarch in any way ever viewed his love poetry in sinful, idolatrous terms, she contends that Petrarch's attachment to Laura and the laurel (poetry) represent not his fall to the temptations of secular love and glory but his rising to respond to a holy calling.

Boyle argues that Petrarch sanctified his poetic endeavor by invoking Apollo as a god of inspirational "genius" and identifying him with Christ (whom he viewed likewise as a deity of wisdom and light). Moreover, as Apollo was the god of prophecy, and as Petrarch's revered Vergil was himself an exemplar of the prophetic poet (and the first Roman writer to identify the poet as a *vates*), Petrarch aspired to be a modern-day prophet chiding a corrupt papacy and exhorting political renewal of Italy. Drawing on rhetorical models of Biblical prophecy, Petrarch sometimes explicitly issued his jeremiads in metrical letters or eclogues. These prophetic laments could even be embedded in the love poetry as in the case of *Rime sparse* 323, which Boyle suggests is not only a musing on Laura's death but also, adapting the scheme of portents in Ezekiel's lament of the ancient Babylonian captivity, a pessimistic rumination on the contemporary Babylonian captivity of the papacy in Avignon.

Boyle's study astutely elucidates underappreciated moral, spiritual, and political dimensions of Petrarch's purpose as a poet. In the end, however, she is unable to establish convincingly her central thesis that, in exemplifying the potential "spirituality of the

secular" (p. 154), Petrarch's writings do not reveal a fundamental tension between the secular and the sacred. In asserting more than proving this argument, she dismisses or ignores the overwhelming evidence to the contrary in Petrarch's corpus.

She rightly concedes that the greatest obstacle to her thesis is Petrarch's *On the Secret Conflict of My Cares* (1347–53?). But she swiftly disposes of this work by claiming that "Augustine"'s condemnation of secular love and glory (represented by Petrarch's attachment to Laura and the laurel) has no spiritual co-geny for Petrarch but is merely a caricature of an ascetic position presented only to be defeated. If this is indeed the case, why does the figure of "Petrarch" in the dialogue not counter with an explicit and sustained defense of the sacral character of poetry? This, despite Boyle's wishful reading of isolated passages of Book 3, is not to be found. Why does "Augustine" throughout the dialogue seem to have the spiritual upper hand? If Petrarch did not respect the ascetic counsel of "Augustine," why does the recommended *memento mori* in Book 1 have a counterpart in the *De otio religioso* (Book 2) (1347), which Petrarch addressed to his cowed brother Gherardo and his fellow Carthusians? If Petrarch did not truly internalize a guilt over his capitulation to the secular world, why did he (implicitly in the *De otio* and the well-known "Ascent of Mt. Ventoux" [*Familiars* 4.1] and explicitly in letters to Gherardo [*Familiars* 10.3 and 5]) consistently contrast his own weaker character to that of his holier monastic brother (who, despite Boyle's insistence that he was only a "rendered cleric" [p. 2] rather than a full monk, was nonetheless clearly viewed by Petrarch in fully monastic terms and expressly identified by him in the *De otio* incipit as a Carthusian *frater*)? If Petrarch viewed his love poetry in an unequivocally positive light, why then does he assail the emotional futility of such poetry in the *De remediis utriusque fortune* 1.69 (1354/56?–66)? Finally, even in the poetry itself—including *Rime sparse* 62, which Boyle herself cites in full (p. 133)—Petrarch clearly expressed a sense of being oppressed by an unworthy romantic obsession that hindered his ascent to more spiritual heights. By investing the love poetry so thoroughly with theological and political meaning, Boyle minimizes its carnal dimension, just as she diminishes the secular meaning of the laurel wreath. By excising his professed anxiety concerning secularism, Boyle unwittingly transforms Petrarch into Dante, whose spiritual pilgrimage in the *Commedia* and whose portrait there of a sacral Beatrice (a character never once mentioned in Boyle's book) perhaps conform more fully to her thesis.

Boyle's methodological goal in this study is a worthy and creative one. In providing a rhetorical and theological reading of Petrarch's poetry, she offers some original insights into Petrarch's self-concept and practice as a poet. Unfortunately, dogmatic or dubious scholarly tactics betray the reader's trust. The most egregious instance involves her analysis of Pe-



trarch's inscription on the flyleaf of his Vergil manuscript. Implausibly arguing that this statement refers more truly to the religious "birth" and "death" of Petrarch's poetic career (the laurel) than to the mortal life and death of an actual Laura, Boyle omits from her direct citation of the passage (p. 136) a crucial final line especially damaging to her argument (for which readers must consult E. H. Wilkins's *Life of Petrarch* [1961], 77), later offering merely a paraphrase of the line, which she then attempts to dismiss with fantastic allegorizing (p. 138). Moreover, at the level of overall argument, her study fails to persuade. A revisionist interpretation must fully engage and reconcile contrary evidence and must partially integrate or decisively disprove contrary interpretations. Shirking this charge, Boyle summarily dismisses conventional views, often elevates her own speculations to the status of near-fact, and sometimes withholds or obfuscates inconvenient evidence. By thus exceeding its revisionist mandate, this work compromises its credibility and fails to offer a balanced picture of the enigmatic Petrarch.

GEORGE MCCLURE  
University of Alabama,  
Tuscaloosa

JOEL T. ROSENTHAL. *Patriarchy and Families of Privilege in Fifteenth-Century England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 285. \$35.95.

Joel T. Rosenthal has written a refreshing book on late-medieval English history that may be read for both instruction and pleasure; its virtues are many. Much has been written about patriarchy/patrilineage and the "oppressions" they cause for women in a historical context, but few historians have looked at the actual practices themselves. In this book, Rosenthal has done a thorough historical analysis of the practices of establishing a patriline and the culture of patriarchy characteristic of fifteenth-century English nobility. He has given to his historical analysis a flavor of Old Testament strivings for perpetuation of the male line by his frequent references to Biblical analogies. These tales would have been familiar to the fifteenth-century practitioners and, therefore, had both an important rhetorical value and a historical one. The chapters are presented as essays and they read as such. It is a pleasure to share the thoughts of a scholar who has spent his career working on the late-medieval English upper class. His discursive paragraphs are amply backed up with careful statistical analyses of the Inquisitions Post Mortem and wills, as well as discussions of fifteenth-century aristocratic culture, such as the burial monuments that these men erected to their patriarchy. Finally, in a book that could overwhelm the reader with a sense of impossible genealogies—a feature shared by most of the other books that are currently written about this

class—Rosenthal manages to convey the information in a context that does not leave the reader wandering through a thicket of second cousins on the lower branches of the genealogical tree.

As Rosenthal points out in his introduction, "patriarchy is the keystone to the idea of the family as a combination of a peculiar set of human responses to biological links and to some perennial categories of social relationships." In his first chapter he explores the necessities of the drive for patrilineage and patriarchy among the nobility of England. Survival was tenuous for these privileged families. While the Inquisitions Post Mortem show that 72 percent of the privileged families were succeeded by a son, the actual chances of establishing a patriline were much smaller. If the sons were minors (under twenty-one years of age), they were much less likely to breed successfully and continue the inheritance. Even prolific aristocratic families were unlikely to perpetuate their name more than three generations. Added to the complications of infant mortality in the fifteenth century were the wars in France and civil war (Wars of the Roses). Rosenthal shows how devastating these were in terms of casualties to those men of child-gendering years. And what did these noble families stand to lose by not producing male heirs? The property, wealth, and political power of these elites could be passed to female heirs, but it would be divided equally in the case of coinheriting daughters and the family influence would go into the hands of another patriline on their marriage.

The obligation to pass on the name and claim was reinforced by a stringent culture of patriarchy, particularly apparent in father-son relations. A certain desperation enters into the wills and battlefield stories; a plea of the older generation to their eldest sons to "go forth and multiply" rather than be killed for political causes.

The best-laid plans of marriage alliances, numerous children, safe political decisions, and a carefully tended culture of patriarchy/patrilineage, however, did not necessarily work, and for a backup, the collateral and horizontal family had to fill the gaps in the family tree and fortune. Rosenthal's second and third essays explore the relations of the patriarch with the rest of the family, including the wide network of wives, daughters, kin, friends, and neighbors who made up both the patriarch's environment of affection and prestige. Based largely on evidence from wills, these chapters record the last anxieties of the patriarch to control his family even after his death.

BARBARA A. HANAWALT  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

J. H. BURNS. *Lordship, Kingship, and Empire: The Idea of Monarchy, 1400–1525*. (The Carlyle Lectures, 1988.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 178. \$49.95.

J. H. Burns's excellent book explores a variety of ideas on monarchy and the limitations of monarchy in the fifteenth century. A principal theme is the complex medieval concept of *dominium*, "lordship." The word could refer to the original universal dominion of God or to the derivative dominion of humans. Then, in political discourse, the idea of God's dominion could be used in two ways, either to assert that all rightful dominion came from the pope as God's vicar or to maintain that no sinner (and the pope well might be one) could hold true dominion. Moreover, there was an underlying ambiguity in the word *dominium* itself. It could refer either to the power of a ruler or to the rights of an owner, to jurisdiction or to property. So in phrases like *dominium regale* there was always a possible implication that a ruler's just claims might include some kind of property right in relation to his realm (an assumption easy to make in a feudal society). Medieval writers sometimes distinguished carefully between the two meanings of *dominium*, but sometimes they used the word equivocally.

After discussing the concept itself, Burns explains how the idea of *dominium* was deployed in France, England, and Spain with particular reference to the works of Jean de Terrevermeille, John Fortescue, and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arevalo. Then he turns to theories of universal lordship in empire and papacy. The pope still had some realistic claim to universal authority; the medieval emperors had never in reality filled such a role but, as Burns points out, "There is . . . no nostalgia so potent as that which hankers after a state of affairs that never existed" (p. 100). In fact the idea of universal empire still found many supporters in the fifteenth century, among them Antonius Roselli, Piero da Monte, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and Peter von Andlau, all of whose works are discussed here. The author next considers the conciliar thinkers and their papalist adversaries. He concludes with the dispute between Cajetan and the silver-age conciliarists of Paris, Jacques Almain and John Mair.

Burns's book provides much valuable information about many significant but lesser-known writers of the fifteenth century. It also stimulates further reflection on the language of medieval political discourse. We can learn from it, for instance, how difficult it was to construct a truly absolutist theory in medieval terms; even the most extreme papalists and royalists acknowledged some substantial limitations on a ruler's power. Some of the authors discussed used the language of family relationships to support the authority of the ruler as paterfamilias. But others argued that, in the church, Christ was the true husband, the church his spouse, and the pope a mere steward subordinate to both of them. In view of all the current concern about the evils of patriarchy in the Western tradition, it might be interesting to investigate more fully the diverse ways in which the image of the family was actually deployed in medieval political discourse.

A final noteworthy point is the pervasiveness of religious imagery. Political ideas that could be—and later were—expressed in purely secular terms are here typically presented in a theological idiom. The state was called a *corpus mysticum*. A ruler's sovereignty was defined as *potestas absoluta*, a phrase used originally to distinguish between the "absolute" and "ordained" powers of God. Argument about secularization and modernity has taken on a new dimension since the work of Hans Blumenberg; but the material presented here lends support to Carl Schmitt's original assertion that the central ideas of the modern state were secularized religious concepts.

BRIAN TIERNEY  
Cornell University

### MODERN EUROPE

MARGARET L. KING. *Women of the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 353. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

"A collage of the voices of Renaissance men and women" (p. ix): this is how series editor Catharine Stimpson has so aptly characterized Margaret L. King's pioneering survey of Renaissance women. The voices stretch from Dante to Samuel Johnson, from Saint Catherine of Siena to Mary Astell, creating a Renaissance of nearly half a millennium, although centered on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. King's method is largely descriptive and illustrative, letting the voices speak for themselves, sometimes in startling juxtapositions, always in copious quotations, translated wherever necessary into English, often using well-known anthologies and collections as sources. The dauntingly rich material has been organized into three lengthy chapters treating women in the family, in the church, and in high culture, thus moving from the most common lot of Renaissance women as mothers, daughters, and wives, to nuns, heretics, and religious visionaries, and finally to women as authors, scholars, and political leaders.

As might be expected from a leading student of Renaissance humanism, the final chapter on women's schooling and works by or about women is the most authoritative, drawing on King's own important scholarship and translations and offering close readings of major authors such as Christine de Pisan and Gaspara Stampa. The section on women and the church is less satisfactory, summarizing the attitudes of major figures such as Saint Bridget of Sweden and Caritas Pirckheimer or retelling the recent work on religious women by such scholars as Caroline Walker Bynum and Judith Brown. But the real missed opportunity is with the chapter on women and the family, mainly a restatement of Joan Kelly's thesis on the high costs, in terms of the loss of individual freedom and economic opportunity, that the privatization accompanying early capitalism inflicted on the women of Renaissance urban elites. Here King has

failed to make use of what Stanley Chojnacki has identified as the "conceptual plasticity of gender," which would have permitted a more nuanced understanding of strategies available to women struggling daily against the ingrained patriarchal conventions of Renaissance society.

In short, King's typical Renaissance women are almost always victimized by family and patriarchy. Only occasionally did enlightened, loving fathers provide their daughters with liberating humanistic educations, as in the case of Laura Cereta. Sometimes women escaped the burdens of patriarchy altogether by ruling and being ruled by other women, as in the convent and nunnery or in Mary Astell's utopian vision.

Despite these limitations, this first introduction to women of the Renaissance possesses considerable strengths. Its engaging, lively style is sure to hold the attention of student readers, while the plentiful quotations from original sources will give beginners a good sense of women's voices and the extensive bibliography will enable more ambitious undergraduates to pursue their own programs of reading and research. King's commitment to a clear depiction of the thesis that "women did not have a Renaissance" will make for stimulating classroom discussions. In fact, I look forward to reading King's book with my seminar on private life in premodern Europe. The author has succeeded admirably in her goal of conveying the wide range of roles, attitudes, and achievements of European women over several centuries. Anyone interested in the history of the Renaissance or of women will read this book with profit and pleasure.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL  
Vassar College

DJELAL KADIR. *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 256. \$30.00.

This is a book about the meaning of language, and about the intricate connections between words, ideas, and the culture within which a particular set of ideas are put into words. Djelal Kadir writes about Christopher Columbus, and also about "the culture and context that engendered Columbus, as well as . . . the certain phases of a culture that he augured in the New World" (p. xi). The book is based on a close reading of texts by Columbus and others associated with the English and Spanish voyages, as well as on the understanding of the texts within the traditions of prophetic rhetoric and Judeo-Christian history. Columbus, and the English colonizers with whom the book is also concerned, are driven by providentialist history, which is, for them, "purposive and meaningful" (p. 19). America is the end of the world in a geographical sense and also the sign of the end of an

older, corrupt world. Likewise, America is a new world not only in the geographical sense but also as a sign of the coming fulfillment of millenarian expectations of a better world.

For Kadir, "Christianity and its providential rendering of human time and worldly events purvey the *ideological givens* that make *imperial taking* a natural right needing no further justification" (p. 68). His examination of the language of the charters and patents authorizing the discovery and conquest of the New World demonstrates convincingly their dependence on the Christian prophetic and historical traditions to provide authority for the actions of the discoverers and their governments in the New World. Moreover, the prophetic rhetoric allows for the dehumanization of the indigenous peoples, since the New World becomes a spiritualized terrain, wherein the conquerors will play their part in God's design and the existence, or nonexistence, of native peoples matters only insofar as it relates to that design. Thus, in "Salvaging the Savages," Kadir begins with Columbus's use of the Spanish verb *rescatar* and its English variants (to ransom, to redeem, to salvage) and examines how the ideas implicit in *rescatar* underlie the Spanish and English responses to the place of both conquerors and indigenous peoples. There is ransom, or salvage, in the goods to be gained and people to be exploited. There is also the redemption, inherent in the prophetic tradition, of an older, more corrupt world through the possibilities inherent in the New World, and there is the redemption involved in converting the indigenous people to Christianity. In England, therefore, the "'savages' had to be salvaged from the ravages of Spanish tyranny and its atrocities" (p. 125). For Oviedo in his *Historia*, the New World is in fact a world quite literally redeemed, for it was once ruled by Spain, and its inhabitants are likewise redeemed from having forgotten the "truth" that they once knew.

There is also a connection between the conquerors' view of the Indians as "divine primitives" and the "divine primitivism" of the conquerors, and both are in turn intimately connected to the prophetic tradition that shapes the conquerors' actions and attitudes. "Divine primitivism" refers to the direct encounter between the human and the divine, and Kadir explores Columbus's account of his visionary experiences, particularly the letter of the third voyage and his sense of a personal covenant with God revealed in the *Lettera Rarissima*. The English Puritan John Winthrop shares with Columbus "a conviction of divine election, a special relationship compacted with god for the fulfillment of providential ends" (p. 169). Yet "divine primitivism" could lead to different treatment of the "divine primitives." For the Spanish, the effort was generally assimilationist and led to greater interest in matters such as Indian origins. For the English, the eliminationist or exclusionary mode prevailed, although there were efforts somehow to place the

"divine primitives" within the context of the world's history and God's plan.

Kadir concludes his study with a careful reading of Columbus's last letters, in which the Admiral engages in what Kadir describes as self-fashioning. "I read these drafts as desperate attempts in adverse conditions to forge a self and not just to portray an already secure subject" (p. 209). Columbus is a lost soul seeking to find himself because he has lost his connection with the prophetic calling that had given his life meaning. Thus, the book, like Columbus's life, comes full circle. Having begun by connecting Columbus to prophetic rhetoric as conquering ideology, Kadir concludes by showing what happened to him when that connection was severed. This is a complex book, and at times the language is difficult to the point of obscurity, but it contributes significantly to our understanding of the intellectual underpinnings of European conquest, especially the ways in which the conquering ideology set the conditions for the treatment of the New World and its peoples.

AMY G. GORDON  
Denison University

DENO JOHN GEANAKOPOS. *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 310. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.75.

As Deno John Geanakoplos states in his subtitle, his book consists of two separate though related parts: the interconnection of Byzantine secular culture of the fourteenth and primarily fifteenth centuries and the Renaissance milieu in Italy, notably Florence, Rome, and Venice; and the interconnection of Byzantine religious culture with that of the papal court and the Basel conciliar movement. The first part has a clear structure: two chapters on the Byzantine influence on Italian Renaissance thought are followed by three individual portraits of Byzantine humanists active in fifteenth-century Italy, Theodore Gazes, John Argyropoulos, and little-known teacher Nicholas Leonikos Tomeus. The structure of the second part is looser: three chapters cover the history of the major church councils (Lyons II, Florence, and Basel), two others deal with the attitude of the Greeks (both in Byzantium and in South Italy) toward the Latins, and two are devoted to other topics distinct from the major subject of the book, one historiographical (a reassessment of Edward Gibbon as historian) and another theological (the elaboration of the Orthodox concept of the Holy Spirit at the Council of 381—far removed from the period analyzed in the book).

The conclusion of the first part of the book is clear: Greek émigré scholars, while they cannot be credited with introducing the Renaissance in Italy, contributed much to the development of Renaissance rhetoric

and philosophy. In the second part Geanakoplos argues that, despite the mutual interests of the papacy and the government of Constantinople, and despite the existence of some tolerant politicians (George Akropolites on the one side and Humbert of Romans on the other), the reconciliation of the two peoples was impossible due to their mutual mistrust and the hatred caused by the humiliation of the Greeks during the Latin occupation. Here is the first fallacy lurking beneath Geanakoplos's presentation: why were Greek scholars able to cooperate peacefully with their Italian colleagues, whereas the two churches were stuck in the discussion of theological subtleties?

Some more fallacies are present, although they are not clearly formulated by the author. Why were Italian humanists so urgent in attracting Byzantine scholars for teaching the ancient wisdom of the Greeks, yet Greek culture flourished in southern Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (even Barlaam, of whom Geanakoplos speaks much, was a Calabrian, not a Byzantine) without any impact on the cultural achievements in the North? The mechanism of Byzantino-Italian cultural interrelations also needs some clarification. First, was there only a one-way process, the Byzantine influence on Italian humanists, or was the interaction reciprocal, as Christine Smith argued recently (*Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism* [1992], 150–70) with regard to Manuel Chrysoloras, of whom Geanakoplos speaks as well. Second, what was the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance, or Revival? Was it a new stage in Byzantine cultural development with "a far more intensive and systematic study than ever before of the entire range of classical Greek works" (p. 7), or did the scholars of the fourteenth century not go farther than such Byzantine polymaths as Michael Psellos and Eustathios of Thessaloniki in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? And what was the social and cultural difference between the northern Italian Renaissance and the Palaeologan Revival? Geanakoplos writes about "the growing self-awareness of Italian middle-class society within the context of the more sophisticated urban environment" (p. 39), but was the Palaeologan Revival in any way connected with the Byzantine middle class and an urban environment? The book raises many important questions that no reviewer can answer.

The book is a collection of older articles, some revised, some supplied with additional bibliography. The reprint genre is now popular, but it has its own hazards. On the one hand, gaps are natural in a series of independent articles, but they are not desirable in a book that stands as a monograph; on the other hand, there are repetitions that do not help the presentation. Why should it be said twice that Leonardo Bruni "pounced on it [St. Basil's discourse], translating it into Latin" (pp. 13 and 39), or why should a quotation from Gibbon be repeated (pp. 143, 250)? Bibliographical additions are helpful but



far from comprehensive, and they would have been more useful had they been attached to the passages they are supposed to elucidate. Some additions are made without necessary attention: thus, Geanakoplos condemns I. Ostroumov's monograph (available to him in an English translation of 1971) as "very biased . . . with nothing new" (p. 254). But Ostroumov's monograph was published in 1847. How can one expect anything new in it?

We all commit errors, and Geanakoplos is no exception. I will note only his analysis of the chrysobull of Michael VIII in favor of St. Sophia, the theme of chapter 8. Geanakoplos begins with a reproach addressed to V. Grumel, who did not mention it in his *Patriarchal Regests*. I must defend the French scholar, for imperial chrysobulls are not included in *Patriarchal Regests*. On the contrary, Geanakoplos should have known that the summary of this chrysobull is given in the *Regesten* by F. Dölger and P. Wirth (1977) under number 1941a, where Wirth suggested a date different from the traditional 1272. In the exposé of the chrysobull (p. 181) Geanakoplos falsely assumes that the Greek *dimoiron* is "one-third" (in fact, it is two-thirds) and that the lighting of a church is called *lykhokaia* (but this could be a misprint).

All in all, the book is written by a scholar who has mastered both Greek and Italian sources and helped us to understand many problems concerning the complex relations between Byzantium and Italy.

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN  
Dumbarton Oaks

HEINZ SCHILLING. *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 17.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1992. Pp. viii, 167. \$35.00.

In this collection of four essays, three previously published in German, Heinz Schilling explores the influence of Calvinism in northwest Germany and neighboring regions of the Netherlands during the early modern period. Focusing especially on the cities of Emden and Groningen, Schilling examines the complex connections between the growth of the Reformed church and the evolution of early modern urban society. He concludes that the impact of Calvinism on social and political life in these regions was far from monolithic, depending instead on varying conditions of historical development, social structure, legal and political organization, and cultural atmosphere in each locality.

Schilling argues that the social and political influence of Calvinism in the Netherlands was very different from its influence in northwest Germany, and in the latter area the impact was different in cities and territorial states. In northwest German cities the alliance of Calvinism with late-medieval urban social and political traditions gave rise to what Schilling calls

"civic Calvinism," a movement for communal autonomy in both the political and religious spheres that energized the burgher movement of Emden in its efforts to break free from the control of the local duke and territorial church. But the alliance of Calvinism with princes and territorial states elsewhere in Germany gave rise to a very different kind of political-social culture, which Schilling calls "court Calvinism." Thus, Schilling finds no necessary connection between Calvinist theology and movements for political liberty in northwest Germany and the Netherlands. In place of a Weberian connection between Calvinism and certain aspects of social and political modernization during the early modern period, Schilling stresses the varying consequences of confessionalism in different areas and historical circumstances.

In chapter 1 Schilling examines the urban and ecclesiastical history of Emden, the cradle of Calvinism in the region of study and one of the few German towns where it succeeded in becoming the established church. Chapter 2, which was Schilling's address to the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in 1989, discusses ecclesiastical discipline in Emden from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Chapter 3 surveys Calvinist political theory in Emden and Groningen and assesses its contribution to the political culture of the two cities. Finally, chapter 4 sketches the social profile of the Calvinist presbytery of Groningen and its links to the urban political elite.

The essays in this book touch fruitfully on a number of controversial issues, including the historical, methodological, and theoretical assumptions underlying the definition of a political elite; the effects of Calvinism on the structure of early modern social and political institutions; and the utility of the Weber thesis for explaining the social impact of early modern confessionalization. The volume is also useful for its emphasis on the area of northwest Germany, long regarded as less important than the southern cities and regions that have been the subjects of pathbreaking work by Bernd Moeller, Thomas Brady, and others. Grouped around several themes, of which "civic Calvinism" is the most important, the essays in this volume form a unity that, while short of a fully integrated book-length argument, is useful nonetheless in adding significantly to our knowledge of the social and political context of the growth of Calvinism in this region often neglected by Reformation scholars.

ANDREW FIX  
Lafayette College

BRIAN M. DOWNING. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 308. \$35.00.



Brian M. Downing's book is a persuasive attempt to redefine the debate on early modern European state formation by associating elements treated up to now mainly in isolation: bureaucratic and fiscal changes, mapped by historians of institutions like Roland Mousnier; and developments in warfare that Michael Roberts and Geoffrey Parker have taught us to call "the military revolution." Based on an impressive array of secondary works (listed in the excellent bibliography), this is a study packed with illuminating insights. It is easy to follow, thanks to Downing's uncluttered prose. One may disagree at times, but this is an important work of comparative history whose arguments command serious attention.

The book is framed as a rethinking of Barrington Moore's *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966). Downing (very respectfully) stands Moore on his head, suggesting that the impetus for political change did not come from internal class dynamics and agrarian development but from external pressures generated by dog-eat-dog competition within the European state system. His basic thesis is thus born of the (at first sight improbable) connubium of Moore with Roberts, blessed by the spirit of Max Weber. Downing begins by arguing that the European states inherited a legacy of constitutionalism from the early Middle Ages. Unlike their counterparts in Russia, China, or Japan, European rulers had to buy the services of free warriors at the price of political rights (even if these were not always observed in practice). Europe's *Sonderweg* was signposted—at least part of the way—by reciprocal military relationships that underpinned emergent representative institutions.

So when late-medieval rulers replaced their semi-volunteer forces with permanent, professional armies, contractual sovereignty was threatened. As the size and cost of armies escalated in the sixteenth century, most states began to create centralized bureaucracies to mobilize their resources for war in order to survive. Poland, which clung to its medieval military institutions and "golden liberty," provides the fatal counterexample.

Downing argues that the transition to absolutism became irreversible during the Thirty Years' War. Military imperatives forced France and Prussia, his bellwether states, to abandon limited monarchy for "military-bureaucratic absolutism." Here a disagreement must be registered. The transition to absolutism may have been fast in Prussia, but in France it was a lengthy process. Richelieu, whom the author tends to make the sole architect of French absolutism, was building on centuries-old foundations. It also seems dangerous to equate the different absolutisms of France and Prussia; to assert that "the articulation of the Bourbon state paralleled that of the Hohenzollerns" (p. 240) overstates the case. The absence of venal office and *Parlements*, of complex public finance and a national debt east of the Elbe, and of a service nobility west of the Rhine, invalidate this contention.

But in other respects the argument convinces by its careful nuances. Downing shows that the drift toward absolutism was not a foregone conclusion and that there were other alternatives besides the grim fate of Poland. For one reason or another—geography, foreign alliances, or thriving commerce—Sweden, the Dutch Republic, and England did not need to squeeze their domestic tax bases unmercifully to finance warfare, and so avoided creating the coercive mechanisms that would have destroyed their constitutional governments. In these more favored states, consequently, a direct avenue remained open to liberal democracy—an avenue that in France had to be reopened in 1789, and that in Prussia was only unblocked, at infinite cost, in 1945. The author confesses to a Whiggish bias in favoring such an outcome, but rejects the self-congratulatory teleologies that make it the predestined reward of national virtue. This kind of critical intelligence and analytical subtlety pervade the entire work and compel us, as the author intends, to reexamine the problem of the origin and development of the absolutist state.

GEOFFREY SYMCOX  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

MARGARET C. JACOB. *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 304. \$49.95.

Margaret C. Jacob offers a very informative, innovative, useful, ambitious study, a general survey of freemasonry that focuses on a half-dozen lodges (British, Dutch, Swedish, and French) that are perhaps not representative of the whole movement, either in separate countries or internationally. Her linguistic approach reveals much about the nature and potential of masonry that was obviously (often superficially) "enlightened" but also much that was more unenlightened and "traditional." In its century of origin, "speculative" freemasonry was a "mixed bag" in many ways, like the Enlightenment itself. If Masons were mainly self-satisfied and "sociable" in their British homeland, they also provided such shibboleths as "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" and "Constitution" for the French Revolution, which, ironically, they never intended to inspire by their reforms, and of which they were often victims.

Most readers will probably find greater interest and value in Jacob's initial, final, and occasional generalizations from her meticulous exploitation of still-neglected lodge records at various locations in Europe than in the particular accounts, which seem unnecessarily prolix and repetitious at times. Some of the techniques of quantification, which she eschews, might have reduced the details and strengthened points of overall significance. Not that the narrative accounts of lodge doings and rituals, "adoptive"

lodges with women as members, and quarrels between the newer "old" (Scottish rite) and older "modern"—or "bourgeois" versus noble—lodges are uninteresting. Her analysis of Masonic rhetoric is an essential basis for projections, many of which regrettably must be tentative simply because there were not more such "samplings," which of course weary readers.

Jacob sees a wider significance for her study as a needed correction to François Furet's rather abstract revamping of the Augustin Cochin thesis on the political contribution to the revolution by Masons and other such "sociétés de pensée." Not only was freemasonry not a "conspiracy," it was not the source of Jacobin democratic activism and terrorism. Unintentionally, however, the lodges may have contributed more to revolution and to Jacobinism than Jacob thinks. Vague republicanism aside, their constitutions, voting, elections, representation, and national orientation can all be related to the early revolution, as their elitism, expulsions, emphasis on virtue and cultic ritual, and the national centralism of the Grand Orient can be linked to the Jacobin period. After Montesquieu and Voltaire (but not Rousseau, whose ideas some lodges took up), were many revolutionary leaders, apart from Philippe Égalité, Masons?

A variety of stock "in" phrases from up-to-date "new" political and social history, besides "sociability" and Furet's "political space," appear with ritual frequency here and may confuse as much as they enlighten; "new secular culture" (pp. 51, 154), for instance, in certain ways was neither new nor secular. Except for rare men who were truly "philosophic," did the new enlightened principles of Reason, Science, Progress, and Humanity that Masons professed really outweigh their old convivial love of fellowship, feasting, and drinking or their weird cultic fascination with a "myth-history" of Solomon's temple, Druids, and Hermes, or their protoromantic "enthusiasm" and "religiosity" in secret rituals, "sermons," and symbols in the "temples"? One is reminded of the odd mixture of millennialism and alchemy in Newton's science.

One would like to find more quantitative estimates of Masonic membership than the approximately 2.5 percent of the population of Paris and Strasbourg, covering France and Europe as a whole, for small elites have often seized power. Jacob makes clear that, despite some talk of "equality," "class," and "bourgeois," these were mixed elites who were "democratic" only in a limited, deferential sense in their lodges. They were like the mixed elites in city governments and academies before 1789 in France that later disintegrated into conflict.

Analysis of the records of many more lodges is needed for firmer generalizations, especially concerning their relation to both revolutions and Enlightenment. Laudable in its detailed parts and provocative as an introduction to a neglected or misunderstood

aspect of European and French society, this book may inspire many more.

JOHN T. GRAHAM  
University of Missouri,  
Kansas City

GLORIA FLAHERTY. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 320.

This book is a hybrid. Dividing her work into two roughly equal parts, Gloria Flaherty first treats representations of shamans and shamanism in eighteenth-century travel literature and in scholarly productions such as the *Encyclopédie*. She then offers reinterpretations of the careers of such eighteenth-century luminaries as Johann Gottfried von Herder and Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart (the divergence from the traditional "Amadeus" is intended to indicate a Germanic sense of cultural inferiority that encouraged Latinization), as well as of individual works, including Denis Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau* and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*. Flaherty concludes with some methodological considerations and suggests that an intensified study of shamanism will not only enrich fields as diverse as psychoneuroimmunology and the cultural study of today's "celebrity superstar" but will also "illuminate the lack of psychic unity in today's world and help explain contemporary uprootedness" (p. 213).

In the exploration of eighteenth-century knowledge of shamanism, Flaherty employs a construct loosely based on the paradigm concept of T. S. Kuhn. Chapter 1 is entitled "The Paradigm of Permissibility, or, Early Reporting Strategies." Here Flaherty argues that all early reporting of shamanistic practices was constrained by moral and cultural conventions that reflected "the arrogance of eurocentric male Christendom" (p. 22), which reduced such practices to "various forms of idolatry and superstition" (p. 23). Observers including Nicolas Witsen, John Perry, Lionel Wafer, Baron de La Hontan, Louis Hennepin, and Samuel Purchas eagerly discussed shamanism but always in terms of the shaman's trickery, sham, lewdness, and general moral corruption. This religious paradigm eventually gave way to that of such Enlightenment savants as Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, who essayed "rational explanations debunking all religious mysteries, including those of Christianity" (p. 40).

This section of the book is generally successful, summarizing economically and with insight a wide variety of texts. The accent throughout is on German travelers and erudition, a welcome emphasis in a field that to date has concentrated heavily on French sources. Flaherty also does an artful job of tying German travel and scholarship to the demands of imperial Russia for information on primitive religion in Siberia. My only major reservation about this

section of the book is the chapter on "Medical Researchers," which has little to do with shamanism as such and presents the undemonstrated (and, to my mind, undemonstrable) argument that the interest in holistic medicine of such physicians as Christian Wilhelm Hufeland was inspired by accounts of shamanistic healing.

The second part of the book reexamines famous figures and works in light of what Flaherty has demonstrated to be a widespread interest in and knowledge of shamans. In Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau*, the character Lui was "shaped to represent things shamanic: acting or illusion, flights of fancy or genius, irrationality, heated enthusiasm, emotional agitation, frivolity, and androgynous childhood" (p. 127). Mozart's contemporaries likened him to "Orpheus, Apollo, and other shamans easily recognized by the eighteenth century" (p. 160). In Herder's investigations of European folk songs and indigenous culture, "the necessary focal point was always the shaman, who was able to summon powers that were believed to control nature" (p. 138). The centerpiece of this section is the author's reading of *Faust*, which she argues "incorporates into the very scheme of European cultural evolution nearly everything the eighteenth century had heard or thought about shamanism" (p. 183).

These reinterpretations of key works and figures in eighteenth-century culture in light of shamanism are generally well-written and often intriguing, but ultimately unconvincing. Whereas at the beginning of the book Flaherty seems to have a fairly well-delimited conception of the shaman in specific places and times (the bulk of the material referring to Siberia), in the latter section the word "shaman" comes to refer to virtually anything connected with the occult, the irrational, or the magical. Flaherty herself notes that in the European literature on shamanism the vocabulary surrounding the subject was unstable. Terms that functioned as synonyms or near-synonyms of shaman included charmer, conjurer, devil-charmer, diviner, magician, magus, skald, sorcerer, witch, wise-man or wise-woman, and wizard, and these are only the English possibilities. Yet Flaherty herself takes advantage of this linguistic farrago to transform any reference to such diverse figures into references to shamanism. If Orpheus is made into a shaman, then it is easy enough to prove that contemporaries conceived of Mozart as a "shaman-genius," as Flaherty asserts. But Flaherty's original presupposition that Orpheus was seen as a shaman seems historically dubious given the classical preoccupations of critics and listeners in the eighteenth century.

The shaman of the anthropological literature may well have lurked somewhere vaguely in the consciousness of Mozart's admirers or in Goethe's mind when he composed *Faust*. This hardly proves Flaherty's case that the shaman was the ur-figure of European imaginings of genius or of creativity verging on the magical. Yet if the general argument of this book is

unconvincing, it is nonetheless a learned and provocative work that merits the attention of students of the history of anthropology and of eighteenth-century culture.

ELIZABETH A. WILLIAMS  
Oklahoma State University

BETTY JO TEETER DOBBS. *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 359. \$47.95.

Isaac Newton's interest in alchemy was no secret to historians when Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs published *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy*, or "The Hunting of the Greene Lyon" (1975), but virtually everyone who had written on Newton prior to that date had preferred to ignore his alchemy or, when this was not practical, to explain it away as far as possible. Dobbs established beyond doubt that Newton lavished attention on alchemy from about 1668 until a few years before his death in 1727. He combed the literature of alchemy, compiled voluminous notes, and even transcribed entire treatises in his own hand. His scholarly endeavors extended to drafting treatises on his own, filled with learned references to older authorities. More revealing still is Newton's record of experimentation. His brief and often cryptic notes disclose untold hours of laboratory work with apparatus built with his own hands. His experiments ran on for weeks, sometimes months or even years. The father of mechanical philosophy was a "philosopher by fire," a meticulous alchemist who discovered analogies where the modern eye sees irrelevancies or downright obfuscation. If Newton devoted so much time to alchemy, the crucial question is why? Dobbs offers a detailed and convincing answer in this book by showing how alchemy was for Newton part of a larger enterprise that included mathematics, optics, physics, astronomy, as well as biblical records, patristic sermons, hermetical texts, and the tattered remnants of the *prisca theologia*. The post-Newtonian shrinking of interest in divinity and the heightened faith in the experimental method have led scholars to read Newton too narrowly. Those who view him as the epitome of austere rationality find it difficult to accept that his mind ranged well beyond the confines of his own *Principia Mathematica* to embrace other, apparently conflicting, systems of thought.

Dobbs persuasively argues that Newton had a unity of purpose, a general and pervasive aim, that encompassed all of his various fields of interest. She reconstructs, as it were, the lens through which Newton looked at the world. His sight was fixed on an overarching goal, the knowledge of God. To this end, he marshaled evidence from every source available to him, from the revelations of mathematics to the intimations of myth. It is not that Newton was unaware of the differences between competing systems

of thought, it is rather that contemporary standards of evaluation were in a state of flux. The certainties of the medieval Aristotelian consensus had been shattered and Renaissance Pyrrhonism was fashionable, but Newton passionately believed in the possibility of knowing truth and was strongly inclined to find it in places where we no longer bother to look. Differences of approach and methodology appeared to him worthy of investigation because he suspected that they ultimately complemented one another. He was not so much in love with his own success in mechanics to rule out or to disregard other possible avenues to truth. How he went about this task in detail is lucidly described by Dobbs, who traces Newton's development from the 1660s to his last years as president of the Royal Society. By explaining why Newton thought his alchemical work was so important, Dobbs shows that it can only be ignored at the risk of missing the meaning he ascribed to his life's work.

WILLIAM R. SHEA  
McGill University

DENNIS R. DEAN. *James Hutton and the History of Geology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 303. \$38.50.

Through much of the nineteenth century, there was a canonical account of the history of geology, at least in the English-speaking world. It was constructed by two Scots, both of them geologists. One was Charles Lyell, author of the famous *Principles of Geology* (1830–33), the other Archibald Geikie, author of *Founders of Geology* (1905). According to this account, their fellow Scot, James Hutton, had been on the right track in his *Theory of the Earth* (1795), in which he had argued for heat as the major causal process, the immense age of the earth, and a uniformitarian method in geology. Unfortunately, a sterile wrangle ensued because the German, Abraham Gottlob Werner, used his influential teaching post at the Freiberg Mining Academy to insist that all geological formations had been laid down in water. After a brief truce declared by the Geological Society of London, right finally triumphed when the fact of igneous activity became impossible to ignore and when Lyell demonstrated what could be accomplished using a uniformitarian method and a vast time span.

During the last twenty-five years, however, revisionists have attacked this canonical account. They have seen Hutton primarily as one of a group of Scottish natural philosophers, other important members of the group being his friends Adam Smith the political economist and Joseph Black the chemist. His geology, they have stressed, followed from his deism: the deity must have so designed the world that it could sustain human life indefinitely, hence there must be cyclic processes that maintain the earth's surface in habitable form driven by modifications from the heat emitted from the sun. This seemed an

extraordinary theory to the Europeans who had studied the consolidation of rocks in the laboratory for a century and who thought that nothing resembling the rocks of the earth's surface could be produced by heat. As chemical theory changed and as new field evidence was collected, Wernerians quickly changed their minds about heat while remaining committed to the Wernerian program for mapping the formations around the globe and remaining open-minded on uniformitarianism. On this account, Hutton is a fascinating figure, but somewhat marginal to the making of geology.

Now Dennis R. Dean has come to Hutton's defense. The revisionists are the ghosts who haunt the book, but with the exception of Gordon Davies's *The Earth in Decay* (1969) their works are never named, let alone addressed. Among them, though, I suppose Dean would place Martin Rudwick's *The Meaning of Fossils* (1972), Roy Porter's *The Making of Geology* (1977), Mott Greene's *Geology in the Nineteenth Century* (1982) and my own *From Mineralogy to Geology* (1987). Instead, accepting the historical outline laid out by Lyell and Geikie, Dean has delved deeply into Hutton's biography, his geological writings, his followers, and the course of geological controversy through Lyell. He acknowledges Hutton's place in the intellectual life of the Scottish Enlightenment, but has kept his focus firmly on geology. He has turned up all kinds of hitherto unknown or unexamined material and given useful brief exegeses of many of the prolix writings of Hutton, his disciples, and his combatants.

I rather doubt that Dean will succeed in his overarching aim of reversing the revisionist interpretation of Hutton's role in the history of geology. To do this he would need not only to address head-on the arguments about Hutton's founding role but also to acknowledge that the traditional search for founders itself is at issue. Counting up the number of doctrines in contemporary geology that resemble those of competing putative founders and awarding the title to the one with the highest score, as Dean does at the end of his book, is simply not going to cut much ice. Fortunately, this dubious historiographic framework does not vitiate many of the interesting details of Hutton's publications and career that Dean has dug up, and discerning readers, aware of the broader context, will be able to mine the book for their own purposes.

RACHEL LAUDAN

Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies,  
Princeton University  
University of Hawai'i

DANIEL M. SIEGEL. *Innovation in Maxwell's Electromagnetic Theory: Molecular Vortices, Displacement Current, and Light*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 225. \$49.50.

BRUCE J. HUNT. *The Maxwellians*. (Cornell History of Science Series.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 266. \$34.95.



The two fine studies under review do much to demonstrate the diversity of interests that between 1850 and 1900 contributed to the formation of both modern electromagnetic theory and electrotechnology. Although both studies are directly concerned with James Clerk Maxwell's electromagnetic theory, and although both locate their concerns within nuanced contexts, they situate their studies in contexts and employ causal mechanisms that are radically different from one another.

Daniel M. Siegel's study concentrates on the process of innovation that led to the creation of Maxwell's theory between the late 1850s and the mid-1860s. Siegel concisely elucidates Maxwell's grand innovations—the displacement current and the electromagnetic theory of light—and convincingly shows how these occurred within the larger contexts of developing a mechanical model of the electromagnetic field (wherein molecular vortical motions took place within the so-called ether) and a drive to unify all electromagnetic and optical phenomena. Siegel thus argues that the proper context for understanding Maxwell's innovations was his use and manipulation of mechanical models.

Siegel shows that Maxwell's scientific education at Edinburgh and Cambridge decisively shaped his methodological outlook. Maxwell acquired a strong sense of the importance of mathematics and an abiding commitment to unify the disparate fields of electricity and magnetism within a mechanical framework. Siegel meticulously explores Maxwell's changing attitudes toward mechanical models, showing how he sometimes considered models as “purely illustrative” and sometimes as “realistic” (p. 29), but that his innovations came precisely when he believed most strongly in their “realistic” nature. Siegel further shows that Maxwell developed the molecular-vortex model of the electromagnetic field both to advance a field approach to unifying electromagnetic phenomena and to oppose Wilhelm Weber's action-at-a-distance approach. At the same time Siegel also shows that, once Maxwell had formulated his theory, he began “a measured retreat from the molecular-vortex model” (p. 144). Between 1862 and 1864, he reformulated the displacement current and the electromagnetic theory of light without using the molecular-vortex model.

Bruce J. Hunt's incisive study is essentially concerned with the transformation of Maxwell's theory into its modern form by a handful of British scientists and practical electrical telegraphers whom he felicitously anoints as “the Maxwellians.” Between the late 1870s and early 1900s, these Maxwellians transformed a series of ideas and an outlook that were largely buried in Maxwell's *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* (1873) into the modern theory of electromagnetism. Hunt demonstrates how, as a group, the Maxwellians—above all, George Francis FitzGerald, Oliver Lodge, Oliver Heaviside, and the German Heinrich Hertz—turned Maxwell's diverse set of

twenty equations for describing electromagnetic phenomena into a unified, canonical set of four; generated and detected electromagnetic waves; and applied their revision of Maxwell's theory to the practical problems of electrical communication. Hunt does this in good part by effectively using the Maxwellians' correspondence and notebooks, thereby showing in fine detail how they operated as a social group and how intimate a connection there was between their scientific work and the state of electrotechnology.

In particular, Hunt convincingly argues for a close relationship between electrical theory and telegraphic practice through his excellent portrayal of Heaviside, an eccentric, impoverished telegrapher and scientific autodidact who almost single handedly put “Maxwell's equations” in their modern form. Driven by his interest in electromagnetic propagation, a topic that stood at the heart of both practical submarine telegraphy and theoretical science, Heaviside recognized that telegraphers and electrical scientists needed to focus on what occurred in the space surrounding conductors, not on what occurred inside wires, coils, or condensers. This practical context notwithstanding, Hunt recognizes that Heaviside was also concerned with electromagnetic principles and furthering the underlying Faraday-Maxwellian assumption that the field is the source of electromagnetic phenomena; moreover, like Siegel's analysis of Maxwell, Hunt argues that the Maxwellians used mechanical models in the hope of unifying the macroscopic laws of electromagnetism and explaining the underlying etherial mechanisms. Nonetheless, Hunt, again like Siegel, also finds that by the 1890s the very successes of the Maxwellians led them to abandon using models.

Hunt further shows how Heaviside's newly won theoretical understanding of propagation met with fierce opposition from the so-called practical men in the telegraph and telephone industries. That opposition was only overcome in 1888, when Hertz dramatically demonstrated electromagnetic waves. Hertz's results gave the Maxwellians, who until then were only a small fringe group of electrical theorists, the experimental basis they had previously lacked and helped them overcome the objections of the “practical” telegraphers and place them at the center of British electrical science. Yet their triumph was short-lived. With the coming of electron theory in the mid-1890s, that is, with a microscopic understanding of the relations between electromagnetic fields and matter, the unified, macroscopic laws of the Maxwellians became of secondary interest. Physicists now sought to understand the mechanisms underlying electromagnetic phenomena. Hunt shows how the electron work of the Maxwellian Joseph Larmor, who sought to link fields and matter, at once capped the Maxwellian program and marked its end. By the early 1900s, the Maxwellians were no more.

Taken together, these two excellent studies should



give pause, on the one hand, to socioeconomic historians who seek to explain the introduction and diffusion of electrotechnology without discussing the role of abstract concerns like model building in science, and, on the other hand, to intellectual historians who concentrate on narrowly scientific and philosophical matters without discussing the apparently distant fields of technology and industry. Together Siegel and Hunt show the complexity of topics, contexts, and analyses needed to understand the development of Maxwellian theory and electrotechnology.

DAVID CAHAN  
University of Nebraska,  
Lincoln

SANDI E. COOPER. *Patriotic Pacifism: Waging War on War in Europe, 1815–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. vi, 336. \$39.95.

This book reviews the activities of European peace societies between 1815 and 1914. Part 1 is a chronological review, part 2 topical. This is a sensible manner of organization, but Sandi E. Cooper's manner of discussing each topic chronologically makes for some repetition. For example, she mentions that a Russian delegation appeared for the first time at the London meeting of the Interparliamentary Union (1906) on three occasions (pp. 86, 107, and 129, n. 82).

Cooper's emphasis falls on the period between 1889 and 1914, an era in which the peace movement achieved both maturity and a degree of influence. The third of three chronological chapters and all five topical chapters cover this era. A brief conclusion summarizes the main themes in a book characterized by a high density of detail.

National styles existed among peace societies, just as they did among socialist parties. The gap between Anglo-American peace societies, which tended to have a religious basis, and the more secular continental societies was a wide one. Considerable differences existed among the continental societies as well. The German movement was especially notable for its cautious approach. Given the differences among the major national movements, not to mention questions raised by smaller movements, it is remarkable that an international organization could develop. In fact, two existed between 1889 and 1914. Cooper tracks both the Universal Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Union meetings over their twenty-five-year histories.

Two main tendencies stood out within the international peace movement. One stressed what might be termed a legalistic, apolitical approach, emphasizing arbitration and mediation among other methods. The other, increasingly important in the last decade before World War I, connected the existence of democratic and republican institutions to the achievement of an organized peace. It was political, and not adverse to taking a stand on the controversies of the

day, much to the discomfiture of the German, and on occasion other, peace societies.

In general, Cooper gives the early twentieth-century peace societies more credit than they deserve. Their members were, after all, "patriotic pacifists," forever having to prove they were not traitors or, for that matter, "reds." Individual exceptions aside, they were seldom in advance of public opinion. Peace activists did their best to take advantage of the quixotic call for an international conference by Tsar Nicholas II in 1898, but the two Hague conferences demonstrated nothing so much as the distinct limits of the peace movement. In the end, caught off guard like nearly everyone else in the summer of 1914, the international peace movement collapsed back into its national components.

The failure of the peace movement to prevent World War I does not make it unimportant. On the contrary, it may be seen as one of several challenges to the political, social, and economic arrangements of the time, if also a peculiarly conservative challenge. In this connection, Cooper might have provided a more extensive discussion of the relationship between the peace movement and the socialist, feminist, and anti-imperialist movements. Peace was on the agendas of these movements, but, for the most part, the peace movement did not reciprocate by incorporating their various aims into its program.

A fine example of careful scholarship, this book should become a standard reference for European peace movements before World War I. It will also furnish a solid basis for anyone wishing to connect peace studies with some of the other kinds of activism in the era before World War I.

MICHAEL RICHARDS  
Sweet Briar College

ALLAN MITCHELL. *The Divided Path: The German Influence on Social Reform in France after 1870*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 410. \$45.00.

This is the third volume of Allan Mitchell's trilogy about German influence on France: after volumes on the French Republic (1979) and the French army (1984), Mitchell now focuses on French social reform efforts after 1870. He offers more a complex analysis of the development of social welfare legislation in France than a clear indication of specific German influence on programmatic development. This well-researched monograph succeeds best as an examination of the conflicts and pressures surrounding prominent politicians' attempts to institute social reform in pre-World War I France. Mitchell succeeds less well when he tries to force the German model on France.

In part 1, "Private Charity and Public Health," Mitchell accurately maintains that French fear of Germany's more rapid population growth and what that portended for industrial and military develop-

ment fueled French anxiety over their own relative depopulation. France's deep concern with demography and a pervasive spirit of competition with its powerful neighbor, Mitchell contends, spurred various French social reforms. He astutely asserts that the image of depopulation vis-à-vis Germany "loomed behind every one of the specific social questions that faced France before 1914" (pp. 29–30). In chapter 2, Mitchell further argues that during the Third Republic "the demographic imperative" challenged laissez-faire nineteenth-century liberalism, resulting in a clash of principles between the liberals and others who believed in obligatory social welfare with an interventionist state playing a strong role, what Mitchell calls the German model. Mitchell appropriately attributes overwhelming importance to the dynamic duo of Dr. Paul Brouardel (president of the Consultative Committee of Public Hygiene) and Henri Monod (director of the Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene) in urging state-mandated social welfare reform from the mid-1880s to 1905.

Mitchell explores "the intersections of reform" in part 2. As informative and interesting as this section is, an organization of each chapter into opposites tends to obscure thematic issues. Chapters are titled: "Men and Women," "Physicians and Patients," "Parisians and Provincials," and "Managers and Workers." There are obvious overlaps among these categories, and the book might have been better organized around themes of social reform or specific programs. Nevertheless, each chapter contains its own logic and highlights internal relationships. For example, chapter 5 explores the importance of women in social reform projects designed by men. Mitchell rightfully asserts that, because of the population crisis and German competition, "women were at the center of attention in the movement for welfare reform in France" (pp. 97–98). They produced future citizen-soldiers. In chapter 6 the important role of administrators and doctors, especially Brouardel, comes to light. They provided the medical and bureaucratic impetus for France to follow the German lead in implementing mandatory national legislation for managed medical assistance (1893), compulsory smallpox vaccinations (1902), and sanitation reform (1902). Yet in the discussion of physicians and patients there is no discussion of women, a fact that seems odd given Brouardel's numerous treatises on issues concerning women such as abortion and infanticide. Moreover, historians familiar with Brouardel's opinions on these topics might find him a far less sympathetic figure than does Mitchell.

The conflict between French liberal solutions to pressing problems that maintained individual liberty and the German solution of national requirements enforcing social welfare runs as a not-so-leitmotif throughout this book, especially in part 3, titled "National Crisis and Social Security." This section raises the importance of France's "national character"

and its resistance to an income tax for funding social reform, especially after Germany's shift to protectionism in 1879. Mitchell posits an "intimate connection between morals and money" (p. 208). In a chapter entitled "The Parable of Tuberculosis" he demonstrates that it was not until the national crisis of the tuberculosis epidemic in the late nineteenth century that the French tried to take action along the German sanatoria model. But the sanatoria never got off the ground, despite the efforts of Monod, Brouardel, and others, because of lack of government funding and little public cooperation. In the final analysis, the "three distinct clusters of social problems in the prewar years: poverty, public health, and labor practice . . . remain[ed] unresolved" (p. 282).

This important book covers so many aspects of social reform and raises so many issues, both interpretive and factual, that it is to the author's credit that questions arise. First some minor problems: The illegitimacy figures for Paris that he presents are most unusual and are culled from French secondary works in which the authors sometimes massaged the data to fit their own political ends. One of Mitchell's major sources is the records of the Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique, an organization in the forefront of public welfare; but even these sources require a more nuanced interpretation. His attempt to show German influence tends to obscure other factors leading to social reform in France. Other historians examining the origins of French social reform acknowledge the primacy of the depopulation issue and the fear of Germany, but also see such motives for social reform as anticlericalism, the influence of doctors, national solidarism, a desire for social stability during a time of economic hardship, and a belief in a person's right to assistance. Indeed, there are similarities between the German model and French solidarism. Finally, Mitchell implies an evolution from private charity to public welfare, but evidence exists that even though social welfare had developed by the eve of World War I, private charity remained important and received public subsidies.

Mitchell's analysis clearly mirrors that of François Ewald, whose book *L'état providence* (1986) analyzed the shift in attitudes from the sacredness of individual liberty to the idea of obligation and the welfare of the state. This shift was not unique to France, and it may be overstating the case to say it occurred in France because of German influence. As Mitchell himself states, in a different context, "the much acclaimed Teutonic example was, to say the least, ambiguous" (p. 143).

These problems aside, with rich detail and a clear writing style, Mitchell provides one of the more interesting, provocative, and informative books yet published on the development of national social reform in France.

RACHEL G. FUCHS  
Arizona State University

JAMES FULCHER. *Labour Movements, Employers and the State: Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 367. \$69.00.

Starting in the 1930s, when a Social Democratic government presided over swift recovery from the Great Depression, tiny Sweden has been a favorite country of the democratic Left world wide. Decades of Social Democratic rule, largely based on powerful labor unions, resulted in the creation of a "cradle-to-grave" welfare system financed by highly progressive taxes. Equally important, these developments seemed to be compatible with the maintenance of full employment, labor market peace, and respectable economic growth, as well as the avoidance of excessively rapid inflation. The Swedish "middle" or "third" way was held up as an example for others to emulate.

Accumulating economic problems (rising unemployment, strikes, stagnation, and accelerating inflation) and the loss of Social Democratic political supremacy, both starting in the 1970s, however, have taken much of the glow off the Swedish model. In retrospect, it seems clear that the Social Democrats, while having displayed much economic good sense and political sure-footedness, also benefited from large dollops of economic and political good fortune. The internal dynamics of the movement toward a welfare state eventually resulted in a government apparatus and an incentive structure that threatened to completely stifle the economy. The attempt to introduce real socialism through "employee funds" (popular world wide with the radical democratic Left) proved to be politically unacceptable. Although a quick shuffle to the right, together with the murder of Olof Palme, allowed the Social Democrats to cling to office through the 1980s, Sweden's days as a moderate left-wing role model are clearly over.

Like a number of other Swedophile scholars, James Fulcher, a sociologist, compares Swedish policies and institutions with those of his own country, Great Britain. As should be clear from the title, the book concentrates on institutions and government policies concerning the labor market in the two countries. The discussion also includes coverage of more general economic, social, and political questions. The narrative is historical in nature, starting with the emergence of modern labor-market institutions before World War I (in Britain, well before then) and continuing to the near-present. I found the most interesting and informative chapters to be those dealing with Britain after World War II, although the non-Swedish reader might find those dealing with Sweden to be the most useful. I remain unconvinced, however, by Fulcher's claim that the Meidner Plan (the employee funds) took Sweden to the brink of socialism. He fails to grasp the extent of popular Swedish aversion to collectivism, and he therefore also fails to understand the strength of the antistatist ("neoliberal") reaction in Sweden (the text predates

the electoral disaster suffered by the Swedish Social Democrats in September 1991, as well as the British elections of April 1992).

In order to make his historical presentation more intellectually respectable, the author claims to have avoided "empiricism or aimless narrative" because his "exploration of these crucial (historical) processes is guided by theories that propose particular relationships" (p. 5). In fact, the author does make use of any number of different theoretical structures. Virtually any proposed causal relationship is deemed explained with a new and different theory, one theory per variable. In addition, Fulcher is eager to emphasize that outcomes were not predetermined. He repeatedly argues that, however things turned out, they might quite easily have gone differently. Thus, it seems that these various theories have very little predictive power. Furthermore, the variables that in fact determined outcomes were either random or else were not encompassed by any of the theories used.

Putting this methodological carping aside I agree that the author's historical narrative is not "aimless." It is an intelligent and informed narrative. The theories or insights of others are, if not empirically tested, at least discussed and evaluated in the light of the material at hand. Even when I did not totally agree with the author's interpretation of events, or with his judgments and conclusions, I found his analysis consistently interesting and stimulating.

Although the book is on the long side, it is well written. I would recommend it to scholars interested in the recent economic and political histories of Britain and Sweden. This is particularly the case for those with a special interest in labor movements and markets.

LARS G. SANDBERG  
Ohio State University,  
Columbus

J. H. HEXTER, editor. *Parliament and Liberty: From the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War*. (The Making of Modern Freedom, number 1.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 333. \$39.50.

This book is the first to be published in a series that is entitled The Making of Modern Freedom. Stemming from an ongoing series of conferences at the Center for the History of Freedom at Washington University in St. Louis, the project is ambitious. A hundred years after Lord Acton failed to deliver on his promise to write a history of liberty, J. H. Hexter and R. W. Davis are in the process of producing a number of "collaborative volumes" that "form an inquiry into the way in which freedom . . . came into being in the West or a small part of it and then was realized elsewhere across the globe" (p. v). It is a basic assumption of the two editors and, they assert, of the large number of historians participating in this enormous scholarly enterprise, that there has been a tendency in our own

times for many in the West to permit their familiarity with the concept of freedom, which "has been some four centuries in the making" (p. ix), to become indifference, bordering on contempt. This series is intended to broaden the understanding by this generation of "the effort and agony and the victories, little and great, of the human spirit, about which we need to know more than we do, better than we do" (p. xi). Spurred on by the collapse of the "evil empire" and the end of the Cold War, Whig history is alive and well at the Center for the History of Freedom.

The volume under review focuses on English concepts of liberty between the late Elizabethan period and 1642, and it consists of eight essays written by distinguished, mostly American, intellectual, political, and legal historians of early modern England. There is also an introduction by Hexter that places the volume in its historical context and relates the eight essays to the book's central theme.

This collection of essays is unlike many others in that the editors have been fairly successful in developing harmony among the contributors. Together their contributions constitute a significant blast aimed at revisionist historians to whom history fails often to make much sense. The book's central argument is that the first three decades of the seventeenth century make complete sense and were of fundamental importance in England's constitutional history. By the Tudor period, "societies of the West were awash in 'medieval' liberties like those in Magna Carta" (p. 2). Liberties there, however, for the most part had a dark future, and only in early Stuart England did a group of men emerge—"and it was only men" (p. x)—who developed a concept of liberty of the subject that resonates in our own era. All of the authors who contributed to this volume would seem to agree with the editor that the Petition of Right in 1628 was "the end of the beginning" (p. xi). The Petition of Right, which "is still the law of the land in England today" (p. 18), and whose provisions are the hallmark of any modern free society, is the focus of this book. Between them, the eight authors explain how the Petition of Right became possible and why not just the English but the entire world should be grateful that it did.

Each essay makes an important contribution to this theme and in a brief review it is impossible to do justice to them all. From my perspective, however, several demand attention. Hexter links the contested Buckinghamshire election of 1604 with the Apology of the Commons. He concedes the revisionist argument that the Apology was, politically, "a true non-starter" (p. 36), but he insists that it was nonetheless of fundamental importance. The authors of this document, he observes, "already stood seized of the idea so firmly grasped by John Locke at the century's twilight that men have a property in their liberties" (p. 42). In a period when royal authority was on the rise everywhere in Europe and was being vested with a religious aura, "only in England did another coher-

ent rhetoric—the rhetoric of law, liberty of the subject and the common welfare—emerge," a rhetoric that would ultimately win the day against "monarchist glory and grandeur" (p. 54).

Robert Zaller's essay is especially interesting for the way it attempts to bring "religious" preoccupations into focus with "political" ones and for the way it places Jacobean and early Caroline parliaments in their European context. English parliamentarians were, he points out, deeply conscious of the fate of representative assemblies in Europe. By the 1620s many were convinced that the days of English parliaments were numbered and only in this context do the parliamentary assertions of 1621 and of 1628 make sense. Zaller does well to show "how clearly the issues of church and state had [by 1628] been joined by the overriding fear of popery" (p. 221).

Zaller's essay, which is must reading for any student of the politics of religion in early Stuart England, nevertheless points to certain weaknesses in the entire volume. First, there is an uncertainty among the contributors on just how to handle religion. Although Hexter asserts that "religion had little effect on the development of the ideas and institutions from which modern freedom grew and so plays little part in their volume" (p. 9), not all scholars would agree. The very strength of Zaller's study lies in the sensitivity with which he shows how "Englishmen owed their mature conception of liberty" to the "fear of popery" (p. 222).

Second, an assumption prevails throughout the volume that things worth studying are connected. The members of the 1629 parliament were, writes Zaller, powerless for they had "no way of confronting the King directly" because they commanded no military forces. It would take "twenty years of prerogative government, civil war and religious revolution [before] its successors . . . at last crossed the boundary between law and necessity and brought Charles before the bar of blood" (p. 222).

The question that nags me is were not many of the successors to the authors of the Petition of Right Royalists in 1642 and were not most of the others Presbyterians by 1648? Many of the contributors to this volume, notably Derek Hirst, emphasize the varieties of freedom in seventeenth-century English political discussion, not all of which emerged victorious. Nonetheless, despite his cautions and those of others, the entire enterprise of which this is the flagship volume seems whiggishly compromised by the triumphalism engendered by the recent collapse of communism and the apparent victory of the marketplace.

MICHAEL G. FINLAYSON  
University of Toronto

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE. *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 227. \$39.95.



In this ambitious book, C. John Sommerville synthesizes the secondary literature on the Tudor and Stuart periods into a thesis about the secularization of early modern England. Beginning with an analysis of the complexity of the concept of secularization, he focuses on "institutional differentiation" as that aspect of secularization which led to the desacralization of many areas of culture and the marginalization of religion. According to Sommerville, secularization did not result so much from intellectual daring as it did from the printing press, the aggrandizement of the state, and Protestantism. His theme is expressed in the book's subtitle: England changed from a "religious culture," a pattern of customary rites and assumptions unseparated from other areas of life, to a conscious "religious faith" increasingly differentiated from other spheres of human activity. Furthermore, the explicitness of religious belief made doubt possible. But Sommerville is not a romantic, praising a lost communal Christianity; he speculates that the new faith may have been more Christian while less "religious" than the old culture.

Sommerville depicts the desacralization of many areas of English life: the decline of the guilds as religious associations removed religiosity from work, the printing press abetted the secularization of learning, the secular state replaced the church as the primary locus of power while alehouses vied with it as a place of association. Sacred places, the sacred times of saints' days, and an instinctively religious oral culture withered under the Protestant exaltation of the word. By the later seventeenth-century religion had become a subject to be discussed rather than a pattern of behavior.

Sommerville wrestles with vexing problems. Institutional differentiation provides a convincing explanation for the combination of secularization and ardent piety characteristic of early modern England. That this resulted from broad social forces, and that Protestantism was a significant agent of modernization, is also convincing. Much else is illuminated by Sommerville's discussion, for example, of the significance of Laudianism as an attempt to return to an older religious world.

But in spite of the book's initial caution about the complexity of the concept of secularization, it sometimes appears to be a narration of a simple process of desacralization, with Protestantization seeming little more than secularization. But Protestant desacralization (for example, of shrines or the plastic arts) emerged from a powerful religious intent, and that it desacralized time or work is dubious: the substitution of the English sabbath for the medieval saints' days was a different sacralization of time, as was the Protestant emphasis on the sacred history found in scripture, while the doctrine of vocation might be regarded as resacralizing labor. Moreover, a literate religion of the word is still religion, even if different from that of an oral culture. And was not the associating of a dissenting conventicle very much a sacred

fellowship? The author's definition of religion is too narrow: folk religion is not the only model for religion. What I find in Sommerville's story is the persistence though transformation of religion, and the emergence of a Protestant religious culture viable partly because it accommodated to the increasing institutional differentiation (secularization) of early modernity. Indeed, Sommerville acknowledges that the secularization he has depicted could also be described as a "religious evolution" (p. 9), without undermining the significance of his research, and I would agree; a greater recognition of this in his narrative would have strengthened it. Nonetheless, this is a worthwhile contribution to the discussion of early modern secularization and an enlightening account of the transformation of religion in early modern England.

DEWEY D. WALLACE, JR.  
George Washington University

CONRAD RUSSELL. *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637–1642*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 550. \$89.00.

In this substantial analytic narrative, Conrad Russell draws deeply on a wide range of manuscript and a more limited selection of contemporary printed sources to provide a detailed account of the outbreak of wars in and between Scotland, Ireland, and England during the reign of Charles I from the perspective of the highest social and political elites of the three British kingdoms. This intricately textured account builds up broader interpretations of the ideas and behavior of "people of standing" (p. 84) from judicious contextual readings of minute details, as in the discussion of the commonplace books of the fourth Earl of Bedford, who "emerges as a Calvinist episcopalian, whose favourite theological reading before 1640 seems to have been Bishop Hall, the only bishop ever mentioned without disapproval by [the London Puritan turner] Nehemiah Wallington" (p. 239). The renowned historian of English parliaments during the 1620s draws on his invaluable store of intellectual capital to produce a multivoiced account representing the perceptions and arguments of many of the major and secondary players, including a masterful portrayal of the political style of King Charles. Those attacking policies that Russell knows that the king supported (whether contemporaries knew this or not) are portrayed as attacking the king, however, even when their language attempted to avoid this construction. Probably in order to keep the number of sources manageable while pursuing a comparative approach, Russell focuses on the interactions of the king, councils, nobles, and parliaments and the documents that they generated. These he handles with great expertise as, for example, in the debate over the church canons of 1640, which took place in the House of Commons on December 9, 14,



and 15, 1640 (pp. 231–34). The gain in depth may well offset a loss in social breadth.

Russell portrays the fall of the British monarchies in fourteen chapters: one on "England in 1637," four on Scotland or English and royal relations with the Scots, one on the origins and outbreak of the Irish rebellion, seven on Charles I and the Long Parliament, and a conclusion. All these chapters contain gems of interpretation and a much better grasp of the procedure, debates, and factions in the House of Lords and the House of Commons and of the interplay between Charles I and his councillors than previous accounts. The opening chapters provide a background for future events by noting the difficulties involved in governing three kingdoms and by highlighting some of the religious beliefs that divided Charles from many of his subjects. In addition, the chapters announce a number of interpretive themes that later receive detailed confirmation, reminding us that "'popery,' as much as 'Puritanism,' may be in the eye of the beholder. Both were terms of abuse, and both might vary in meaning according to the prejudices of the abuser" (p. 23). The account of the debates between the king and the Scots over the imposition of a new service book in 1637 provides a key for interpreting the political reactions of Charles in other situations: "These useless undertakings to avoid innovation, while not admitting he was guilty of any, are the first characteristic Caroline theme to emerge in these months. The second is Charles's great difficulty in absorbing the message that anything was impossible. . . . The third . . . is Charles's readiness to take any dissent as a challenge to his 'authority.' This belief was very often a self-fulfilling prophecy" (pp. 50–51). Insights such as these provide a binding force for the detailed accounts of particular events that make up most of the chapters.

Although he often offers perceptive readings, Russell's perspective remains too lofty, especially in the last two or three chapters, to remain persuasive; he examines few of the pamphlet attacks on the Irish rebels and the impeached bishops from late 1640 and early 1641, the extensive pamphlet and petition debates from the summer and autumn of 1642, or the sermons and religious treatises from all sides in 1641 and 1642. Nowhere does what looks like a bias against sources printed in the seventeenth century cause greater problems.

Although much more accurate in detail and interpretation of what it covers, Russell's approach reminds one more of that pursued by C. V. Wedgwood (*The King's Peace, 1637–41* [1955]) than that by Anthony Fletcher (*The Outbreak of the English Civil War* [1981]). Although not as accurate in his discussion of the Long Parliament, Fletcher more deftly integrated provincial perspectives into his detailed account of central disputes. Although Russell displays considerable sensitivity to the voices of county magnates, those of parish gentry, yeomen, merchants, and artisans receive only occasional attention. This valuable ac-

count remains too concentrated on "people of standing" to provide a fully compelling history of the outbreak of the "Great Rebellion."

PAUL CHRISTIANSON  
Queen's University  
Kingston, Ontario

IAN GENTLES. *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645–1653*. Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell. 1992. Pp. xi, 584. \$54.95.

The scholarly study of the New Model Army really began with the discovery of the William Clarke papers by Charles Firth in Worcester College, Oxford, more than one hundred years ago. Firth made them available to Samuel Gardiner for a discussion of the Putney Debates in his *History of the Great Civil War* and then published them in two volumes in a Camden Society series (1891, 1894; reprinted under the editorship of Austin Woolrych in 1992). In 1900–01 he delivered the Ford Lectures on *Cromwell's Army* which were published in three editions (1902, 1911, 1921, and reprinted under the editorship of Paul Hardacre in 1961). *Cromwell's Army* dealt with various organizational aspects of the history of the English soldier from 1645 to 1660, but it is most noted for its last two chapters on religion and politics, respectively, in the army. The politics of the army from 1647 to 1660 was the subject of Derek Massarella's Ph.D. dissertation (1978), and it became the narrative theme of Mark Kishlansky in numerous articles and his revisionist monograph, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (1979). Although Kishlansky eschewed a discussion of religion as a major factor in his treatment of the New Model from 1645 to 1647, that subject has received considerable attention in Ian Gentles's re-revisionist monograph on the army during the years 1647–53.

In addition to his treatment of religion and politics, as foreshadowed by Firth, Gentles has also devoted several chapters to the strictly military history of the army, especially the campaigns against Ireland and Scotland. The heart of the book, however, lies in the four middle chapters: two dealing with "The Political Wars, 1646–1648," one dealing with "The Second Civil War," and one dealing with "The Revolution at Westminster, 1648–1649." These middle chapters, together with earlier ones on the founding, recruitment, early victories, and religion of the army, constitute two-thirds of the volume, leaving the remaining third to cover one-half the time period of the study—an appropriate division considering the relative magnitude of events in either half.

In the footnotes to his monograph Gentles acknowledges Kishlansky's "valuable discussion of the importance of honour to the Army" (p. 485) and his characterization of the Putney Debates "as a sincere effort to achieve a peaceful settlement to the English Civil War" (p. 500). But on most other topics Gentles is very critical. For example, Gentles is unpersuaded

by Kishlansky's thesis that "the New Model was the last achievement of consensus decision-making" (p. 18) in Parliament because he believes that there was a struggle in both chambers over the approval of a list of officers. Gentles also disagrees with Kishlansky's statement that the breakdown of military finance after the fall of Oxford was "swift and complete" (*Rise of the New Model Army*, 184) because he says that "during the six months ending in April 1647 both horse and foot received virtually full pay" (p. 48). Or again, Gentles strongly disapproves of Kishlansky's argument ("What Happened at Ware?" *Historical Journal* [1982], 827–39) that there was no Leveller mutiny at Ware in 1647 because if "breaking the head of a higher officer in the presence of one's commander-in-chief does not constitute mutiny, what does?" (p. 505).

But the most striking difference between Kishlansky and Gentles is the latter's restoration of religion as a driving force in the army. Not only is this a revalidation of Firth's emphasis on religion in the army but also it is something of a return to the work nearly a half-century ago of three Miltonic scholars: A. S. P. Woodhouse, William Haller, and Don M. Wolfe, all of whom edited collections of tracts stressing the religious milieu of the Levellers. (Woodhouse even rendered a new edition of the Putney and Whitehall debates from the Clarke papers, *Puritanism and Liberty* [1938]). Gentles's work also fits in well with the recent historiographical trend to stress religion again as a major motivation of the English Civil War.

Although Gentles recognizes that many in the army had been conscripted, that some had plundered churches, and that some had switched sides, he finds considerable evidence in behalf of the army's religious life. That evidence includes the religious beliefs of the army's grandees (Thomas Fairfax, Philip Skippon, and Oliver Cromwell) as well as those of its evangelizing colonels and some laymen, public and private prayer, fasting and "humiliation," visual iconography through banners and standards, and, somewhat equivocally stated, the preaching of the army chaplains.

On the role of the army chaplains he curiously accepts Kishlansky's view that they were "representative of the religious pluralism of the army" (p. 96), but he contradicts that view when he correctly states that after 1649 there were no chaplains of Presbyterianism, the official faith of the Westminster Assembly and, in an Erastian form, of Parliament. He also accepts Kishlansky's view that "the chaplains did not play a primary role in shaping the religious character of the army" (pp. 95–96), but Gentles's chapter entitled "The Importance of Religion" is strewn with evidence of the army's religious views as manifested by William Dell, John Saltmarsh, and Hugh Peters, all chaplains at army headquarters.

This triumvirate, plus other chaplains, were exponents of the doctrine of Free Grace or Antinomianism, which, in a libertarian form, Gentles says, was

one of the two ideas, the other being "Calvinistic puritanism," that "empowered" the army (p. 118). None of the chaplains that we know of preached that liberation from the moral law which would allow the kind of licentious freedom later attributed to the Ranters. They were, instead, rigid or High-Calvinists who went on to exalt God's Free Grace only in the Elect or chosen people of God—or, if you will, the "Saints in Arms." Consequently, the aforementioned triumvirate did not, as Gentles contends, preach a "spiritual equality" that all men are saved. But he is surely correct when he recognizes that "the other side of the coin . . . was a sense of separateness from the rest of society" (p. 105), a separateness that did not lead implicitly to a Leveller egalitarianism.

With the exception of certain aspects of religion, this is the most complete and generally satisfying treatment in many ways that we have of the New Model Army.

LEO F. SOLT  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

SHELLEY BURTT. *Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688–1740*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 182. \$39.95.

This is a scholarly, detailed, well-constructed book, its author's first, which gives assurance of many more good things to come. Shelley Burtt, a political scientist trained in the hard mixed discipline that the history of English-British-American political argument and literature has become, writes with the intention of straightening out a confused debate about history and clarifying its application in contemporary theory. If I have criticisms, it is because I applaud her intentions and her execution of them, but wish she had carried both further.

The period that her dates define in English history witnessed perhaps the first European—it later became an American—debate over modernization. For the first time, literary and oratorical debate displayed an awareness that England and Scotland were moving into a new historical era, one in which secular, social, and material factors were transforming political and moral existence; an awareness, too, that what was happening in history was morally contestable, and even called in question the criteria by which its moral and political impact was being contested. The debate about "virtue" and "commerce"—over which the literature in recent historiography is so large and so largely misdirected—was a debate about the moral foundations of the political personality. It entailed the discovery that these foundations were stated in terms set by the discourse of ancient citizenship; the question of whether the individual could maintain a personality so conceived under the conditions of modern "commercial" society; the question whether it was possible to devise a new conception of "virtue"

under these conditions, or whether "virtue" must retreat into private life, affecting the conduct of politics only indirectly and from a distance. If the last set of possibilities was feared as "effeminate," it was because that was the role assigned to female virtue already. Shorn (if it can be) of a dimension of gender, the debate is continuing under the postmodern conditions now obtaining.

Burt examines several groups of debaters in post-revolution England—the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (less familiar in this context), Trenchard and Gordon of *Cato's Letters*, Bolingbroke in the *Craftsman*, their adversaries Pitt and Arnall, and Bernard Mandeville, all of whom have been a good deal examined already—with the intention of showing that they were trying (or being molded by history into trying) to formulate "new" conceptions of virtue. In these conceptions it was acknowledged that human individuals were morally imperfect beings; that both Christian and neo-Stoic ethics recognized their imperfection; that under the conditions of commerce their imperfections were given free rein and were often scandalously evident; but that commercial and social exchange offered mechanisms of turning these imperfections to the general good, and offered the imperfect individual means of improving himself by engaging in the processes of exchange, which possessed their own imperfect morality. He—it was still nearly always he—should practice a social virtue, aiming to improve or correct the conduct of politics by doing so; he was not to aim at a "virtue" defined in political terms alone.

All of this is true, and Burt establishes it with acumen and in detail. Her accounts of all these figures stand beside those previously given—by Isaac Kramnick, Thomas Horne, Reed Browning, Maurice Goldsmith, and myself—and possess an authority and individuality which will ensure that they continue to be read. It has to be asked, however, in just what ways this conception of virtue was "new." Surely the answer is historicist, in the sense that the "new" thing about it was the perception—itself new—that virtue had to be practiced under "new" historical conditions. It has also to be asked, I believe, in what historical framework Burt situates the argument whose existence she explores, and what force her word "transformed" derives from being so situated.

Here my criticisms arise and need to be stated. The "transformation" of virtue is set too strongly in a "from-to" structure; that is, she posits a previously existing thesis of "virtue," which was "transformed" into some other, so that we move "from" the one "to" the other, and reach a point where the previous is seen as weakened, overthrown, and ceasing to exist. (This could be called "Whig history," but any sequential writer can now be accused of that by any other, so the epithet had better be dropped.) The one (which is really the Other) is a classical conception of virtue, which made it hard to separate the concept of the free moral individual from that of the arms-bearing patri-

arch and participant in the ancient republic. This was of course a key critical concept in eighteenth-century argument, regularly used to ask how moral autonomy was possible in "commercial" society and what elements of the "ancient" needed to be preserved, if this could be done, under "modern" conditions. It was all part of the debate over "ancient and modern" values, so crucial to eighteenth-century culture, in which attitudes were usually complex and self-consciously so, and ought not to be simplified. Burt has done an excellent job of unraveling one set of complexities.

It is therefore a pity that in her later chapters she falls into the habit of positing a "traditional" concept of virtue and a "traditional" republican discourse, of which the "new" is a "transformation." The use of the word "traditional" is usually a bad sign in historical writing; it is too often a liberal-progressive rhetorical device for dismissing something to a static and inert role, possessing no life of its own, "from" which the only movement can be "to" something else. Burt does not write so crudely, and at least she does not say that republicans felt "nostalgia" for a "traditional" society. But the fact is that there was no "traditional republicanism," and no "tradition" of republican writing, in the England that she studies; if we are to speak—I once did—of an "Atlantic republican tradition," we must understand that it took a long time to invent it. The English republican literature consisted of a handful of revolutionary texts (Milton, Harrington, Nedham) from the 1650s, and one (Sidney) from the 1680s, recently assembled into a canon by that singularly untraditional figure John Toland. It was a challenge, not a tradition, and had become a challenge to the course modern history was taking only in the writings of its last great developer, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. It will not do, either, for Burt to dismiss Fletcher by saying that he wanted Scotland to "return to a slave economy" (p. 152). He was trying to construct a commercial economy, and entrepreneurial slavery was a means of forcing a vagrant workforce into it; nearer to Bentham's Panopticon than to anything in Cato the Elder.

There are enough occasions to flay, but not to spoil, a strongly written book, on which Burt has been pressured, by the misdirected discourse surrounding the "republicanism versus liberalism" debate, into adopting its disastrous positing of a zero-sum adversary relationship between the two concepts, so that all evidence for the presence of one becomes evidence against the significance of the other, and all historical movement must be "from" one "to" the other. She is far too shrewd to adopt the first position, but she is prone to adopt the second, and to resort to the minimizing language that is its strategy; as when she tells us that Bolingbroke's fears that national debt would corrupt society were "fantastic" and "absurd" (pp. 100, 101). One might detect here the stern tones of the late Judith Shklar, who was Burt's dissertation adviser; the point is, however, that it does not matter if she thinks these fears are absurd, or if Bolingbroke

was the unreliable posturer he so clearly was. It matters if these fears were plausible and widely shared, as there is evidence that they were by some but not by others; we are looking at Englishmen debating a process in which they were engaged, and ought not to look too hard for evidence of a process "from" one preponderant ideology "to" another. Instead of setting up a static "tradition" and a dynamic "transformation," it would have been better to look for the protean twists and turns of arguments surviving, and being transformed, under pressures about which they retained the capacity to say something. This is pretty certainly what Burtt set out to do, with much success; that she has not gone all the way is due to a structural—but not a destructive—weakness in her very able book.

J. G. A. POCKOCK  
Johns Hopkins University

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE. *The Discovery of Childhood in Puritan England*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. x, 211. \$35.00.

In this volume, C. John Sommerville looks at childhood—primarily in the seventeenth century—as a cultural construct. He asserts that Puritan concern for children led them to improve literature for children, change their pedagogical techniques, and even alter their theology. He contends that the Puritan preoccupation with children was a product of their minority status, which made attention to their education crucial to the survival of the group. These developments, Sommerville argues, made critical contributions to the evolution of attitudes to both children and education.

Sommerville begins by showing the extent to which Puritans were obsessed with children and childhood, a concern rooted as much in demography as theology. He then discusses their depictions of children, which were, he suggests, more realistic than those in previous literature about children. In looking at theoretical understandings of childhood, Sommerville shows how Puritans softened covenant theology by allowing infant baptism; he also looks at the ways Puritan educational theory challenged existing humanist and aristocratic modes of education. He even argues (against all stereotypes) that the Puritan attempts to engage young people in religious questions played an important role in the development of literary humor. Finally, he looks at how attention to the developmental level of children affected educational methods, beginning with catechisms but moving to the Dissenting academies. Throughout he argues for a close relationship between the needs of a religious minority and attitudes toward children, and he shows the tensions that ultimately developed as Puritans treated children like individuals—a treatment that could conflict with the requirements of the family or group.

This book brings together much important information regarding literature for and about children. Its weakness, however, is evident even in the title, and has to do with the conception of the word "Puritan." Although Sommerville initially defines Puritans as members of a religious movement that desired further reform of the Church of England, that definition does not really hold together through the book. He moves without comment between Puritans in the early seventeenth century and Dissenters after 1660—as if all who were Puritans became Dissenters, and as if there was no difference between a movement within an established church and a sect outside of it. For the early seventeenth century he wrongly contrasts "Puritans" and "Anglicans," ignoring not only his own definition, which places Puritans within the Church of England, but also the recent work of Patrick Collinson (*The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* [1982]), Nicholas Tyacke (*Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* [1987]), and Peter Lake (*Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* [1988]) on the extent to which Puritans were orthodox Anglicans. As a result, Sommerville asserts that it was not until the late seventeenth century that Anglicans were concerned with children (pp. 64, 89).

The difficulties with the definition of "Puritan" create other problems, focused on chronology. Sommerville writes as if "Puritan" means the same thing throughout the period, from the Presbyterian movement of the late sixteenth century to the Dissenting academies in the early eighteenth. In one paragraph, Sommerville moves from discussing concerns about catechizing in 1672, to actions by the Elizabethan Bishop of Norwich a century earlier (presumably a response to the later concerns?), to John Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* of 1689 (p. 145).

These conceptual problems are regrettable, because Sommerville has assembled an enormous amount of information on literature for and about children. It is evident that some people in seventeenth-century England did begin to think about childhood in new ways, and that many of these people were evangelical in their approach to religion. It would have been helpful if, instead of criticizing the work of Philippe Ariès, Sommerville had done more to explore why evangelical religious groups like Puritans and Jesuits were leaders in new approaches to childhood and education. Sommerville has outlined some important problems in the history of childhood; unfortunately, his book offers only a partial and unconvincing approach to their solution.

SUSAN DWYER AMUSSEN  
Union Institute Graduate School

WILLIAM WEBER. *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and*



*Ideology*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 274. \$65.00.

William Weber attempts to demonstrate that the origins of "the musical canon" are to be found in eighteenth-century England with the advocates of the so-called "Ancient Style," who kept in performance until the end of the century works "by Purcell, Corelli, the Elizabethan masters, and indeed a whole host of English and Italian composers." Weber examines the learned tradition of ancient music; Arcangelo Corelli and Henry Purcell as "modern classics"; the oratorio tradition in music festivals; the audience, repertory, and ideology of ancient music; and the Handel festival of 1784 as "political ritual." He argues that economic, social, and political circumstances contributed to the flourishing of older music in England.

Central to Weber's argument is the singularity of a sustained English interest in "ancient music." Yet one can find similar manifestations in other locations. In Berlin there was the Singakademie under Karl Friedrich Fasch, which performed J. S. Bach's choral music; Karl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) was performed there annually on Good Friday for more than a century. And what about the cadre of composers, including W. A. Mozart, who performed old music in the 1780s under the leadership of Baron Gottfried van Swieten in Vienna? Also in Vienna there was Joseph Sonnleithner's attempt to publish a historical anthology containing a substantial collection of Renaissance polyphony; there was the 1799 catalogue of the music dealer Traeg, which contained a staggering variety of works extending back to Orlande de Lassus and also included pieces by Jean-Henri d'Anglebert, J. S. Bach, J. J. Fux, and others from past generations; and there was the Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, which published (ca. 1800) works from mid-century by Leopold Gassmann, Matthias Georg Monn, and others. Does this not suggest a pan-European interest in old music at the end of the eighteenth century?

Weber never clearly defines what constitutes a canon. He writes that "it is unwise to think of the musical classics or the canon as a consistent or unchanging list of works." With a definition formulated in the negative, it is difficult to follow what seems to be the heart of his argument. And by confining his account strictly to ancient music, Weber never informs the reader that this was a minority taste; the so-called "scientific" or modern style constituted the dominant English preference.

This "ancient/scientific" dichotomy is exemplified by the music histories of John Hawkins and Charles Burney, published in the 1780s. Weber views both as advocates of the ancient music, thereby confusing Burney's historicism with his own modern advocacy. That Hawkins was a dyed-in-the-wool ancient cannot be doubted, for his history extols music of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, whereas Burney also enthusiastically admires the mu-

sic of his own time. To place both in the same camp stems from an attempt to find parallels between musical taste and politics, an attempt that further falters in an error-filled review of Burney's background.

Although there may be similarities between the practice of ancient music in England and today's canon, little of this ancient repertoire has survived the ravages of time. The origins of the canon are not to be found with the ancients but rather with the wide distribution of Joseph Haydn's music; his works were admired both in England and on the Continent beginning in the 1780s. When Haydn was in London, some of his newest symphonies were heard multiple times and remained in the repertoire after his departure. With E. T. A. Hoffmann's assessment of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as the "romantics," their status was confirmed. Although one can also make a strong case for Handel's inclusion in the canon, to say the same for Corelli and Purcell, the Elizabethan madrigalists, and the composers of Italian opera and cantatas is off the mark. In the case of Italian opera, it was not the music but their Metastasian librettos that achieved canonic status.

Serious writing about English interest in ancient music is certainly needed, and this book partially succeeds on that count. Less dependence on secondary works and a stronger control of musical history would have enhanced and perhaps even redirected the author's thesis.

A. PETER BROWN  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

ROY PORTER. *Doctor of Society: Thomas Beddoes and the Sick Trade in Late-Enlightenment England*. (Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine.) New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. x, 238. \$77.50.

Roy Porter offers an interpretation—not a biography—of the ideas and career of Thomas Beddoes (1760–1808), an English chemist, physician, and political radical. Beddoes maintained many familiar Enlightenment beliefs. He had great faith in science as the cure for social and physical ills, particularly emphasizing chemistry as both a master key to nature's puzzles and a subject with vivid and practical use. In the Locke-Hartley tradition Beddoes held that knowledge came through the senses and that therefore experience was crucial. That doctrine led Beddoes (as it led many others) to emphasize the importance of education; an educated people could stand as a free people, liberated from tyranny, superstition, and folly. Beddoes applied these commonplaces to medicine and medical education in ways reminiscent of other views, especially Parisian: medical education should be infused with more "science," "experiment," clinical, hospital, and anatomical "experience," and the collection and publication of "facts." The general



public could take a more active preventive role if it were instructed in the rudiments of anatomy and physiology.

To Porter, Beddoes's beliefs both encountered and illustrated some of the dilemmas to which such maxims led. A considerable gulf yawned between Enlightenment expectations of science and the realities of eighteenth-century medical achievement. Beddoes held the social system of his day responsible for the failure of the high hopes placed in medicine. Porter again emphasizes the entrepreneurial character of eighteenth-century English society, and he finds in Beddoes a kindred spirit. Medicine, according to Beddoes, had fallen into a perilous state because a web of lucre ensnared it. The demands of patients (especially the rich and famous) drove the competitive healing arts. Doctors toadied to such consumers, dancing constant attendance, overprescribing nostrums, urging the curative powers of spas and sea airs. Beddoes excoriated contemporary fashions of dress, diet, and treatment, all of which led to either frailty or excess. People should lead sensible and hardy lives, without being seduced by medical fads. But Beddoes's positive prescriptions masked internal conflict, in which Enlightenment faith in education and popular empowerment gave way to trust in scientific expertise. Beddoes had no time for beliefs that all could become their own physicians; rather, he envisioned a world in which physicians became wise and benevolent figures, removed from the corruptions of the marketplace. Ironically, Beddoes's enthusiasm for science and experiment offered trendy remedies, those which he hoped would come from the application of pneumatic chemistry to consumptive complaints. The same Enlightenment convictions about "environment" lay behind both the craze for spas (which Beddoes denounced) and the study and application of "factitious airs" (which he pursued).

Porter unravels these ironies with his accustomed skill, in a book which has an indulgent air despite its brevity. The book's substance might have been stated in an article. What gives the text some length, and more bite, are its frequent and rich quotations from Beddoes, an eminently quotable Enlightenment curmudgeon. For readers without easy access to Beddoes himself this book may be a convenient epitome of a late-eighteenth-century radical, increasingly bilious about the political and social reaction that overtook British life in the 1790s.

Porter, convinced of the power of the market in eighteenth-century England, rejects any Foucauldian notion of medicine emerging as an instrument of social control. England was clearly too entrepreneurial a society for such a gaze. Can more general European lessons be drawn from Beddoes? Porter allows that Beddoes may illustrate divisions between high and low cultures, although he insists that Beddoes's own dilemmas show those divisions as continuing tensions rather than as repelling poles.

The bibliography is full; the notes are abundant,

although specific page references to secondary works would render them more helpful. Occasional odd typography intrudes: on page 109, for instance, appear "pres-sure" and "exem-pleary." Porter's fluent style and his sympathy for his subject, however, make the book an attractive exploration of the interplay between high scientific expectations and complex social realities.

JO HAYS  
Loyola University  
Chicago, Illinois

LISA ROSNER. *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices, 1760–1826*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1991. Pp. 273. \$40.00.

Medical education in Scotland in the age of improvement was a booming business, measured against its English and Irish rivals. That is the story of the simple numbers of students. But the numbers were not simple, and the students were diverse in origin and destination. Lisa Rosner helps to clarify these elements with a close-up of the medical students who attended the University of Edinburgh between 1760 and 1826. She sets out to capture the view from the students' perspective, following these 17,000 young men into the lecture halls, through their examinations, and out into their professional careers. Her sources are the Edinburgh matriculation registers, lecture notes, letters, and diaries, plus a wide array of contemporary published sources.

The book is divided into two main sections, "students and their choices" and "students and their regulation." In the first, Rosner develops the interplay "between student demands and the interpretation of that demand" (p. 5) to offer a market model as a determinant of curriculum. She proceeds from an overview of the medical curriculum to a careful description of the different types of students and their medical society. While these are excellent descriptions, the sum of the chapters does not make the case for the market model. The medical faculty, after all, presumably wrote and presented their lectures with other factors in mind. Some lectures were more popular, some less. That was a reflection of the "market," but not of its influence on the curriculum.

The aspiring student would register at matriculation and purchase a ticket for the lectures he chose to attend; on presenting this ticket, he was admitted to lectures. He had some help, from mentors, relatives, or J. Johnson's *Guide for Gentlemen Studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh* (1792). In all likelihood, these sources and his peers were powerful determinants of choice. We have a thorough analysis of the lectures offered and the numbers of students attending them. These may add up to a market survey, but they cannot prove the influence of the numbers.

Rosner's work is most effective in portraying the varied types of students, (gentleman physicians and apprentices and occasional auditors). We meet them in lectures, we see them hiring "grinders" to coach them in Latin, we go through the examinations that were only taken by some 20 percent. The largest group, the auditors, were those who, after a year of anatomy, chemistry, and medical practice lectures, went back to the colonies or their British hometowns or on to subordinate posts in the military medical services.

The second part of the book looks at the changing nature of medical education in the early nineteenth century. The rising status of surgeons was marked by a successful effort to add a professor and a course requirement to the university curriculum. This was followed by the "licentiate," awarded from 1816. Was this a market-driven reform? We are apt to conclude that it was, but that the marketers were not students but the practicing surgeons who headed the Royal College, which had been granting degrees since the 1770s. Their ambition could be readily inferred from the fact that their students could not obtain military posts without a London examination until 1813.

The quality of Scottish degrees was a growing concern and part of the reason for the creation of the Royal Commission on Scottish Universities in 1826. Rosner's account of the origin of the inquiry is brief and its connection to the legal struggle between the town council and the faculty could be expanded (the case in the Court of Session could also be cited: 4 Faculty Collection 333). Rosner uses the commissioners' four volumes of evidence and their report and recommendations extensively. She seems to be eager for us to see the commission as the end of the era of student choice and the beginning of government interference, high-level curriculum debate, and reform of the medical program. Yet the inquiry displayed the classic symptom of royal commissions: its recommendations "did not take effect" (p. 196).

Rosner's account of the life and times of medical students in Edinburgh is a good addition to our understanding of the academic world in the age of improvement and a useful corrective to the study of professors. It draws our attention to the wide variety of student careers and shows the ambiguous nature of the "improvement" devised by the commission on Scottish universities.

RICHARD S. TOMPSON  
*University of Utah*

S. M. WADDAMS. *Law, Politics and the Church of England: The Career of Stephen Lushington, 1782-1873*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxii, 370. \$64.95.

Stephen Lushington, member of Parliament and judge in several jurisdictions, was an individual whose

contemporary fame has not endured. S. M. Waddams has wisely chosen not to make insupportable claims for importance on behalf of his subject. As a result of this judicious decision, he presents a balanced account of Lushington, whose political and legal career has never earned widespread attention. This account will certainly interest those specialists whose fields Lushington's work touched. Within these boundaries the volume succeeds admirably.

A member of Parliament in three different periods, Lushington spent nearly twenty years in the House of Commons before his judicial career took precedence. As a politician Lushington stood squarely in the Whig tradition, and the great objects of his reform efforts were slavery and the slave trade. To the cause of abolition Lushington devoted much time, and he was in the House of Commons in the triumphant years of 1807 and 1833. Not among the leadership of abolitionism, Lushington has nevertheless held an honored place among those who worked steadfastly for abolition.

Lushington's legal career spanned most of the nineteenth century. His practice as an advocate of substantial skills began when he acted on behalf of Lady Byron and then in the more celebrated case of Queen Caroline. Lushington served his clients well, although he could not claim complete victory in either affair. The details of these famous incidents are presented in straightforward fashion and offer illuminating legal points too often overlooked in the lurid aspects that have dominated later discussions.

It was on the bench, however, that Lushington achieved his greatest fame, for he served in the Admiralty Court and as a member of the judicial committee of the Privy Council from 1838 to 1867, in the consistory court for the diocese of London from 1828 to 1858, and as chief judge of the Court of Arches, the chief appeals court for the province of Canterbury. In each jurisdiction Waddams emphasizes the confidence and persuasiveness that characterized Lushington's judgments. Lushington rarely attempted to break new ground in his decisions and has not attracted the attention of historians. By contemporary standards of judicial evaluation, however, Lushington did earn the respect of his colleagues.

Scholars interested in the history of Victorian religious controversies will, I believe, find the account of Lushington's involvement in such disputes as the *Essays and Reviews* litigation especially rewarding. Theological issues are covered in detail, and their legal implications specified clearly. In particular cases the author evaluates Lushington's judgment and the reasoning by which he came to his conclusion. Written for those unfamiliar with the law, this solid work makes a model monograph. Readers may rely with confidence on its conclusions.

RICHARD A. COSGROVE  
*University of Arizona*

DAVID F. MITCH. *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 340.

This is a much-needed major study of the ways in which the private sector interacted with public policy to affect rising literacy rates in Victorian England. The amount of data David F. Mitch assembles is massive and treated in a methodologically sophisticated although sometimes cumbersome manner for the uninitiated in social science methods. Still, the author moves along the scale of micro/macro analysis with ease. In short, he gives a face to the hard data of economics.

Much of Mitch's work is a cost-benefit analysis organized around several themes that can be thought of as dichotomous variables for purposes of analyzing rising literacy rates. The themes include public policy versus private choice, centralized versus decentralized sources of influence and power, market factors versus institutional hegemony, choice versus compulsion, and public interest versus private interest. In fact, the interactive effects of these variables are considerable, and Mitch repeatedly clarifies his position that each of these seemingly dichotomous components shapes the other. Those looking for simple causal connections in this work will not find them.

Within these broader themes, the author explores several crucial questions, including, but not limited to, the intergenerational effects of literacy, the effects of literacy on upward occupational mobility, and the effects of compulsory school attendance on literacy rates.

Mitch's findings on occupational mobility, for example, are a sobering reminder that the link between occupational mobility and literacy is tenuous. The range of impact was selective and limited in degree, the former depending on job requirements and gender. Increased status itself may have been a motivating factor for those of humble origins, but Mitch does not explore fully enough the effects of emulation to make such a determination.

The author's analysis of local versus central (national) control of educational opportunity is especially interesting because of the light it sheds on current educational reform both in England and the United States. Although the tension between local and central initiatives for public schools was persistent, central direction seemed to focus on areas in which local initiative was already underway. Perhaps this was a calculated risk born of the belief that investment in receptive localities would pay off more handsomely than in areas that showed little activity in school initiatives. Central initiatives, however, did seem to play a compensatory role in redressing inequalities of investment at the local level.

Compulsory schooling, of course, was an extension of centrally directed public school policy. Mitch finds that compulsion was an effective force in reducing

illiteracy in countries where "illiteracy was relatively high" (p. 190). Overall, however, local support, the degree to which parents valued education, and the perceived degree of "benefits" derived from education defined the limits of compulsion. Just how the valuing of education arose is not clear. Perhaps it had more to do with the socialization effects of schooling rather than with the academic effects.

On balance, this book is sensitive in presentation and reflective in its conclusions. It deserves serious reading by those who study the history of literacy and by those who wish to learn the lessons of history as applied to current educational reform.

EDWARD STEVENS, JR.  
Ohio University  
Athens, Ohio

ANDREW DAVIES. *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939*. (Themes in the Twentieth Century.) Philadelphia: Open University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 210. \$34.00.

Although one of the new territories opened up by social historians, the history of leisure has remained mostly two-dimensional. Chronologically, leisure has been tracked as a relatively discrete sector bearing the increasing imprint of modernity in its technology and commodification; structurally, it is held to be determined by the impositions of moral and commercial entrepreneurs on a variously resistant or pliable popular culture. The actual experience of leisure has been but patchily recovered.

In this cogent and stimulating return to the "classic slum" of Salford and Manchester, Andrew Davies accesses this experience through oral history while exploiting hard data to provide a more specific context within which to read it. Oral sources are particularly effective in reconstructing the elusive elements of women's recreations, and Davies concludes that the sexual division of leisure in the working class was a more distinctive differential than occupation and the conventional matching of male skills with the social grades of "rough" versus "respectable." The context of persistent poverty suggests a more extensive dark figure of working people locked out of the burgeoning world of commercial leisure and obliged to pursue older, informal pleasures within the neighborhood community: drinking, "talk," lounging, promenading, and the free theater of Saturday night markets. Thus, continuities seem more pronounced than change, while Davies argues that whatever its limitations, working-class leisure was remarkably diversified, manifesting significant local differences in a region usually represented as culturally homogeneous within the larger uniformity of Eric Hobsbawm's "traditional," massified working class. There is a splendidly graphic account of illicit gambling; the mix of conflict and collusion with the police which gave it extra drama shows too how

ineffectual state and reform pressures could be in policing popular pleasures, a further reservation that Davies registers against established readings.

With relatively more time and money to spare, it was young earners who enjoyed the greatest leisure, although their principal amenity remained the street and women were more constrained by parents and respectability. Even so, by the 1920s the traditional Friday night, with its ritual scouring of the frontstep, was yielding to "Amami night" and ritual shampooing in preparation for the glamorous excitements of the cinema. If this was the most compelling new commercial resort for workers, they were nonetheless alert to its illusions; for many too poor or unemployed, the only spectacle in their leisure apartheid was the aching voyeurism of watching others go off to play.

Although some of Davies's revisionist emphases are foreshadowed elsewhere, this is scholarship of considerable significance. The shifting configurations of relative deprivation patterning these workers' lives need reconstructing on a broader scale in time, place, and social sample if we are to understand the emotional economy of leisure and society in modern Britain. Davies suggestively, and often movingly, shows the way.

PETER BAILEY  
*University of Manitoba*

ERIK GOLDSTEIN. *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916–1920*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 307. \$69.00.

Erik Goldstein contends that the British government "won" the peace that followed World War I in the sense that it secured its principal national and imperial goals on terms that marked the transition from expansion to consolidation as the lodestar of policy. He further contends that it did so in substantial measure because it enjoyed comparative advantages as a negotiator resulting from the intensive wartime preparations undertaken by various offices and ad hoc committees working within the great departments of state. Measured by the possession of detailed, relevant information organized to serve large political and strategic objectives, no other government participating in the postwar settlement, not even the American one with its famous Inquiry, came close. Accounting for the creation and staffing of these supremely useful bureaucratic mechanisms occupies about half of Goldstein's text, with the remainder being given over to showing how this machinery and its agents actually functioned at Paris during the period of active peacemaking. The net effect is that of bringing out fresh highlights in an existing tapestry without much altering its familiar features and overall design.

Although the preparations for securing Great Britain's postwar aims were unquestionably the work of

many hands, in Goldstein's rendition the principal progenitors of what became the centrally important Political Intelligence Department (PID) were Leopold Amery, the champion par excellence of imperial interests, and Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, whose minions (Eyre A. D. W. Crowe, Allen Leeper and Rex Leeper, Harold Nicolson, Lewis B. Namier, Arnold J. Toynbee, and others) combined some of the realism of Europe-centered balance-of-power politics with the tempered idealism of the "New Europe" movement. Tracing the wartime emergence of the PID and collateral bodies along with the production of the deservedly famous Peace Handbooks gives Goldstein the opportunity to assess the work of the academicians who brought their learning (and their political preferences) to the service of the state in a setting characterized by chronic tension between the Foreign Office professionals and David Lloyd George's prime ministerial entourage. Not surprisingly, he tends to sympathize with the claims of expertise as against the claims of expediency, although he does credit the prime minister for occasional showings of good sense, as when he accepted, via Jan Smuts, the Foreign Office position on a number of key issues, and when he sought to attenuate the hopelessly ambitious initial reparations claims (for whose formulation, incidentally, the PID had no responsibility). In the course of documenting the partial review of Foreign Office influence under Charles Hardinge, therefore, Goldstein makes Lloyd George out to have been less mercurially political than some accounts would have him.

The national and imperial goals that Great Britain "won" in 1919–20 turned out to be remarkably problematic and perishable. Even so, one may argue that most of what the British government pursued and achieved during the peace process made better sense, not just for Britain, than the credible alternatives then in the field; that British leaders really did have a strategy, flexible but principled, for making the transition from expansion to consolidation; and that much of the intellectual content of that strategy is directly traceable to the dramatic personae of Goldstein's informative book.

D. N. LAMMERS  
*Michigan State University*

EDMUND S. K. FUNG. *The Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat: Britain's South China Policy, 1924–1931*. (East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 311. \$53.00.

Free from emotional slogans and Chinese anti-imperialist rhetoric, Edmund S. K. Fung's study is even-handed, objective, and fair. It contributes extensively to the delineation of the varied British diplomatic responses in London and various Chinese Treaty Ports to conflict with Chinese nationalism. That nationalism was first manifested in the Guomindang



Party's anti-British boycott at Canton and Hong Kong in 1925–26, and next when the Northern Expedition threatened British Shanghai. This anti-British fire cooled by mid-1931 at the new Chinese capital.

Materials from the London Foreign Office, published documents, and the Hong Kong Governor's correspondence expose in depth the Anglo-Chinese exchange over the anti-British Canton/Hong Kong strike. Readers will be pleased to find that, despite the book's narrow title, Fung includes an account of Britain's primary focus of investments in Shanghai's International Settlement and Central China. Those intrigued by Britain's "China hands" and their Foreign Office superiors in London can weigh the opinions of numerous "experts" on the China problem. Fung also tantalizes specialists with nuggets extracted from the papers of the Swire Taipans available in London. In the section entitled "The Attitudes of the Business Communities" at Hong Kong and Shanghai, however, omission of sources like the *South China Morning Post* and Shanghai's *British Chamber of Commerce Journal* is questionable.

Coverage of the Chinese side of the bilateral equation is relatively thin. Chinese diplomacy is examined more through published documents than through primary sources from the Chinese Foreign Ministry archives in Nanking and Taipei, access to which is challenging even for Chinese scholars. For background for the key Chinese diplomat C. T. Wang, for example, the author relies on a biographical dictionary. The important contemporary Chinese term "revolutionary diplomacy" can be found in a footnote but not in the index. Similarly, for some key points about China's national revolution from 1925–28, Fung relies on only Harold Isaacs's *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (1966), generally unreliable as a history. An example is the timeworn depiction of Communist Party workers valiantly liberating Shanghai from the warlords only to lose their city to an unscrupulous Chiang Kai-shek.

While the survey of theories on imperialism enriches the introduction to the study, students of China's experience with imperialism in the 1920s and 1930s will miss reference to Peter Duus, Ramon Myers, and Mark Peattie's landmark *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (1989). I hope that Fung at some point will expand on his treatment of the rivalry between Japan and Britain over the Chinese market. The action of British imperialists in China, who had tired of leading the pack that exploited the Chinese economy, should be compared with their Japanese disciples, who were pulling ahead. The anti-British boycott and strike of 1925–26 was followed by the Guomindang with larger scale boycotts in 1928 and 1931 against rising Japanese economic imperialism. British traders profited during the latter boycotts.

Fung's focus on British sources omits important considerations of the Guomindang within its Revolu-

tionary Base at Canton. More attention to problems facing China would feature the massive Tsinan Incident (called "Tientsin" on p. 167). It was to a great extent this Japanese shedding of Chinese blood in 1928 that persuaded the nationalists that British imperialism was less of a threat than the Japanese variety.

Fung has carefully presented a bilateral equation. In ending his narrative with warming Anglo-Chinese relations in mid-1931, however, he can only hint that the Chinese were about to play the British card against Japan.

DONALD A. JORDAN  
Ohio University  
Athens, Ohio

ROBERT DARTON. *Gens de lettres, gens du livre*. Paris: Odile Jacob. 1992. Pp. 302. 140 fr.

In this interesting set of essays, Robert Darnton revisits and expands on his challenging views of the Enlightenment. Traditionally, scholars envisioned the movement as a fairly coherent set of ideas—progress, liberty, empiricism—widely but most obviously espoused by the greats of the age, such as Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This volume continues Darnton's career as a major contributor to the debate regarding these older interpretations.

The first half of the collection addresses the intellectuals who made the Enlightenment. All of Darnton's subjects surely drank deep from the cup of Enlightenment, but his work here (as elsewhere) examines lives which persistently spill over any clearly demarcated boundaries. Although historians have seldom discussed the important André Morellet, he provides the focus for two of this book's chapters, one on his activities before 1789 and one on his career during the revolution. Darnton describes the variety of Morellet's *ancien-régime* activities, contrasting his memoirs, which possess a clarity of understanding, with his correspondence, which reveals all the corners he was forced to cut and the somewhat contradictory positions he held. Through this vision of Morellet's life, Darnton again advances his view that the bold front put forward by the Enlightenment coexisted with more complex, less elevated maneuvering.

Yet the first half of this volume not only tends to elaborate Darnton's vision in profitable veins he has previously mined but also in new, although connected areas. His second essay on Morellet's revolutionary career propels Darnton onto new turf. Working in his customary style of exploring the intricacies of a life, he charts the problems Morellet encountered with revolutionary authorities who cared little about his past contributions and instead indicted his lack of enthusiasm for the radical turn of events. While the implications here remain rich, perhaps the most interesting aspect is the problematic relationship be-



tween the Enlightenment and the revolution. Explored also in a second essay, "La littérature et révolution," this sense of conflict leads Darnton to dispute the efforts of other historians—especially François Furet (*Interpreting the French Revolution* [1981])—to treat the revolution as an extension of eighteenth-century intellectual ferment. Nonetheless, some scholars may believe Furet's vision complex enough that the difference between the two historians may be less than asserted.

Other essays in the first section of the book, though concerning only the *ancien régime*, allow Darnton to go beyond the usual contours of the picture he and others have limned of the ideological turbulence of prerevolutionary decades. Perhaps the most interesting insight is the volatile admixture of radicals like Jacques Brissot de Warville and Marquis de Mirabeau to a pamphlet war about the stock exchange. Sarah Maza ("Le Tribunal de la Nation: Les mémoires judiciaires et l'opinion publique à la fin de l'ancien régime," *Annales* 42 [1987], 73–90) has revealed the way that court cases provided a vehicle for political discussion, and Darnton gives us a parallel in the Bourse.

The second half of the book continues and elaborates another of Darnton's preoccupations. He has long worried that the grand texts of the Enlightenment may have appeared differently to contemporaries than to historians. This interest has led him into two rather separate areas: the study of reading and of publishing. Examining reading habits, of course, provides direct evidence about his concerns. In the case of publishing, he has maintained that the way these entrepreneurs, with their sensitivity to the market, treated a work can provide important clues about the public's reception of a volume. But once embarked on such research, he has also been willing to investigate publishing for its own sake. In the five essays on these subjects in this volume, Darnton provides both generalized approaches as well as case studies on the *Encyclopédie* and P. H. d'Holbach's most radical explanation of his materialist beliefs. These particular studies focus on the difficult capitalistic struggle of publishers. The other more general essays may, indeed, point the way in various directions for new empirical investigations and revisions of current understandings. Taken together, these five articles do not focus on a single subject but instead show coherence as a diverse series of flashes along paths Darnton has previously blazed and even into nearby uncharted territory.

JACK R. CENSER  
George Mason University

THOMAS MCSTAY ADAMS. *Bureaucrats and Beggars: French Social Policy in the Age of the Enlightenment*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990. Pp. x, 384. \$45.00.

The last twenty years have given us a number of important works on the poor of the Old Regime and on contemporary responses to them, both public and private. To the books by Jeffrey Kaplow, Jean-Pierre Gutton, Olwen Hufton, Cissie Fairchild, Colin Jones, Kathryn Norberg, and Robert Schwartz we can now add Thomas McStay Adams's study of the *dépôts de mendicité*, the French monarchy's last major effort to clear the realm of the beggars against whom it had been legislating since at least the sixteenth century.

Generally regarded as failures by contemporaries and historians alike (Schwartz would be an exception among historians), the *dépôts* were nonetheless important, Adams believes, because they provided what he calls "a matrix of experience" (p. vii) that shaped eighteenth-century debate on the problem of mendicity, a debate Adams sees as integral to the Enlightenment's ambition to create a science of society. Many of those who administered the *dépôts* and many who observed them found in these institutions, Adams argues, a source of data that provided grounds for social critique, for arguing that begging and other forms of delinquency had their origin primarily in failures of social organization rather than in the corruption of individual character. Adams also believes that the *dépôts* served as laboratories within which new standards of communal health and hygiene could be elaborated, as well as testing grounds for observing and refining efforts at rehabilitation.

Given this view of the *dépôts'* significance, it is not surprising that reflective bureaucrats figure more prominently in Adams's study than beggars. After an initial chapter devoted to those whom the *dépôts* transformed into "inmates," Adams moves on to the origins of the policy that produced this confinement, promising "to connect the experience of the incarcerated with policy debates about them" (p. 5); but in what follows, there is less such connection than one might wish. For the most part, as I have said, we spend the remainder of the book in the company of thoughtful administrators and their critics. At the core of Adams's account are the ruminations and administrative acts of five individuals: Jean-François Joly de Fleury, ultimately controller-general, but here the author of many of the ideas that produced the *dépôts*; Louis-Bégnigne Bertier de Sauvigny, intendant of Paris and, for most of the period after the *dépôts* were created in 1768, the administrator principally responsible for them; Anne Robert Turgot, the well-known controller-general; Étienne Charles Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse and chair of Turgot's commission on mendicity, like Turgot a critic of the *dépôts*; and, finally, Charles Antoine Leclerc de Montlinot, inspector of the *dépôt* at Soisson, later advisor to the Comité de Mendicité of the Constituent Assembly and radical critic of both Turgot and Bertier.

If these figures are central to his story, Adams has shaped his account only after extensive work in a

number of departmental archives, as well as the libraries and archives of Paris. More generous in his assessment of the *dépôts* and their impact on the poor than, say, Jones or Hufton, Adams has given us a mature and dense book, the distillation of years of labor and reflection. It furnishes the most extensive account yet of the inception of the *dépôts*, a new tale of the disingenuous process by which the government prevailed on the *parlements* to accept them, and a pertinent reminder of how a concern with begging (sadly evident in our own midst) can oblige individuals to confront the larger issue of poverty and, ultimately, fundamental questions about current forms of social organization and human behavior.

ALAN WILLIAMS  
Wake Forest University

GEOFFREY ADAMS. *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685–1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration*. (Editions SR, number 12.) Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion. 1991. Pp. xiv, 335. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$28.50.

Geoffrey Adams analyzes changes in French intellectual attitudes and the concurrent rise of support for toleration. His study is a traditional intellectual history interspersed with accounts of shifts in government policy toward the Huguenots. Thus, there is nothing here on local attitudes toward Huguenots, reflected in familial relations, neighborliness, and litigation, that might give a very different picture of Huguenot-Catholic relations than we gather from literary works, statutes, and controversial literature. One problem is Adams's tendency to confuse the political fortunes of the Huguenots with the opinions of the leading philosophers, administrators, and others involved with the struggle for toleration. While his retelling of the history of the Huguenots from 1685 to 1787 adds nothing new, his crisp summary of the views of luminaries toward the Huguenots is a convenient reference.

The book is divided into three parts. Adams begins with the Revocation, various intellectuals' reaction to it, and the relationship among government, Huguenots, and the Catholic hierarchy through the end of the reign of Louis XIV. Only a few muted voices—Fontenelle, Vauban, d'Aguesseau—opposed the Sun King's edict.

The second section narrates the choppy movement toward toleration before 1760. Voltaire initially ignored the plight of the Huguenots and even in the 1750s proved unsympathetic, asserting—correctly—that the Huguenots had historically been subversive and fanatical. Montesquieu as well linked Protestantism to republicanism. As that link had been foremost in the minds of those responsible for the Revocation, it was clear that eighteenth-century Huguenots paid

dearly for the rebellions of their sixteenth and early seventeenth-century French coreligionists. Even the Encyclopedists concentrated on attacking Christianity, not simply Catholicism, and toleration of the Huguenots proved a secondary consideration to the war on Christianity.

In the third part, "The Revocation Undone," Adams addresses the triumph of toleration. It was the rush of events in the 1760s, not a gradual and whiggish realization, that convinced intellectuals of the pressing necessity of toleration. Not surprisingly, Adams sees the Calas affair as a watershed that helped to replace the stereotype of Huguenots as troublemakers with a new image of Huguenot sufferings directly tied to the deprivation of civil and religious liberties. It transformed Voltaire into an ardent champion of Huguenot rights, although Rousseau remained rather indifferent to Huguenot suffering. Gradually, Catholics began to view French Calvinists as industrious subjects, contributing to the state's prosperity.

Adams sees a small group of Jansenists in the *Parlement* of Paris as instrumental in the push for Huguenot rights. Some government ministers, too—Maurepas, Turgot, Malesherbes—tried to alleviate the status of the Huguenots, but in this as in so much else Louis XVI wavered, fearful of the Catholic clergy. Only in the 1780s, when Huguenot wishes became caught up in the crisis affecting the French state, could the Revocation be undone. Government policy did not change because a majority of French people suddenly saw the virtues of toleration; rather, the wish to give asylum to Protestant Dutch allies fleeing from the turmoil in the Netherlands made it necessary to repeal the Revocation. The liberal government headed by Loménie de Brienne imposed the edict of 1787; this was characteristic of the history of toleration, which usually proceeded from the top down, not from the masses up. And whereas the Revocation had met with the near unanimous approval of French Catholics, the edict of toleration did not. Adams emphasizes that the edict was a compromise measure, affecting only Huguenots, not all non-Catholics, and even Huguenots were not granted rights equal to Catholics.

One can only conclude that the Old Regime was incapable of implementing an Enlightenment reform fully. While some ministers and some segments of French opinion—Adams does not explore the extent of support for the edict of 1787—undoubtedly favored complete toleration, vested interests, most significantly the Catholic hierarchy and the *Parlement*, cropped up to resist, a veritable Greek chorus that appeared at every instance during the Old Regime when the crown suggested serious reform. Only the French Revolution, brushing aside those vested interests, could proclaim broader toleration.

RICHARD M. GOLDEN  
Clemson University

JEAN-LAURENT ROSENTHAL. *The Fruits of Revolution: Property Rights, Litigation, and French Agriculture, 1700–1860*. (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 216. \$54.95.

This book is the eleventh in the series "The Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions," edited by James E. Alt and Douglass C. North. As is expected of an economist, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal poses his questions explicitly at the outset (p. i): "To what extent did institutions hold back agricultural development under the Old Regime, and did reforms carried out by the French Revolution significantly improve the structure of property rights in agriculture?" Rosenthal then proceeds to apply an economist's tool kit, making explicit a series of assumptions about human behavior, including profit maximization, possible strategies for economic growth, charting quantitative measures (such as estimated rates of return) where possible, and testing a number of theoretical models, the most important being the game-theoretical treatment of settlement and litigation developed in the literature of law and economics (p. 155).

Historians of less theoretical bent will be heartened by Rosenthal's application of his hypotheses and models to a specific aspect of French agricultural development—water control through draining and irrigation—and to two regional case studies. He has chosen the Pays d'Auge (Bayeux-Caen-Lisieux) in lower Normandy and the Durance Valley in Provence, relying not only on the rich monographic literature in French agricultural history but also on his own archival research in Paris, Caen, Avignon, and Aix-en-Provence. Limiting the topical and spacial scope of his inquiry in this manner, Rosenthal is able to extend his temporal scope from the seventeenth century to about 1860. He convincingly demonstrates that very little water control was achieved before 1789 and that it was only after 1815 that we can detect an acceleration in drainage and irrigation projects in these regions which he argues are representative of France as a whole. Rosenthal's main conclusion, however, is that the French Revolution and Napoleonic France provided a new framework of proprietary law as well as the removal of traditional local jurisdictions (from *parlements* to village communities), both reforms indispensable to future agricultural development.

Social historians might crave more attention to the local tensions and hostilities in the Old Regime that surely conditioned village attitudes toward drainage entrepreneurs and economic development generally. Rosenthal is less concerned with the more elusive cultural determinants of economic growth or with the social price paid with the atrophy of the village community after 1800. His focus is on institutional and especially legal obstacles to water control projects, which he concludes could only be removed

by a new conception of property and contract law. Above all, after 1800 a new centralized government (represented by the prefect and engineer of the Ponts et Chaussées) placed the burden of proof in the case of marsh drainage against the villages instead of against the former seigneurs or the larger landlords. Effective village opposition was ended. In our time, when the value of economic growth has become almost sacrosanct, we sometimes forget the virtues Marc Bloch and Georges Lefebvre ascribed to the vitality of village communities, even though the peasantry often regarded outside entrepreneurs and drainage projectors as feudal seigneurs in a new guise.

ROBERT FORSTER  
Johns Hopkins University

MALCOLM CROOK. *Toulon in War and Revolution: From the ancien régime to the Restoration, 1750–1820*. (War, Armed Forces and Society.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. x, 270. \$59.95.

Toulon was the arsenal and home base of the French war fleet in the Mediterranean during the French Revolution. Malcolm Crook is familiar with the literature on the town's strategic role but has chosen not to add to it. He notes that 3,000 persons, more than half of the adult male working population, were directly employed by the naval authorities. He also maintains that "The Arsenal was an alien imposition grafted on, rather than absorbed into, the urban community" (p. 24). He has a succinct thirty-page chapter on the famous revolt of 1793, but the emphasis in his book falls on how the town was affected by social and political change over seventy years.

Crook narrates the main shifts of municipal history over time, interspersing this chronology with discussions of the changing socio-professional composition of various institutions and groups in Toulon, like the National Guard and the freemasons. He thus fits into a tradition of monographs that are informative about particular towns, but he is reticent about drawing comparisons with the experience of other centers on the littoral of the Midi. Nearby Marseilles suffered substantial damage to its trade as a result of the revolution and was largely royalist in its sympathies; Toulon by contrast lived off government contracts and was enthusiastically Bonapartist. That point is briefly made by Crook, but he does not consider how revolution and empire affected a whole network of Provençal urban centers.

Throughout the book, Crook insists that the port's political responses derived from previous tensions and rivalries within a strictly local context. The rise to power of the Jacobins in Toulon was opposed by the local elite. The struggle brought about the handing over of the arsenal to the British in 1793. This was not, however, a reactionary counterrevolution that called for a return to the Old Regime. When the

federalists reproclaimed the monarchy in Toulon, it was for a king who had accepted the constitution of 1791. The majority of the local clergy had assented to the constitution and seem to have been inconsequential in agitation against Paris. After the bloody reestablishment of republican authority, in which the young Napoleon Bonaparte shone, the former Jacobins again exercised local authority, and indeed held on to it long after their ilk lost their place in Paris.

Reconstruction after the expulsion of the British saw the arrival of many outsider artisans to work at the arsenal, and they remained numerous under the empire. These newcomers were outside the traditional political culture of the city. Crook concludes that under the Restoration Toulon's population decreased, together with the percentage of outsiders, so that by 1821 the result was an almost negligible increase in population from that of 1791. He is keen to show the advent of the lower classes to positions of influence. In the text Crook often mentions nobles (9 percent of Toulonnais household heads in 1765), but they do not figure as a category in any of the socio-professional tables. Marc-Antoine Granet, a commoner and former *subdélégué* deputy and *rentier*, was the only Toulonnais listed among the twelve most highly taxed individuals from the Var department in 1803–04. By 1819 there were no nobles on the electoral registers, and Crook makes the point that "The promotion of merchants in the social hierarchy at Toulon was a major, lasting feature of the period between 1750 and 1820" (p. 238).

Crook's inert presentation of his investigations suffers by comparison with the sensitive and detailed work by Maurice Agulhon on Toulon from 1815 to 1851. The book incorporates much painstaking research, particularly in the archives at Toulon and those of the department of the Var, and good use was made of the French national archives. This has yielded a harvest of concise information about the site of what was the single most alarming rebellion in southern France against the security of the republic during the revolution. Perhaps the most rewarding theme that emerges for consideration elsewhere is the *de facto* universal male suffrage of the revolutionary elections in Toulon, but Crook also shows the low percentages of those who bothered, or dared, to avail themselves of the vote.

DAVID HIGGS  
University of Toronto

HARVEY CHISICK. *The Production, Distribution and Readership of a Conservative Journal of the Early French Revolution: The Ami du Roi of the Abbé Royou*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 198.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1992. Pp. xiii, 262. \$30.00.

In view of the importance recent historians of the French Revolution have assigned to the phenomenon

of public opinion, the interest of the few surviving newspaper subscription lists from the period is obvious: they hold the promise of insights comparable to those derived nowadays from polling data. Other historians have used such materials, but Harvey Chisick is the first to devote an entire book to their analysis. His study is based on the records of a well-known counterrevolutionary newspaper, the *Ami du Roi*, which include the largest known list of individual subscribers from the period. The book falls into two largely unconnected halves. Chisick first uses the paper's business records to document a conclusion already reached by other scholars in the past few decades: revolutionary newspapers were highly profitable. The most original discovery here is that this particular enterprise derived even larger profits from publishing one-shot pamphlets, particularly editions of the papal briefs condemning the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Chisick thus argues for a reevaluation of the assumption that the revolution saw a move from a political culture based on pamphlets to one structured by periodical newspapers. His evidence is suggestive but still does not explain why contemporary politicians and police were more preoccupied with newspapers than pamphlets.

The second half of the book analyzes the social and occupational composition of the *Ami du Roi's* readership. Chisick's discussion makes clear the technical difficulties that often make such documents less revealing than one might assume. Thus, the geographic distribution of the paper's readership is hard to compare with other evidence about the localization of opinion because the records are organized by postal route, not by department or locality. Chisick finds that nobility and clergy made up a disproportionate share of this counterrevolutionary paper's audience, although unidentified or Third-Estate readers were still the majority. He shows that the *Ami du Roi's* readership more closely resembled the subscribers to prerevolutionary literary journals than the audience of newspapers of all political persuasions later in the revolution, and, on this basis, he argues that there was more continuity between the Enlightenment and the counterrevolution than has usually been acknowledged.

Chisick's analysis therefore suggests some interesting conclusions, but the narrow scope of his book leaves one uncertain about their validity. He ignores the content of the *Ami du Roi*, referring readers to recent studies of the counterrevolutionary press by Jean-Paul Bertaud and William Murray, studies which hardly bear out his claim that the paper represented a moderate right-wing position. The book appears to have been finished too early to take advantage of the outpouring of scholarship on the revolutionary press inspired by the bicentennial: the fundamental work of Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat, *Naissance du journal révolutionnaire* (1989), does not figure in the bibliography. Readers may wonder why Chisick chose to restrict himself to an extended



discussion of a single set of documents instead of pursuing the interesting themes he raises in a wider context.

JEREMY D. POPKIN  
University of Kentucky

LYNN HUNT. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. (Centennial Books.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 213. \$20.00.

Sigmund Freud defined "family romance" as the attempts of children, especially boys, to escape from parental dominance by imagining that they were in fact the children of parents more important or more glamorous. But Lynn Hunt's book is not in fact about the "family romances" of the men of the French Revolution. Having extracted a fashionable spin from the Freudian derivation of her title, Hunt quickly replaces it with the avowed aim of describing "the collective, unconscious images of the familial order that underlie revolutionary politics" (p. xiii). She then realigns her account away from Freud, and toward Frederic Jameson's "political unconscious," afterward moving outward again toward René Girard's accounts of violence and sacrifice, and then onward to literary theoreticians of quest and romance, and political theorists such as Carole Pateman. Later still—surprisingly, given her rapid distancing from the real meaning of the "family romance" of the title—she proceeds to apply to the revolution the account in *Totem and Taboo* of the original political act, the uprising of the brothers against the father, their ingestion of his body in an act of cannibal sacrifice, and their subsequent grappling with the questions of their relations with each other, their sisters, and their mother.

This is a heavy weight of theory for such a short volume to bear, all the more so since Hunt herself often seems uncertain as to her own relationship with this *bricolage* of Freud, Jameson, Girard, and others. Constructs such as "family romance" or "political unconscious" are picked up, only to be immediately dropped in the case of the former (pp. xiii, xiv), or contradicted in the case of the latter (compare statements on p. 8 with the note on p. xiv). Nor is it clear that the theory does much actual work for Hunt's account; it adds little to such admittedly important yet hardly original observations that, for example, the revolutionaries' version of the future veered unstably between a polity defined as the "General Will" and a polity defined as a group of autonomous individuals; or that the position of women in the new order acted as a major test of the nature of revolutionary "democracy" and its Enlightenment-inspired universalism. We should not in fact need the combined perspectives of so many theorists to tell us that the revolution involved a redefinition of power and its reapportioning, and that this redefinition and reapportioning affected revolutionary culture and reshaped relations

between men and women as well as between family members. Given the magnitude of the changes set in motion in 1789, it would only have been surprising had these things not been so.

In spite of all the theoretical top dressing, the main movement of the book proceeds very largely as a summary of familiar theses in Hunt's work, or as a summary of the work by others such as art historian Carole Duncan or literary historian Malcolm Cook. The politico-pornographic attacks on Marie Antoinette are again rehearsed, as are the writings of the Marquis de Sade, which appear as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the political and social cruxes faced by the revolutionary band of brothers. Hunt traces developments in family and inheritance law up to the empire, again with a heavy reliance on secondary works, a methodology virtually inevitable in an area that has attracted the attention of legal and social historians for many decades. Artistic representations of fathers and families are analyzed; and some of the novels of the Enlightenment and revolution are summarized and analyzed as indicators of the weakening role of the father, and the adjustments made by the brothers to their new fatherless existences; in spite of the fact that many of the themes of these novels—quest, wandering, recognition, and the achievement of love, identity, and family—have roots infinitely older than the crisis of the revolution.

What does this bring to our understanding of the history of the revolution? Hunt, like most historians who work extensively with the self-representations of the (French) revolutionary era, usually avoids making claims about causality. Thus, statements such as "it might even be argued that the [French eighteenth-century] novel predicts the fate of the King; it might even be argued that the novel produces the fate of the King in that the spread of the ideal of the good father and the father's subsequent effacement fatally undermined the absolutist foundations of the monarchical regime," gain additional force (p. 34). These are large claims that leave the reader eager to pursue the analysis. But the reader will not be able to find out from this book why it was that the efforts of good fathers in novels to be good, or Louis XVI's efforts to be what he saw as a good father to his people, should necessarily have resulted in "effacement" for the one and execution for the other. Nor is it easy to find out why it is that other kings in France's past could conspicuously fail to be good fathers to the nation, and indeed be the subjects themselves of politico-pornographic attack, yet still avoid a revolutionary situation and still, whatever the degrees of hatred and turmoil by which they were surrounded, maintain their status as sacred figures. This in fact is a theme conspicuous by its absence from Hunt's analysis of revolutionary culture. In spite of a few rapid allusions to "desacralization," Hunt never grapples with the religious resonances of the acts, language, and representations of the revolutionaries. This surely would have allowed her to approach the question of the



meaning of their "family romance" starting with their terms, and their culture, rather than with theories fashioned in the twentieth century for very different purposes. The reader may also wonder about the real power of the "family romance," or "common political unconscious," allegedly held in common by revolutionary France, and which yet had so little power to prevent the deep ideological cleavages among the nation that manifested themselves as civil war. This book was selected as a Centennial Book by its publisher, but it contains no bibliography and its index is useless as a means of reference to the sources cited in the notes. The publisher's disregard for the essentials that differentiate a scholarly from a popular book is now all too common among university presses.

DORINDA OUTRAM  
University College  
Cork, Ireland

NATALIE ISSER. *Antisemitism during the French Second Empire*. (American University Studies, ninth series; History, number 100.) New York: Peter Lang. 1992. Pp. 149.

In the past decade a lively historiographic debate has emerged about the nature and extent of French anti-Semitism in the nineteenth century, its political role, and its impact on French Jewry. This slight volume provides information about a number of celebrated anti-Semitic incidents during the Second Empire, including the Italian Mortara affair, and about Catholic missionary efforts among French Jewry. Natalie Isser highlights the role of anti-Semitism in the development of ultramontane Catholic politics and the way the government used opposition to anti-Semitism to weaken the papacy and to undermine the ultramontane position. She also demonstrates the concern elicited among French Jews by several famous conversions within the elite strata of the community and by a few notorious cases of suspected kidnappings of children and adolescents. The book does not contribute significantly, however, to the growing literature on French Jewry and anti-Semitism.

Despite the publisher's claim about the lack of attention paid to French attitudes toward Jews between 1789 and the Dreyfus affair, there is now a considerable body of new work of which Isser seems entirely unaware, although it has been available for several years. She makes no mention, for example, either in footnotes or bibliography, of Simon Schwarzfuchs's *Du juif à l'israélite* (1989), Jay Berkovitz's *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-century France* (1989), or Jonathan Helfand's dissertation "French Jewry during the Second Republic and Second Empire (1848–1870)," which deals precisely with the period she addresses and with issues of missionary and Jewish responses to anti-Semitism. Her discussion of conversion and proselytism would have

been enhanced by the comparative perspective offered by Todd Endelman's books on apostasy (*Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World* [1987]) and radical assimilation (*Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History* [1990]), and her allusions to Jewish self-hatred would benefit from references to Sander Gilman's major study of the subject (1986).

When Isser generalizes about French Jewry and its institutions, her interpretation is often simplistic. Most importantly, she does not have a firm grasp on new analyses of the development of French Jewry that challenge a monochromatic view of assimilation. She makes no reference whatsoever to the books of Michael Graetz and Aron Rodrigue on the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Phyllis Cohen Albert's articles on French Jewish self-definition, or Pierre Birnbaum's recent studies of the ideology of emancipation and the political integration of French Jewry. Given her interest in the political use of anti-Semitism and the creation of an underground anti-Semitic tradition in France, some engagement with Michael Burns's arguments in *Rural Society and French Politics* (1984) might have been expected.

In sum, although she has made good use of archival documents and printed primary sources, especially the press, Isser's monograph is not contextualized within recent historiography. She also inadequately footnotes many of her assertions, including claims discredited elsewhere, such as the high frequency of Jewish-Christian intermarriage in nineteenth-century France (see *Jewish History*, vol. 3 [1988] and vol. 5 [1991]).

The book is marred by a sloppy presentation, appearing not to have been edited for style or accuracy in punctuation. Accent marks seem to be scattered randomly on French words and several misspellings occur. Readers willing to contend with these flaws will find some new material on specific expressions of Catholic anti-Semitism and missionary zeal.

PAULA E. HYMAN  
Yale University

ALAIN CORBIN. *The Village of Cannibals: Rage and Murder in France, 1870*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. 164. \$22.95.

The French village of Hautevey lies in the northern Dordogne, almost on the departmental boundary with the Charente. In the last days of the Second Empire, it was a village of slightly more than 400 people, most of whom were peasants, some owning land, some not—basically a community of poor equals. On August 16, 1870, on the day of a fair, while the Franco-Prussian War raged in northeastern France, some of the villagers, along with people from other nearby places, seized, tortured, and killed Alain de Monéys, a noble. If anyone was in the wrong place at the wrong time, it was de Monéys, who strolled into

the fair in its waning hours, when deals were largely done and drink and boastful talk abounded.

The men who seized the young noble inflicted a horrible, bloody *calvaire* of two hours, dragging him around the village while beating him with fists, clubs, sticks, prods, and tools. The mayor, despite wearing the tricolor sash symbolizing his authority, was not much help to the man who was, after all, his deputy (a relationship about which we would like to know more). After a clumsy, ineffective effort to calm the crowd, he shut his door, fearing that the mob would smash his dishes. Worse, a witness reported that he told the crowd: "Take Monsieur de Monéys away from the front of the inn. He's blocking traffic!" And when someone shouted, "We want to kill him, burn him, and eat him," the mayor replied, if not "*À table!*" at least "Eat him if you like" (p. 74). The captors built a fire and threw the noble, by then half dead, into the flames. Alain Corbin, unquestionably one of the most talented and interesting historians now writing about France, investigates in masterly fashion "what proved to be, in France, the last outburst of peasant rage to result in murder" (p. 1).

Why was the unlucky noble killed? Bonapartism remained strong in the Dordogne, and in much of the southwest in general. Republicans were still identified with the unpopular forty-five centimes tax imposed by the provisional government after the Revolution of 1848. People in the district of Nontron recalled domination during the *ancien régime* by nobles. Corbin, who published his superb *thèse* on peasants in the Limousin (*Archaisme et modernité en Limousin au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1845–1880*, 2 vols. [1975]), pieces together the political evolution of this region adjacent to Nontron. Like parts of the nearby Poitou, the arrondissement of Nontron had been something of a small Vendée during the revolution. Noble economic, social, and political influence remained strong. Alain de Monéys had a cousin known for fervent, arrogant, aggressive legitimism. The convergence of hostility toward legitimism and republicanism in the Dordogne helps explain popular Bonapartism, or "democratic Caesarism" (p. 32), with which peasants identified somewhat better times and their modest hopes for the future, which republicans and nobles might one day again threaten.

There had been a good number of anticlerical incidents over the years, amid bold threats of mutilation and castration that, Corbin thinks, betrayed an underlying cruelty that went beyond the normal rhetoric of verbal violence. Drawing on what is clearly scattered evidence, Corbin suggests the relationship between political events, collective memory, and popular mentality. The Haute-faye fair drew visitors from a fairly wide area, including parts of the Charente and the Haute-Vienne. This, Corbin argues, provided visitors—mostly men, since it was essentially a livestock fair—with anonymity within the context of a familiar scene. It also roughly coincided with Napoleon Bonaparte's birthday (August 15).

The war against Prussia was going very badly. News of defeats, one after the other early in August, reached the region and were discussed in the inns near the fatal fair. Corbin is superb on the power of rumor, carrying "an emotional charge as it gives expression to a group's latent social mythology" (p. 8). There were rumors that Prussians were spying, that plots were being hatched by their accomplices—in short, a mini-Great Fear. Nobody could possibly have taken the noble—who had just given up his exemption from military service and planned to enlist—as a Prussian, but his identification with the nobility and the rumor that he had shouted "*Vive la République!*" made him seem to the crowd to be the equivalent of one of the Prussians, since nobles were rumored to be sending money to the enemy. The peasants who dispatched de Monéys "saw the noble, the curé, and the republican as united in a common threat to themselves and the emperor" (p. 19), a threat represented by "outsiders," perhaps in cahoots with wealthy folk.

This grisly event would seem to be something out of Gustave Le Bon or Hippolyte Taine, connoisseurs of murderous crowds. Or something perpetuated by Eugen Weber's savage, illiterate, backward peasants, awaiting "modernization" (*Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* [1976]), and meanwhile beating, torturing, and then perhaps feasting on some hapless upper-class fellow. There can be no question about the intrusion of national politics in the world of these peasants, however. Corbin sees the event as reflecting an intensification of nationalism in the wake of the war, extending even into a peasant community in one of France's most "backward" regions. In his interesting discussion of the significance of bloodshed and massacres in French history, Corbin sees the community as affirming its own identity by "expel[ling] the monster from its midst" (p. 85).

Not surprisingly, the event shocked public opinion. The murder—and the persistent rumors of cannibalism—seemed like something out of the eighteenth century or the worst days of the wars of the Vendée. Corbin provocatively contends that "fastidious and fearful historians appear to have conspired with the men of the time to cover up horrific events" (p. 99) in nineteenth-century France. This I doubt. Was the appalling murder at Haute-faye typical of peasant violence? Corbin seems hard-pressed to come up with other cases. He cites some very familiar, and quite different, incidents: a violent grain riot in Buzançais (Indre) in 1847, several deaths of gendarmes during the resistance to the coup d'état of December 2, 1851 (in Bédarieux and Clamecy), as well as an incident on the rue Haxo in Paris in May 1871. Unless a good many other such incidents of mob murder can be turned up—and they have not been by Charles Tilly's massive research (most recently *The Contentious French* [1986]) on incidents of collective violence in modern France—it must be said that the Haute-faye killing was

an anomaly. May 1871 was indeed a very violent month. But murderous violence, as *la semaine sanglante* demonstrated, was above all a monopoly of the state; somewhere between 25,000 and 100,000 communards perished at the hands of the Versailles forces.

Did the unfortunate Alain de Monéys, who suffered a truly ghastly death, really become the *plat du jour* in what was a poor region—and not a particularly gastronomic one, despite its almost inadvertent inclusion in 1790 in a department known for the pleasures of the table? *Petit noble braise à la façon charentaise*? It is a good story, and a tragic one, even if the peasants of Haute-faye and the nearby communes did not really eat Alain de Monéys.

JOHN M. MERRIMAN  
Université Lumière,  
Lyon II

FRANÇOIS RENAULT. *Le Cardinal Lavigerie, 1825–1892: L'Église, l'Afrique et la France*. Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 698. 168 fr.

Best remembered for his thunderbolt “toast of Algiers” in November 1890, which began the official *Ralliement*, “rally,” of the Catholic church to the republican regime in France, Charles Lavigerie was a high churchman whose missionary zeal in Africa and the Near East made him an instrument of French imperial expansion.

François Renault's excellent and sympathetic biography gives full scope to Lavigerie's missions, particularly in North Africa where in a misreading of history, a misunderstanding of Islam, and a mistaken belief in the potential for conversion, he hoped to “restore” Christianity to the Arab and Berber populations. Despite these errors, Lavigerie's thought on the role of missionaries abroad, adapting their methods to the languages and customs of native societies rather than seeking to assimilate native peoples to European ways, as well as on the church's evangelical and “civilizing mission,” converged with that of other late-nineteenth-century French imperialists. This is why, although the church was the favored target of the political leaders of the Third Republic at home, anticlericalism was not an item for export. At the time of the French military occupation of Tunisia in 1881, Lavigerie and the soldiers worked hand in hand.

Cardinal of the Roman church, confidant of Pope Leo XIII, archbishop of Algiers and Carthage, Lavigerie sought to conciliate the church with the modern world. Indeed, his inability to exert influence as an energetic and rather authoritarian church reformer in France (as the bishop of Nancy, 1863–67) led him to take his remarkable talents for church building, education, organization, and money-raising to Algiers in 1867. Missionary effort—he founded the White Fathers (*Pères blancs*) and White Sisters (*Soeurs blanches*)—only increased Lavigerie's conviction that,

despite the belief of many French to the contrary, Christianity was not opposed to freedom, justice, present-day culture, or science. His campaign to end slavery and the slave trade in Africa—arguably the most important “crusade” of his life—demonstrated his and the church's commitment to these values.

Given Lavigerie's credentials as both churchman and patriot, his up-to-date notions about the church and its place in society, and his increasingly conciliatory attitude toward the French state (which showed every sign of staying put), it is not surprising that in “the most daring act of his life” (p. 589, quoting the words of Lavigerie's secretary), the cardinal lifted his glass to the republic. Although Lavigerie acted on the express orders of the pope, he alone took the heat—and letters smeared with excrement—from those intransigents among the clergy and the faithful who wanted no compromise with the godless republic. To Lavigerie's surprise and dismay Leo XIII waited fifteen months before revealing his own hand in the *Ralliement* policy and another three before speaking out plainly to France's cardinals: “Accept the Republic, that is, the existing and constituted authority in your country” (p. 634). Although the *Ralliement* occupies one slim chapter in a book that explores the multiple aspects of Lavigerie's career, it illustrates, perhaps better than anything else, the cardinal's ever tumultuous effort to marry his church to his century.

WILLIAM A. HOISINGTON, JR.  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

NICOLE JORDAN. *The Popular Front and Central Europe: The Dilemmas of French Impotence, 1918–1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 348. \$59.95.

This is a meaty and thought-provoking book. At first glance the title may seem ambiguous, with both the Popular Front and the dates 1918–40 figuring in it, but one soon realizes that Nicole Jordan aims to put the years of Léon Blum's premiership in the context of the entire interwar period. Thus, we have the prologue, the main story, and the epilogue.

In the first two chapters Jordan outlines the pre-1936 background of the eastern alliances. She convincingly analyzes Gen. Maurice Gamelin's strategy—if it deserves that name—of keeping military operations away from France's borders. As she rightly concludes, “By always attempting to fight the war elsewhere, Gamelin in effect made it impossible to fight at all” (p. 301). The rest of the book considers Blum and the issues of economic policy, military (mainly Franco-Polish) issues in 1936, and the intricate negotiations with the Little Entente. Finally, Jordan examines the 1938–39 crises and the fall of France, and Blum and Czechoslovakia in 1938.

There is interesting and well-documented evidence in virtually every part of this book. Jordan's approach

is balanced and critical, as for instance when she discredits Ambassador Léon Noël's account of the origins of the Rambouillet negotiations. She tells in great detail the story of the attempts to transform the Little Entente and tie it with Paris. She raises the question whether a Franco-Little Entente pact was to be placed under French-Italian or French-Soviet strategic auspices, the French general staff favoring the former option, and such politicians as Pierre Cot the latter. Both alternatives, like Gamelin's strategy, were becoming increasingly unrealistic. Jordan shows in a somewhat novel way how the Franco-Soviet military exchanges of 1936-37 were a foretaste of the military talks of the summer of 1939. Similarly she points to the mentality of the "phony war" being much in evidence during the Czechoslovak crisis. The picture that emerges is bleak.

The author makes the telling point that French strategy, woven of pessimism and wishful thinking, was the key to French defeat in 1940 much more than the flaws of French rearmament. I am less sure, however, whether French military diplomacy, economic conception, and reliance on Italy to restore France's Central European ties were still all of one piece before the Spanish and Ethiopian crises. Even if the Blum years marked a period of disintegration, was this not a matter of degree or of an accelerated rate of decline rather than a sharp downward trend? There is room for discussion here.

Jordan has amassed a great deal of material, particularly from French archives, and she has made very good use of it. Yet since the book deals with Central Europe I miss the relevant Czech or Polish literature (for example, by R. Kvaček, I. Deák, Z. Avramovski, J. Tomaszewski, J. Kozeński), not to mention the East Central European archives. Language restraints presumably made their inclusion impossible, but they would have given an additional dimension to this book. The author moves with less assurance in this region than in France, her attempts to understand, spell the names correctly, or even include diacritical marks notwithstanding. Quite a few irritating small mistakes, slips, and misspellings remain. The approach through French documentation makes the author spell Romanian names *à la française* and use Petite Entente instead of the well-established Little Entente. For all the impressive bibliography there are also some gaps regarding works in Western languages, such as those of Gy. Ránki, M. Ormos, G. Juhász, J. Hochman, and E. Campus. All these minor faults do not detract, however, from the general value of this work, which is an important contribution to interwar diplomatic history.

PIOTR S. WANDYŹCZ  
Yale University

DARRYL HOLTER. *The Battle for Coal: Miners and the Politics of Nationalization in France, 1940-1950*. De

Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 264. \$35.00.

Darryl Holter has produced a splendid study of French miners and politics in the turbulent years between the heroic work stoppages of May 1941 and the catastrophic strikes of October 1948. The German occupation provides the setting for this book; it discredited management, damaged the mines, wrought terrible privations on labor, and created a crisis of authority that by no means ended after liberation. Nationalization, introduced provisionally in 1944 and definitively two years later, as Holter shows, was only a first step toward reviving the production of fuel on which France's economic growth and political standing depended. Miner morale had to be restored as well.

The so-called "battle for coal" is, quite logically, the central episode in this book. French Communist Party (PCF) Chairman Maurice Thorez, minister of State until 1947, coined the slogan, which in practice bound labor to a no-strike pledge and an acceptance of Stakhanovism until such a time as the PCF and its ally, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), had gained control of the Charbonnages de France. Thanks to the effectiveness of Auguste Lecoœur, the PCF minister of Mines, labor peace was restored and output increased dramatically in the three years after 1944, in sharp contrast to the situation at American, British, and German mines. Holter further attributes the favorable results to idealism, decent provisionment, the new Miners' Statute, and the forced labor of 50,000 German prisoners of war.

The end of the battle for coal began, as Holter describes it, in December 1946, with the reappointment of the Socialist Robert Lacoste as minister of Industrial Production. His objectives were to wrest control of the Charbonnages de France from the PCF-CGT, restore the traditional role of management, and operate the mines on sound business principles. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the readiness of the United States to supply emergency coal strengthened his resolve. PCF-CGT forces resisted Lacoste doggedly, according to Holter, but did not shift its productivist line in spite of successive setbacks and was thus unprepared for the massive strikes of November 1947. They were, in Holter's view, essentially apolitical, the outgrowths of severe inflation-induced erosion of wages, of lingering dissatisfaction with the slave-driving methods associated with the Bedaux system of remuneration (which had remained intact during the production drive), and of resentment toward Lacoste's threats to the Miners' Statute. The disorders extended throughout industry and ended inconclusively, although not before Thorez, in an abrupt reversal of the no-strike line pursued since the war, had inveighed the strikers to make a choice between "combat or death."

The outbreak of another wave of mine strikes eleven months later gave the government a chance



for a showdown, according to Holter. There was ample warning. During 1948 absenteeism and accidents increased, inflation continued to rage, and miner morale suffered from bitter infighting between communist, socialist, and other political elements. Whereas the workers faced the prospect of a strike with grim fatalism, Minister of the Interior Jules Moch, along with the Socialist-dominated cabinet, was eager to impress the aid-rich and Cold War-minded Americans with a show of strength. At the first hint of disorder he brought to bear methods like those used by the *Wehrmacht* to repress the strike of May 1941; although his tactics fanned disorder into organized opposition, they eventually crushed the dissidents.

This study depicts miners as victims of harsh working conditions, leadership conflicts, and finally history itself. Labor militancy ended in the 1950s, Holter concludes, less because of defeat than disappearance. The modernizing strategy of the Charbonnages de France steadily reduced the size of the work force until competition from other energy sources eventually sealed the fate of the French coal industry. Holter's discussion of the labor struggles of the post-war years is not influenced by this outcome, even though one could reasonably regard it as evidence that the technocratic policies of Lacoste were economically farsighted rather than merely socially and politically repressive.

This book occasionally comes up short. The author seldom distinguishes between events in Nord/Pas-de-Calais and the other French coal districts, underestimates the value of German prisoner-of-war labor to the production effort, assumes too readily that France could draw on foreign sources for supplementary supplies of coal, and does not adequately explain the relationship of the Charbonnages de France to the Monnet Plan. Holter's well-researched, highly readable, insightful, and sympathetic account nevertheless describes in convincing detail the complicated relationships between French miners, their representatives, their nation, and its foreign policy. Its great strengths far outweigh any minor weaknesses.

JOHN GILLINGHAM  
University of Missouri,  
St. Louis

ALAN WILLIAMS. *Republic of Images: A History of French Filmmaking*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 458. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Why is it that so many authors bestow fanciful titles on their books instead of trying to make clear what they want to do? France has never been a "republic of images": cinema has never been as popular there as in most industrial countries, and the French cinema, unlike its German or Italian counterparts, has always carefully avoided any political implication. "Filmmaking" seems to imply an emphasis on economy, production, and technique, whereas Alan Williams is

mostly interested in artistic creation. His is not an original book but one which is honest and coherently constructed.

Williams's version of the silent era has been presented many times before. It stresses the role played by the "heroes": the Lumière brothers, Georges Méliès the visionary prophet, and Abel Gance the apocalyptic teacher. Since he adopts the most traditional interpretation of French capitalism (small entrepreneurs seeking low profit margins), it follows that Williams describes a catastrophic industrial decline after World War I; recent research has shown that the "stagnationist" reading of French economic development is based on an inadequate understanding of the role of innovation and investment in an economy where trade was not (as was the case in Britain) the leading sector. A new assessment of the French cinematic industry would therefore be necessary to test whether, as the producers claimed at the time and have never stopped claiming since, the business was really in crisis. We cannot rely on Charles Pathé's writings to evaluate the situation in the 1920s; it is necessary to check as well what can be found in the archives of the Chambres de Commerce.

If he seems sometimes too casual where the relevant context is concerned, Williams gives a lively picture of the cultural world in which the main directors worked and of the attitudes prevailing among them, particularly with regard to their stylistic experiments; he has seen a good many "avant-garde" pictures, his analysis is perceptive and accessible, and he offers balanced views on so-called second-rate filmmakers such as André Antoine or Jacques de Baroncelli.

What makes it difficult to talk about the silent period is that about 80 percent of the pictures are lost. Most of the talkies are available but, after 1930, Williams goes on in his impressionistic valuation of auteurs; here he is, alternatively, very good and open to criticism. He is at his best when he speaks not only of the "great" (René Clair, Julien Duvivier, Jacques Feyder, and Jean Renoir), but also of "minor" directors. It could be argued that Williams concentrates too much on the plots, but it is only recently that film specialists have become aware of the fact that movies are audiovisual productions, combinations of moving pictures, musics, and sounds, not mere stories; Williams may belong to the tradition of film historians interested more in what is told than in how it is made.

What worries me more is the irrelevance of his attempted connections with the period. The chapter on politics in the 1930s should be rewritten; the question of the cultural policy of the Popular Front and the October Group has been totally revised by the works of Pascal Ory (*La politique culturelle du Front Populaire* [1989]) but Williams has not heard of Ory. Williams's version of the occupation, with the related problem of German interference, is distilled from Evelyn Ehrlich's *Cinema of Paradox* (1985), a highly arguable book, based on guesses and assumptions;



again, the topic has been explored more fully by Jean-Pierre Bertin-Maghit, who knows the archives as well as the films, in his *Le cinéma sous l'occupation* (1989). It is no longer possible to say (as Williams does on p. 272) that French historians interpret the movies shot during the war as symbols of the will to resist evil.

The postwar era was characterized by an outburst of theoretical writings; Williams has intelligently read André Bazin's texts (in their original version, not in translation) as well as *Cahiers du cinéma*, and he explains how a new spirit prevailed after 1950. Oddly enough, a volume published in 1992 does not go past 1968. Was May such an upheaval that it obliterated the end of the century? Williams's work has its weaknesses, as I have emphasized, but up to now students were not well served by existing surveys of French cinema. This book is to be welcomed for that reason.

PIERRE SORLIN  
Sorbonne

OSKAR GARSTEIN. *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*. Volume 3, *Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553–1622*; volume 4, *The Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden, 1622–1656*. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought; numbers 46, 47.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1992. Pp. lil, 462; xviii, 833. \$125.75; \$171.50.

Over twenty years ago in the stacks of the University Library in Oslo, I discussed my dissertation project with a scholar who advised me to limit the scope of my project and then do it "so that it won't have to be done over again." The scholar was Oskar Garstein, who, in the two books under review, has brought to fruition over thirty years of work on his history of the Counter Reformation in Scandinavia. The task he set himself was monumental, the result equally so.

The volumes under review follow the first two, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia until the Establishment of the S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622* (1963, 1980). The first two volumes are out of print, so Garstein has provided a helpful review of them in the opening pages of the third volume. Volume 3 deals with the Continental educational foundations relevant to the Scandinavian missions and assesses their results. Volume 4 follows the various Catholic religious and political initiatives during the Thirty Years' War, culminating with the conversion of Queen Christina and her abdication in 1656.

As Garstein notes, few periods in European history have been as obscured by polemics as the Reformation and Counter Reformation. The fundamental Lutheran prejudice was that the light from Wittenberg swept through Scandinavia leaving behind virtually no traces of Catholicism. Only in the nineteenth century did scholars begin a "scientific investigation" showing "that the teachings of Luther and his cohorts were never wished for or wanted by many levels of society in sixteenth and seventeenth century Scandi-

navia," particularly in Norway (vol. 3, p. xvi). Other legends have been of the cloak-and-dagger variety.

The effort to unpack the stuff of legend has led Garstein to exhaustive research all over Europe, but he leans most heavily on the Oluf Kolsrud collection in Oslo, the Vatican Library, the Vatican Archives, the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of the Nations or of the Propagation of the Faith, and the Jesuit Archives. The documentation is in several European languages and is exhaustive.

The question behind volume 3 is the impact of Jesuit colleges and institutions on Scandinavia and the results of the Counter Reformation's attempt to convert the Scandinavian intelligentsia and enlist it in the Roman Catholic cause. To answer the question, Garstein surveys the state of education in Scandinavia (which he finds to have suffered greatly from the Reformation and was much inferior to that of the Jesuits), examines Jesuit education in general and every major institution with registered Scandinavian students in particular, and tracks the subsequent careers of Scandinavian students who attended Jesuit institutions in Europe. He finds that between 1553 and 1622 Jesuit institutions registered 526 students, of whom 330 were Swedes, while twenty-three became Jesuits, twenty-nine priests, and ten joined other orders; twenty-five found careers in the chancellery of King Sigismund III of Poland, Gustavus III Adolphus's rival and claimant to the throne of Sweden; but only three infiltrated the chancelleries of the Danish and Swedish kings. Surprisingly, twenty-four became Lutheran pastors. In sum, until 1622 the thrust of the Counter Reformation in Scandinavia was predominantly, though not exclusively, religious.

In volume 4 Garstein shows that the religious approach combined with the political after 1622. When the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was established in 1622 to control and coordinate Catholic missions, it permitted only "spiritual methods." It soon began a series of secret missions into Scandinavia. Garstein chronicles in minute detail these ill-fated missionary ventures, which ended, as often as not, in discovery, trial, and execution. But diplomatic and political considerations came to the fore as the Thirty Years' War engulfed northern Europe. The war catapulted Sweden under Gustavus III Adolphus into the vanguard of Protestant powers, giving unprecedented political importance to Scandinavia. As Catholic forces gained the upper hand in the Thirty Years' War, Rome's hopes rose. The embassies of Catholic powers became launching sites for Catholic missionary work among secret Catholics and a means of access to the Scandinavian elites, even in time of war. A French diplomat in Stockholm was a primary agent in the Counter Reformation's most spectacular triumph in Scandinavia: the conversion of Christina, the intelligent, headstrong woman who became Queen of Sweden in 1632. In 251 pages, Garstein traces the historiogra-

phy of her life and the events that led to her conversion and renunciation of her throne. Her abdication in 1656 provides a fitting end to Garstein's account of the Counter Reformation, though not, as he points out, to Catholic efforts to counter the doctrines of Martin Luther in Scandinavia.

Given Garstein's vast knowledge and erudition, it seems churlish to quibble about his books, but the perfect book has yet to be written. In the first place, the books under review amount to 1,176 pages of text, and the accumulation of fact on—in many cases tedious—fact often makes for laborious reading. An extreme example of Garstein's tendency to record everything is in volume 3, which includes a twenty-one-page list of papal scholars embedded in a section assessing the results of the Counter Reformation efforts to win over the intelligentsia (pp. 310–31); the list should be in an appendix. Moreover, although the books are clearly intended for specialists, ought one to assume that specialists in northern European history can read untranslated quotations in Italian? I think not. Finally, Scandinavian registrants in the Catholic hierarchy and orders numbered sixty-two, not sixty-four (vol. 3, p. 399).

These are quibbles, however, when measured against Garstein's remarkable achievement. He has definitively demolished myths about the quick demise of Catholicism in Lutheran Scandinavia, established that Counter Reformation methods were far more educational and religious than political, and succeeded in dealing with the scope of the Counter Reformation with the force and cohesion that only a single author can give. This subject will not have to be done over again in this century, nor, I am willing to venture, in the next—and then, only on the basis of Garstein's work.

ARNE HASSING  
Northern Arizona University

KIMMO IKONEN. *J. K. Paasikiven poliittinen toiminta Suomen itsenäistymisen murrosvaiheessa* [J. K. Paasikivi's Political Activity during the Critical Stage of Finland's Development toward Independence]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia tutkimuksia, number 158.) Helsinki, Finland: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1990. Pp. 405.

Finland went through an abortive social revolution and a civil war and gained independence during a stormy two-year period in 1917–18. Kimmo Ikonen's book deals with the political role of a conservative leader, J. K. Paasikivi, during these formative years. As the prime minister after the civil war, he was one of the leading players in Finnish politics in this period. Ikonen examines both the background and content of Paasikivi's foreign and domestic policies and traces how he arrived at his conclusions.

After a career as a prominent banker and ambassador, Paasikivi reemerged as the leading Finnish

political player after World War II, first as prime minister again and then as president of the republic from 1946 to 1956. His later career falls outside Ikonen's book but adds to its interest.

Paasikivi's thinking on foreign policy was conditioned by geography, history, and the realities of power politics. In his view Finland, like other small countries, had to adjust its policies to the constellation between the great powers and their ability to project power into its geographical environment. Of the great powers, Russia and Germany mattered therefore most to Finland.

In the period covered by Ikonen, the premise of Paasikivi's foreign policy was that Russia would continue in the long run to be the principal threat to Finland. Second, he believed that Finland was too small and weak to resist this threat alone and therefore needed an ally powerful enough to back it up. Only Germany could provide enough counterforce to Russia in the Baltic region, and thus it was the only credible ally for Finland. This kind of thinking led Paasikivi to support the candidacy of a German prince as king of Finland.

Paasikivi's domestic policy combined a conservative agenda with limited social reform, notably land reform, for the sake of internal stability. Impressed by the high level of support for radical and revolutionary socialism among his compatriots, he advocated two-pronged countermeasures. On one hand, he wanted to curtail the socialists' potential political influence through tampering with voting rights in favor of the educated and propertied elements. On the other hand, he advocated distribution of land to the landless crofters in sufficient amounts to tie them to the existing social and political order.

Ikonen's book could have been a more important contribution to the field had it come out a little earlier. Now it falls into the shadow of Tuomo Polvinen's work (*J. K. Paasikiven elämäntyö 1870–1918* [1990]), which covers the same ground. Ikonen has also not come to terms with Polvinen's book. There are in addition some gaps in his source base, although he obviously has engaged in extensive research. The basic structure of Ikonen's book is clear but the writing is marred by unnecessarily extensive, detailed descriptions of sources and their contents. Yet Ikonen's main assessments and conclusions are on the whole sound, and he displays a commendable capacity for balanced and critical judgment.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

MARC FORSTER. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 272. \$37.50.

In this meticulously researched and cautiously argued monograph, Marc Forster advances an important thesis on the Counter Reformation in the Holy Roman empire. Using the example of Speyer in southwest Germany, a small bishopric next to the powerful Protestant territory of the Palatinate, Forster challenges the standard view of the Counter Reformation in the empire. Instead of the handmaiden of centralization and state-building, Tridentine Catholicism in Speyer encountered strong and persistent resistance not only from Protestant villagers and townsfolk but also from Catholic peasants and clergy, and indeed, from within the ranks of the cathedral canons. According to this thesis, traditional Catholicism in Speyer, embodied in clerical privileges, corporate particularism, and village communalism, successfully blunted the measures of the Tridentine reform and its concomitant confessionalization in the German context. Catholic villagers accepted only those reforms that were commensurate with their religious ideas: a better educated and resident rural clergy, accountable to the laity and the commune. Only at the end of the seventeenth century were Tridentine decrees proclaimed and, in limited measures, implemented at the village level, although clerical concubinage had largely disappeared by the early decades of the century. A confessional consciousness did arise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Catholic villagers blocked Protestant immigration. But that development, in Forster's view, stemmed more from the strength of traditional communal Catholicism in the villages than from a militant Counter Reformation consciousness.

This book, in short, presents a revisionist view of the Counter Reformation. In seven thematic chapters, Forster deploys his arguments chronologically. The first four chapters take the reader up to the Thirty Years' War: chapter 1 lays out the framework of the thesis in the current historiography; chapters 2 and 3 discuss in turn the resistance to Tridentine reform within the clergy and the villages; and chapter 4 describes the limits of episcopal authority—in spiritual matters versus clerical corporations and in secular matters versus powerful neighboring Protestant princes. Whatever modicum of success achieved by the Catholic reform by the early seventeenth century was wiped out during the Thirty Years' War, which is the subject of chapter 5. In chapters 6 and 7, Forster surveys conditions between 1650 and 1720. During these decades, traditional and Tridentine Catholicism came to a realistic compromise: a new breed of rural priests and Capuchin missionaries adapted themselves to the religion of the rural folk, giving up thereby some of the doctrinal dictates of Trent but gaining in the process a longstanding allegiance to Catholicism when the villagers identified their traditional communal religion with the larger world of Baroque Catholicism.

The story of the Speyer villagers is drawn from a variety of archival records. Visitation reports, cathe-

dral chapter minutes, court records, and Jesuit letters are carefully interpreted to reconstruct the picture of a traditional, conservative, and deeply obstinate rural folk, tied to their vineyards and folkways and proud of their communal traditions. The descriptions of conflict between priest and people in the villages are some of the best parts of the book; colorful, vivid, and persuasive, they convey an experience of past rural life comparable to the best work on early modern peasantry.

Speyer thus represents a counter-example to Bavaria, the model of the Counter Reformation state, where princely authority, Jesuit activities, and Catholic confessionalization went hand in hand. In reminding us of the strength of traditional Catholicism and the limits of Tridentine reform, Forster has made a significant contribution to the debate on confessionalization in Central Europe. His book offers yet another case study of the immensely complex matrix of connections between society, politics, and religion in the Holy Roman empire.

R. PO-CHIA HSIA  
New York University

DIRK BLASIUS. *Friedrich Wilhelm IV. 1795–1861: Psychopathologie und Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1992. Pp. 283. DM 38.

The author of numerous important studies in nineteenth-century social history, Dirk Blasius has now turned to biography, arguing rightly that this genre is enjoying something of an international renaissance. At the same time, however, he emphasizes that recent writers of biography have had to accommodate themselves to the methodological and conceptual innovations of recent decades. Accordingly, his study of Frederick William IV has been strongly influenced by the theories of Kurt Schneider, whom Blasius describes as probably "the most significant" German psychiatrist of this century.

Although he organizes his entire book around Schneider's concept of "psychopathology," Blasius remains skeptical about the claims of psychohistory, especially the variety practiced in this country. As the author points out on several occasions, Schneider did not intend his notion of "psychopathology" to be applied either as a pejorative concept or as a description of illness; rather, by it he meant to describe "an unusual personality, deviating from the norm" (p. 23). According to this definition, Frederick William IV certainly deserves to be regarded as "psychopathic." Moreover, the author contends, Frederick William's place and function in the Prussian political system simultaneously limited and magnified the impact of his idiosyncrasies on the course of German history.

Above all, it seems, Frederick William was afraid, especially of becoming king. Traumatized and sensitized by the uncertain circumstances of his youth and

his education, and overshadowed by the stern example of his father, he became a young man afflicted by a sense of his own inadequacy to assume the responsibilities of kingship. He was also afraid of revolution—or, more revealingly, of the “Revolution,” which he perceived in literally apocalyptic terms. When it finally arrived in March 1848, the real revolution unleashed in Frederick William a volcanic range of emotions that Blasius, with Schneider, describes as a permanently transformative “experiential reaction” (*Erlebnisreaktion*). This concept, the author insists, is key to an understanding of Frederick William IV “as historical individual” (p. 164). The experience of revolution was central to him for the rest of his life; it created in him a traumatic “delirium of memory” (*Erinnerungsdelir*) that frequently influenced his policy decisions after 1848. His unhappy experiences not only intensified his fear of revolution but also his determination to struggle relentlessly against it; at the same time, however, they diminished his capacity to respond creatively to new or unprecedented political situations and opportunities. The King of Prussia experienced the “conflicts of his age as inner conflicts” (p. 215). Accordingly, the interior world of Frederick William’s feelings and emotions turned out to be “a factor of great historical significance” for Prussian and German history (p. 207).

Blasius has written an interesting essay in biographical interpretation, one that reminds us of the extraordinarily complex interplay between individual personalities and historical structures. At the same time, his use of Schneider’s concepts helps us understand a great deal about Frederick William’s personality that might otherwise seem murky or simply bizarre. In the end, however, his argument is not entirely convincing, if only because he overlooks many primary sources that might have influenced his conclusions. So, for example, he barely refers to the voluminous correspondence between Frederick William and his wife, Queen Elisabeth; surely this source ought to be consulted more extensively by anyone interested in the development of the king’s personality. Similarly, he has failed to use the vast, thoroughly catalogued, and readily accessible collection of Frederick William’s drawings and sketches in the former East Berlin. Art and architecture were critically important to the king, as Ludwig Dehio reminded us years ago, and it is puzzling that the author pays so little attention to them. Blasius’s failure to incorporate these large bodies of material into his analysis is regrettable and detracts seriously from an otherwise stimulating account.

DAVID E. BARCLAY  
Kalamazoo College

KARL ROHE. *Wahlen und Wählertradition in Deutschland: Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Neue Historische

Bibliothek.) Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. 1992. Pp. 307. DM 24.

Karl Rohe has written a concise examination of elections and voting patterns in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. He is well grounded in the theoretical problems and practical difficulties involved in the analysis of election results. Surprisingly, he is interested in historical factors, especially local and regional traditions. Rohe’s book, however, is not well-suited to those seeking an introduction to the subject. He presupposes that his readers have a good knowledge of the political and constitutional history of the German states since 1848 and of the history of the various political parties. For specialists it is a work of real importance.

Rohe could not have written a work of this kind thirty or forty years ago; few local studies of voters, party organizations, and election results existed then. A new, more rigorous methodology, especially the adoption of computerized statistical analysis, has changed what is knowable about past voting patterns. A comparison of Rohe’s work with the older *Geschichte der politischen Parteien in Deutschland* (1921) by Ludwig Bergsträsser is instructive. For Bergsträsser, differences in political philosophy shaped party identity. Thus, there were four main political traditions in Germany: liberalism, conservatism, political Catholicism, and social democracy. Bergsträsser identified party history with national political history; regional and local conditions scarcely counted. He used election results as evidence of changes in a party’s parliamentary fortunes, not of its effectiveness in reaching particular sets of voters. His view was one from the top.

Rohe’s findings are quite different. He shows that differences in political philosophy did not shape the growth of the political parties as strongly as once assumed. Members of the same party might express different values depending on local traditions or election circumstances. Rohe reduces the fundamental groupings in political life to three: national, Catholic, and socialist. This is central to his presentation. These three camps (*Lager*) were formed during the era of German unification and lasted until 1945. Voters might shift from one party to another in the same *Lager*, but rarely moved from one *Lager* to another.

Rohe finds that the customary separation of conservatives and liberals because of differing political philosophy has been overdone. Voters recognized them as part of the national camp and with surprising frequency treated them as political equivalents. The key to this behavior was religion: “religious division was the deciding reality of life, of thought, of self-perception, and of politics in Germany” (p. 114). Scholars often forget this obvious fact. Likewise, social class was a less-important determinant of party choice or voting behavior than is often argued. For example, Rohe shows that the growth of the Social



Democratic Party before 1914 was largely due to its success in mobilizing previous non-voters from different segments of society, rather than workers alone. He also puts great weight on the significance of urban/rural differences. Above all, he is excellent in bringing local and regional statistics and detailed historical information to bear on general issues relating to the development of the political parties. Thus, Rohe has moved far from what earlier experts such as Bergsträsser thought possible for a history of the political parties. His study of voters and elections merges the history of the parties with modern social history.

FRANKLIN C. WEST  
Portland State University

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER. *Police and the Social Order in German Cities: The Düsseldorf District, 1848–1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 245. \$32.50.

Standing in stark contrast to the benign image of England's bobbies was that of the Prussian police force of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with its formidable spiked helmets and military aura. That perception, while not entirely dispelled by Elaine Glovka Spencer, is refined and expanded in this monograph, which affords insight into the institutional development of Prussia's police force primarily between 1850 and the outbreak of World War I. Spencer's focus is the Düsseldorf district, which, other than the city of Berlin, was the most densely populated and highly urbanized of Prussia's administrative regions. The district's economic diversity, demographic volatility, and confessional pluralism justify her choice of case study, one which evaluates the evolving relationship of Prussia's police with both the bureaucracy and Rhenish society during three pivotal eras, the 1850s, the late 1860s and 1870s, and 1890 to 1914.

Spencer traces the origins of Prussia's police force from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the French absolutist model of centralized as opposed to municipal control, observing the changes in both the state's and the municipality's attitudes toward their responsibilities as civil servants, as well as in the police's own self-perception. From a motley group of recruits initially drawn from invalid soldiers, indicative both of the low esteem accorded to policemen forced to deal with society's outcasts and the Prussian state's continued reliance on the military for the maintenance of order, the Prussian police in the Rhineland developed into a more professional force, whose ranks swelled (especially after the 1870s) and whose tasks became increasingly specialized.

The proletarianization of the district's population and the highly transitory and volatile nature of its working class, not skyrocketing crime, Spencer argues, resulted in renewed directives by the state to

municipal authorities to ensure that their policemen emerged from behind their desks to undertake a "systematic patrol of public spaces" (p. 62). Even the district's genteel bourgeoisie, distrustful of the military and of intrusions into its private affairs, came to view the police as enforcers of law and order, as a bulwark between an educated, propertied citizenry and the predatory, undisciplined masses. Accordingly, Spencer's account focuses on police interaction with the working classes, emphasizing the district police force's attempt to tame the excesses of popular culture embodied in theatrical entertainment like Tengel-Tangel, in public festivals known as *Kirmessen*, in alcoholic consumption promoted by pubs, and in prostitution.

Although the book breaks new ground by providing the first comprehensive assessment of Imperial German policing at a local level, it addresses other important issues only tangentially. For example, in a district in which three-fifths of the inhabitants were Catholics (p. 76), and a substantial portion of these were Poles, Spencer fails to flesh out the contours of police-Catholic interaction in her chapter on the empire and its internal enemies. Not only would it have been beneficial to learn more about the Prussian police's handling of Catholics since the *Kulturkampf* but also an examination of the potential conflicts that might have arisen between Catholic policemen, loyal to the state, and their religious brethren would have illuminated her chosen themes. An account of victims of police brutality or harassment, too, would have enabled the reader to appreciate the popular experience of intensified policing. A perusal of her statistical appendix indicates that reported property and violent crimes mushroomed after 1900 (in Duisburg), but this escalation does not receive sufficient attention. All in all, despite these flaws, Spencer's welcome monograph fulfills its author's intention of providing an initial foray into the subject and provoking the further detailed research it deserves.

MARILYN SHEVIN-COETZEE  
Princeton University

CHRISTIAN GOTTHARDT. *Industrialisierung, bürgerliche Politik und proletarische Autonomie: Voraussetzungen und Varianten sozialistischer Klassenorganisationen in Nordwestdeutschland 1863 bis 1875*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Sozialgeschichte.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1992. Pp. 440. DM 135.

Christian Gotthardt's study of workers and the bourgeoisie in northwestern Germany (Oldenburg, Bremen, Hanover, and Brunswick) in the unification period is both a solidly documented case study and a highly nuanced, complex work of synthesis. While his frame of reference is neo-Marxist, Gotthardt avoids getting drawn into the polemical ideological skirmishes that East German Communists, West German Socialists, and English social historians waged in the



1970s and 1980s. Rather, he borrows the best from each camp.

Gotthardt's analysis of bourgeois politics builds on the works of Michael Gugel, Jürgen Kocka, and Shlomo Na'aman. He traces the "formation" of bourgeois solidarity, the northwestern contribution to the creation of a party-spearhead (the *Nationalverein*), the movement's fragmentation between 1863 and 1871, and eventual establishment of a hegemonic-like position by business interests and leading National Liberals. The reader may doubt the extent of bourgeois solidarity in the late 1850s given its quick disintegration in the 1860s, but Gotthardt is correct in emphasizing upper-middle-class gains after 1867, and grand bourgeois strengths after 1871, not weaknesses. The absence of any reference to works by Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn here is, of course, a glaring omission.

The author also includes an original discussion of bourgeois worker-club politics. Gotthardt demonstrates that the liberal campaign for hegemony mobilized significant numbers of workers in the 1860s with positive appeals for freer institutions, then beat the nationalist drum when this rhetoric lost effectiveness in the early 1870s. The ultimate response—repression—was one for which liberals had clamored years before Bismarck's anti-socialist laws.

The bourgeois section is, in a sense, the backdrop for Gotthardt's more impressive research on the northwestern socialist labor movement. His work covers the rise of Ferdinand Lassalle's Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein (ADAV), its split in 1869, and reunion with the secessionists at Gotha in 1875. The author's spadework uncovers five separate cultures or milieus at the local level of the ADAV in the 1860s, each the result of contrasting regional economies, distinctive labor experiences, differing relations with the bourgeoisie, and diverging opinions toward trade unions. As these cultures grew more incompatible, party division resulted; as they converged on the question of trade unionism in the 1870s—with the more utopian and petty bourgeois groups leaving the labor movement altogether—bottom-up, union pressure for reunification was irresistible on top.

Gotthardt's labor analysis is a welcome change from previous works that dwell on the political heights with August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Johann Baptist von Schweitzer. By digging so deep, Gotthardt also delivers a final blow to the thesis of Ulrich Engelhardt and Rudolf Boch that trade unionism grew out of the guilds. He shows convincingly that unions were born "head first" from political party activity that began with the liberals and was continued by local socialist functionaries who appreciated both the recruiting advantages and humanitarian benefits of these organizations.

Alas, readers will not find this book an easy read. Gotthardt does not integrate the bourgeois and labor sections of the text and, in each section, buries most of the important details in footnotes. It is like reading

two books simultaneously, then repeating the process. But, easy or not, nineteenth-century scholars must read this monograph, for it makes a major contribution.

ERIC DORN BROSE  
Drexel University

HEIDRUN HOMBURG. *Rationalisierung und Industriearbeit: Arbeitsmarkt—Management—Arbeiderschaft im Siemens-Konzern Berlin 1900–1939*. Foreword by PETER-CHRISTIAN WITT. (Schriften der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, volume 1, Beiträge zu Inflation und Wiederaufbau in Deutschland und Europa 1914–1924.) Berlin: Haude und Spener. 1991. Pp. xxiii, 806. DM 198.

Heidrun Homburg's massive work on industrial production at Siemens is an accomplished contribution to German social and economic history. Writing with a rare understanding of industrial work and corporate history, Homburg has authored a penetrating analysis linking industrial rationalization and conditions on the labor market at the giant Berlin-based maker of electrical equipment during the first forty years of the twentieth century.

The last section of Homburg's book contains her most profound insights into Siemens's industrial policy. Nevertheless, her two earlier sections provide valuable accounts of the development of the labor market in greater Berlin and of the workers' and employers' organizations in the German capital. Presenting a mass of data in a clear if repetitive style, she argues that the labor market in Berlin was basically "fixed" by 1918. Thereafter, an export-oriented manufacturer like Siemens had to respond both to the static labor market and to pressures for cutting costs by recasting production techniques and the organization of work. Its rationalization measures often sought to substitute unorganized men and women—often from the region's large textile industry—for the well-paid skilled metalworkers who formed the backbone of the labor force.

Her account of the Berlin employers' organizations is illuminating, particularly the way in which Siemens exploited the presence of its powerful "yellow" company union to exempt itself from costly lockouts on behalf of other firms during periods of industrial strife in the Kaiserreich. Although not a serious flaw, Homburg affords less attention to the German Metalworkers' Union (DMV), the biggest trade union in the metropolis. Nonetheless, she rightly concludes that the weakness of the trade unions among unskilled male and female workers contributed to a growing "disorganization of the labor market" (p. 246) after 1924 and abetted corporate innovation in the organization and control of the labor process: to wit, "rationalization."

The massive third section on industrial rationalization at Siemens, drawing on archival sources and

published works, places this work among an elite group of monographs—from Jürgen Kocka's *Unternehmensverwaltung und Angestelltenschaft am Beispiel Siemens 1847–1914* (1969) to Carola Sachse's *Siemens, der Nationalsozialismus und die moderne Familie* (1990)—which examined the history of Germany's largest manufacturer of electrical equipment and broke new interpretive ground in the process. Driven by a desire to insulate itself from the vagaries of the market—to “internalize market functions” (p. 382) by closely controlling its costs—Siemens's reorganization of the production processes reinforced the antilabor policies of Berlin-area employers. Homburg examines employers' support after World War I for a spectrum of restrictive administrative measures, from time and motion studies to the primitive psychological manipulation of the work force. She traces the moves at Siemens's Elmo division to produce electric motors more efficiently through large-scale, carefully designed serial production that approached the Ford-style assembly-line mass production.

Here Homburg displays a refreshing familiarity with industrial work in the metalworking and machine-building trades, and her sections on turning and assembling should be of interest to historians of production technology. She rightly finds the firm's “trial-and-error” approach (p. 677) to technical and organizational innovation resistant to neat summary. For example, while some skilled men fell victim to rationalization measures, Siemens retained specific “male and female domains of work” (p. 554) and never dispensed with the more expensive male workers. Yet by the late 1920s male skilled workers at Siemens were less likely to perform labor by hand; rationalization built a realm of complex, fast, and precise machine work for them. Meanwhile, the percentage of female workers who performed repetitive manual labor remained steady until the late 1930s. At the same time, the company's social policies—from sports clubs to pensions and bonuses—focused on “rationalizing the human factor” by “educating” the workers to cooperate with management in boosting productivity and cutting costs (p. 586). The goal was to build a factory community less buffeted by the disruptions of the market through the “technical-administrative means” of scientific management and seductively disciplining social policies, thus creating a “technocratic utopia” (p. 681). Homburg believes that management's drive for “total managerial control over workers” (p. 681) was ultimately unattainable in the Weimar Republic. In the National Socialists' “people's community,” it was another matter: management's aim to control “the human factor” was on the table again.

This book is almost always interesting; indeed, I can only hint at many of its merits. For example, its discussions of gender, the labor market, and industrial work at Siemens are compelling and refreshingly concrete. In the main, Homburg wears her rich theoretical sophistication lightly. Not least, she has

demonstrated why the study of industrial rationalization is a superb way of raising political, social, and cultural questions near the center of the tumult of modern German history.

BERNARD P. BELLON

Georgia Institute of Technology

JÜRGEN ZARUSKY. *Die deutschen Sozialdemokraten und das sowjetische Modell: Ideologische Auseinandersetzung und ausenpolitische Konzeptionen 1917–1933*. (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 39.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1992. Pp. 328. DM 68.

This study of German Social Democratic perspectives on Soviet Russia presents no surprises. Although Jürgen Zarusky notes that no comprehensive work on this theme exists, the larger part of his inquiry encompasses the period that has received the most attention, the first half-decade of the sixteen years that he surveys. Most of his findings confirm previous conclusions. As a state claiming to be progressing toward a socialist destination, Soviet Russia posed a serious challenge to both the ideological standing and the political fortunes of German social democracy. For the most part the Social Democratic Party (SPD) responded negatively. Its leaders rejected the Soviet model as dictatorial and chaotic. They were hostile as well because of Russian support for the German Communist Party, the SPD's chief rival for the working-class vote. No less important, in foreign policy the Social Democrats consistently subordinated relations with the Soviets to a West European orientation. Nevertheless, Soviet Russia could not be ignored, especially when, as was true both in the revolutionary years (1917–22) and in the era of the first Five-Year Plan (1929–33), it held out the hope of a break with capitalism, while social democracy faced change haltingly and defensively.

In assessing these developments Zarusky is sympathetic toward the policies and judgments of the Social Democrats. He rejects earlier, more critical interpretations, which contended that social democracy's responses to Soviet Russia were distorted by a frantic antirevolutionism. He emphasizes—and this is one of the fresh turns in his research—the important role that exiled Mensheviks played in shaping German socialist opinion of the Soviets. Figures such as Raphael Abramowitz, Peter Garvy, and Alexander Stein wrote with noteworthy “objectivity and precision” (p. 290) about Russian conditions. Yet in relying as heavily as he does on Menshevik commentators, Zarusky shifts his focus somewhat from the SPD to the arena of international socialist organization. He does this as well in giving prominence to the views and writings of Karl Kautsky, whose ideological authority within social democracy had declined by 1920. Even as Zarusky cites a polemic by Kautsky from 1925, he must concede that it found “scarcely an echo” (p. 218) within the SPD. And the most he can

say for a later book on Bolshevism by Kautsky is that it "had to influence" Social Democratic judgments of German Communism (p. 268).

In respect to commentary on the Soviets, Zarusky may well be the captive of his sources. Whereas the Kautsky papers and the Mensheviks' journals are available, most of the minutes of SPD executive committee and Reichstag delegation meetings have been lost. In their absence it cannot be easily known how the question of Soviet Russia affected the dynamics of SPD policy decisions. Zarusky can recapitulate the formal statements of party leadership and left-wing opposition, but his analysis does not make clear to what degree, especially after 1923, they were more than ritualistic pronouncements. As justified as he is, moreover, in insisting that the SPD rightly criticized the absence of democracy in the Soviet state, he underestimates German social democracy's weakness in failing to develop an economic goal. The late-1920s concept of *Wirtschaftsdemokratie* (economic democracy) did not suffice; by the early 1930s, SPD interest in the Soviet Five-Year Plan was not exclusively confined to the left wing. Such crosscurrents, however, remain beyond the scope of this study.

DAN S. WHITE  
State University of New York,  
Albany

PETER HUBERT. *Uniformierter Reichstag: Die Geschichte der Pseudo-Volksvertretung 1933–1945*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 97.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1992. Pp. 394. DM 78.

The title of Peter Hubert's book does not do justice to the importance of his subject. Long mocked as the most highly paid singing society in the Third Reich, the Reichstag in fact played a much more important role than historians have traditionally attributed to it. Hubert makes this case convincingly and has produced a work that focuses not only on parliamentary and legal history but political theory and social history as well.

The book is firmly grounded in the sources. Although a plodding style taxes readers' powers of concentration, their efforts nevertheless are rewarded with a wealth of new information regarding the political parties and members of the Reichstag during the fateful months of 1933. There was never any question that the Nazi Party would control the Reichstag in the future, but there was heated debate on the shape this should take. Some leaders wished to replace it with the *Reichsparteitag* of the NSDAP, while others proposed a *Ständekammer* or a new institution based on Hermann Göring's remodeled Prussian Council of State. The most bizarre proposal was offered by Helmut Nicolai of the Interior Ministry, who suggested transforming the NSDAP into an elitist German Order, with a senate of sixty members.

Such impracticality led Joseph Goebbels to observe that "Juristen sind a priori idiotisch" (p. 132).

Hitler, wishing to use the prestige of the Reichstag for his own purposes, was himself ambivalent about the future role it should assume. Initially he needed it to deconstruct the Weimar parliamentary and party system. Hubert notes that after the passage of the *Ermächtigungsgesetz* of March 24, 1933, the reality of the National Socialist dictatorship itself became the highest norm of legality. Germany essentially had a new Basic Law, and leading conservative writers, such as Carl Schmitt and Ernst Rudolf Huber, offered elaborate conceptual approval of this development.

Hitler ultimately decided to maintain the legal fiction of the Reichstag, acknowledging that it reinforced his totalitarian system. He made use of it whenever the opportunity seemed appropriate. In May 1933, he turned to the Reichstag to enable him to present a united German front to the League of Nations on the disarmament issue. Thereafter, the Reichstag became a dramatic stage for Hitler's speeches and served as a handmaiden for national plebiscites. Hitler employed it at critical historical junctures to showcase his politics of symbolism: in 1935 with the passage of the Nuremberg Racial Laws, in 1936 following the occupation of the Rhineland, in 1938 with the approval of the *Anschluss* with Austria, and early in World War II to dramatize Germany's astounding victories. A seat in the Reichstag became a question of prestige for party members and a coveted source of political patronage. Again and again the Reichstag voted to extend full powers to the Führer, and it last met in April 1942. The war ended Hitler's plans to develop appropriate institutional machinery for an orderly succession to his rule.

Hubert is at his best in analyzing the question of the fierce struggle for power waged between Hans Heinrich Lammers of the *Reichskanzlei* and Wilhelm Frick, minister of the Interior. This rivalry reflected a fundamental difference in policy regarding the relationship between the institutions of the state and the party in the Third Reich. Frick fought to integrate the party leadership into the institutions of state rather than transferring all state authority to the party leaders, but his plan for *Reichsreform* was ill-fated from the start. Hubert's volume contributes significantly to the prestigious series published by the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and Political Parties.

JAY W. BAIRD  
Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio

MICHAEL H. KATER. *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 291. \$24.95.

Düsseldorf saw the founding of the International Swing Rhythm Club by teenage jazz enthusiasts in

1936, three years after National Socialism came to power. "The members all adopted English names . . . and tried to identify . . . with blacks in Harlem and the rural American south, rather than the Hitler youth" (p. 81), writes Michael H. Kater. Kater, who introduces himself in the preface as both a jazz lover and an active jazz musician, has indeed uncovered the unlikely, of which Düsseldorf's Rhythm Club is but one example: the survival of this music under the Third Reich, where racism led to the disparagement of jazz as "nigger music" (p. 30).

The regime did attempt to silence the music it hated. In 1933, under Joseph Goebbels's general supervision, the Reich Music Chamber began its campaign to limit the employment of Jews and foreigners in the music industry; one of the intended effects was to restrict jazz. Furthermore, radio broadcasts were censored and, after December 1937, the sale of foreign jazz recordings was banned. But devotees side-stepped the rules. For example, one store "continued to sell jazz records . . . having glued phony German labels onto the originals" (p. 51).

Part of the Nazis' failure lay in "the haphazard totalitarianism of Hitler's regime" (p. 45). Local party officials often accomplished more to suppress the jazz culture than Goebbels did through the bureaucracy. To a degree, however, jazz was a concession to popular taste, and during World War II, to the Wehrmacht. Many soldiers flatly wanted the new music. So, Nazi scruples or not, jazz combos were hired to entertain the army, out-of-the-way cafes occasionally offered this foreign sound—"ingested like a rare liqueur" (p. 166)—to troops on leave, and military stations put jazz on the airwaves; this last concession was a losing effort to distract the soldiers from their preferred programs on American or British radio.

There is a macabre side to Kater's argument that even the Nazi elite was not free of the taste for jazz. Some SS officers and men at the concentration and death camps organized combos from among the inmates, many of whom did not survive.

Nazi Germany tolerated jazz more than the ideology suggested it would. By the same token, the jazz scene supplied the Reich with more support than the German/foreign ideological dichotomy might suggest. Although this music could signify "an explicit challenge to a dictatorial regime" (p. 108), as with Hamburg's Swing youth, several prominent musicians and enthusiasts lined up with apparent ease behind Hitler, joining the party or even the SS.

Between those who prospered and those who suffered under the regime, jazz survived in Germany, and in an epilogue Kater surveys "postwar jazz triumphant." All told, this is an outstanding work. Its concept is novel, its method a fine mix of archival research with the collection of oral and written testimonies. It is virtually encyclopedic in its effort to convey the life stories of so many contributors to German jazz; to evaluate the sound of particular musicians; to analyze the audience—generally urban,

young, middle class—and the business; to identify the personal connections and the main locales. Kater's work has added to our knowledge and borrowed from the sheer excitement of its remarkable topic.

R. E. SACKETT  
University of Colorado,  
Colorado Springs

MARGARET F. STIEG. *Public Libraries in Nazi Germany*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 347. \$59.95.

One is more apt to associate Nazi Germany with book burning and library purges than with book buying and library promotion. Margaret F. Stieg's thoroughly researched study, the first comprehensive examination of public libraries in Nazi Germany, reveals that library policy in the Third Reich was far more complex than we might assume, with the positive and the negative hopelessly entangled.

On the one hand, the Nazis modernized, invigorated, and professionalized public librarianship. Before 1933, German public libraries were poorly financed and sparsely and unevenly distributed throughout the nation; librarians were sharply divided over the proper function of libraries (education versus entertainment), they lacked any professional administrative structure and often professional training, and they provided only minimal services to their patrons.

After 1933, Bernhard Rust's Education Ministry (which, after a brief jurisdictional struggle with Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, gained control over the libraries) did much to redirect and transform librarianship. For example, it firmly established the principle that public libraries are a public responsibility that must be supported by tax revenues; it dramatically increased government spending for public libraries; it increased the number, and improved the professional training, of librarians; by increasing the number of public libraries some 40 percent and aggressively promoting the spread of libraries to rural and border areas, it brought public libraries to many Germans who had not been served before; it emphasized a new focus on the reader, encouraging librarians to more actively, imaginatively, and even aggressively serve their patrons; and it sought to encourage young readers by establishing close cooperation between libraries and local Hitler Jugend groups.

But on the other hand, the regime radically politicized public libraries, forcing a humanistic cultural institution to serve narrow (and ultimately inhumane) Nazi political aims, and compelling professional librarians to betray their professional ethics. The Education Ministry quickly purged public library collections of any books considered incompatible with the Nazi outlook (including Marxist, pacifist-liberal, or reactionary writings, destructive "asphalt" literature,



writings from a Christian viewpoint that opposed national socialism or the claims of a totalitarian state, and any books on the history or problems of Jews and Judaism); it packed libraries instead with mind-numbing pro-Nazi blather; it closed the stacks in public libraries to further restrict readers' ability to find and choose their own reading material; it attempted to squeeze out of existence the commercially operated subscription lending libraries (*Leihbücherei*); and it withdrew all public support for, and otherwise severely restricted, the extensive system of public Catholic libraries that had existed before 1933, and after 1940 also forced these to purge all nonreligious book from their collections. Despite the government's energetic efforts to promote libraries and reading, the number of Germans who patronized public libraries actually fell between 1933 and 1938; during the war, book production declined drastically (because of paper shortages), schools to train new librarians were closed (because of labor shortages), and German libraries suffered massive physical destruction. The Nazi legacy, then, is mixed: some good was done, but for the worst reasons, and for every positive contribution there were heavy costs.

This is not an easy book to read. Stieg too often gets bogged down in minute administrative details, tells us far more than we care to know about obscure provincial librarians and officials, tends to describe rather than analyze policies and outcomes, and refers to institutions sometimes by the German name, sometimes by the English translation, and sometimes by the German abbreviation. Her book is, nevertheless, a solid and welcome contribution that makes clear how the Nazi regime "coordinated" and ultimately perverted German public libraries, and how librarians, in turn—like most other German professions—accommodated themselves to Nazi policies.

GARY D. STARK  
University of Texas,  
Arlington

R. H. S. STOLFI. *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 272. \$24.95.

The well-known operational historian R. H. S. Stolfi has now undertaken a full-length interpretation of the conflict as it relates to the European theater. His thesis is that Germany had so soundly defeated the Red Army and Air Force on the central front during June and July 1941 that it should have been able to take Moscow by the end of August and thus change the course of the war. The Wehrmacht's failure came about not because it was deficient but because Adolf Hitler halted the motorized formations for two crucial months and diverted some of them south rather than pushing ahead toward the Soviet capital and beyond. His decision reflected a tendency that had been part of his thinking for some time: that eco-

nomics factors should dominate Blitzkrieg or operational considerations in conducting modern war. But in this case, the resultant delay cost Germany a quick victory and, in effect, led to its ultimate defeat.

Stolfi deals with the first part of this thesis—that Germany actually lost the war in the summer of 1941—in a convincing manner. His revisionist approach is not, however, as novel as the author contends. Klaus Reinhardt in his *Die Wende vor Moskau: Das Scheitern der Strategie Hitlers im Winter 1941/42* (1972) wrote virtually the same thing more than twenty years ago, and others, including the German semi-official history, *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg* (1979–90), have long accepted that that portion of the Barbarossa campaign was one of the major turning points. It is also surprising that the author does not discuss the "disappearance" around Leningrad of one panzer and two motorized divisions from Rudolf Schmidt's XXXIX Corps, which had been detached from Hermann Hoth's Panzer Group 3 on the central front. Stolfi's recognition that there was both a northern and a southern diversion would have strengthened his case even further.

The second part of his thesis—that Hitler usually thought in terms of economic security—is less persuasive. To be sure, economic matters were the primary reason for the diversions toward Leningrad and into Ukraine, but to see them as part of a consistent pattern in Hitler's strategic calculations from 1939 to 1941, and to contend that he was basically cautious and held back his field commanders, is difficult to accept. Stolfi's reasoning leads one to conclude that Hitler thought solely in European terms, but his concept of *Lebensraum* and the types of weapons he ordered built in 1939 and again in the summer of 1940 demonstrate that he had more extensive goals in mind.

Although there are further problems with Stolfi's thesis, including his contention that the August–September pause formed the one, decisive turning point in the European war, his effort does include a number of important ideas. For example, his examination of the failure of German forces to push more strongly past the Dvina River in the north in June and of the heavy fighting in the south in July do help explain German actions. Moreover, his description of the tank forces involved is authoritative and proves again that the much-discussed operational aspects of the war are still open to further interpretations. Nevertheless, any fundamental revision of the significance of the Russo–German front will more likely come not from German sources but from the archives of the former Soviet Union.

ALAN F. WILT  
Iowa State University

GILES MACDONOGH. *A Good German: Adam von Trott zu Solz*. 2d ed. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook. 1992. Pp. x, 358. \$25.00.



Next to the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Adam von Trott zu Solz has received most attention among the personages of the German resistance against Hitler. This is the fourth biography after Clarita von Trott's privately circulated and indispensable "Erste Materialsammlung" (1957), Christopher Sykes's controversial *Troubled Loyalty* (1968), and Henry O. Malone's so far unfinished *Adam von Trott zu Solz: Werdegang eines Verschwörers 1909–1938* (1986). Furthermore, in 1986 a series of lectures, *The Challenge of the Third Reich*, edited by Hedley Bull, was dedicated to the memory of Adam von Trott. In the course of time he has become a legendary figure of sorts and has been hard to place in the conventional categories of political behavior. A traditionalist, he was also a socialist; having deep roots in his native Hesse, he considered England his second home; a German patriot, he was a dedicated internationalist; an advocate of a peace policy, he was an anti-appeaser; a distinct "Westerner" in his outlook, he also toyed with aligning his country with the "fraternity of the oppressed common people" of Europe, inspired by Soviet Russia.

Trott has understandably found his admirers and detractors among his contemporaries as well as among his historians. The "Trott problem" has not yet been put to rest and probably never will. How, for example, are we to explain his intimate ties with the so-called "Cliveden Set" of the Astors; his appreciation of Neville Chamberlain's "courageous lead"; and his persistent advocacy of the German national interest in the light of his unwavering opposition to Nazism? No doubt Trott did make, indeed had to make, detours on that uncharted path of resistance foreign policy; no doubt he made some "mistakes" on the way to reach his objective, the displacement of the Hitler regime.

The enigma and controversy surrounding Trott have nurtured the continued fascination with his personality, of which the book under review is a manifestation. Its author, Giles MacDonogh, has set out to clear up the "misunderstandings" about Trott that have circulated in Britain and the United States. Trott was not the "spy at Cliveden," as he has been perceived in the London popular press as well as in the Foreign Office; neither was he the dangerous leftist that J. Edgar Hoover suspected him to be. So far so good. But it stands to reason that not only the Allies, and especially the British Foreign Office, misjudged Trott's objectives, but also that he in turn misjudged the priorities of the British, leaving them perplexed. He simply expected too much from them. The historian must, therefore, deal with mutual misunderstandings and a clash of interests. Certainly the prescriptions of "absolute silence" (Winston Churchill) toward the German opposition and "unconditional surrender" (Franklin Roosevelt) cannot be summarily dismissed as "sterile formulae" designed to hold the "flimsy" Grand Alliance together, as they are in this book.

Fascination with a subject is not in itself a sufficient guideline for the historian. What the book lacks is professional skill and critical distance. To begin with, much of the (often tedious) biographical detail was meticulously presented by Malone; why reinvent the wheel? Furthermore, MacDonogh's research in primary sources is spotty, and his volume abounds in factual mistakes and misspellings.

No doubt much more remains to be said and written about Trott. Let there be a moratorium, however, on both apologists and detractors. Only by examining dispassionately the place of resistance foreign policy within the framework of traditional diplomacy, and by balancing the needs and risks incurred by an opposition negotiating with the "other side" (especially in time of war) with the priorities and prerogatives of that "other side," can we reach a proper appreciation of the ultimate stature and accomplishment of Trott. But the road to what C. F. von Weizsäcker called "Weltinnenpolitik" is as yet a very long one.

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER  
Smith College

CONSTANTIN GOSCHLER. *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus (1945–1954)*. (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 34.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1992. Pp. 343. DM 78.

To make good again, as justice seems to demand, a crime as immense, as heinous, as horrific as the Nazi persecution of millions of people has seemed both impossible and morally indispensable. How could one possibly make the persecuted whole again after such brutal inhumanity? But how could one ignore the victims' sufferings and let off scot free the perpetrators and the German people in whose name they acted?

Various writers have examined different aspects of the international struggles to realize a *Wiedergutmachung* (making good again) for Nazism's victims, both by returning confiscated property to its original owners and by compensating the persecuted for losses of freedom, health, and career. Constantin Goschler, however, offers an exhaustively researched, comprehensive overview of the policy-making process behind the various West German *Wiedergutmachung* programs from 1945 to 1953.

Many people who suffered from the "normal" injuries of the war secured recompense. The Allies and many Germans, however, agreed that the persecuted deserved special consideration. Yet persecution alone was insufficient grounds for restitution. Only those who organized effectively and met Allied and German normative expectations (that is, those persecuted on racial, religious, or political grounds) received recompense. Gypsies, homosexuals, forcibly sterilized individuals, and "asocials" received nothing

in the 1940s and 1950s because Allied and German opinion considered them morally undeserving.

Initially, the persecuted were accorded privileged access to scarce goods by the occupying powers, often at the expense of Nazis. The Allies also compelled Germans to legislate the restitution of confiscated property. Restitution was relatively easy to implement and would reassert the sanctity of private property. Goschler also notes the U.S. government's determination to restore the confiscated property of German refugees who had become naturalized U.S. citizens. Both privileges and restitution created resentment, especially where Germans had to surrender confiscated property acquired, purportedly, "in good faith."

Establishing compensation legislation for non-property losses proved more troublesome. Goschler argues that Western property-based legal systems could more easily deal with property losses. More important, paying compensation meant acknowledging some collective responsibility or guilt for Nazi crimes and assuming real financial burdens. West Germans were loath to do either. Goschler thinks they would have paid some modest compensation in any event, but that only concern for Germany's international position convinced Konrad Adenauer to negotiate, and parliament to approve, substantial individual compensation to individual persecuted, usually living in Germany, and collective compensation to Israel and to Jewish groups representing the thousands of surviving Jewish victims of Nazi persecution who had emigrated elsewhere than Israel.

Goschler is generally effective in explaining policy making in the *Wiedergutmachung*. His research is convincingly broad and his analysis coherent and insightful. He should have investigated government-party attitudes and why those in power voted for *Wiedergutmachung* in 1952–53, despite widespread public reluctance.

Goschler's efforts suggest important areas for further research. He discusses German public opinion only briefly, but nuanced studies of popular attitudes would illuminate the *Wiedergutmachung*'s development and German attitudes toward both socially marginalized groups and their own moral and social responsibilities. Did *Wiedergutmachung* strengthen West German democracy or, as many contemporaries argued, simply exacerbate surviving anti-Semitic and antidemocratic attitudes? Comparative studies could also be extremely enlightening. We need to know, especially after unification, how *Wiedergutmachung* developed in the German Democratic Republic. Looking at other peoples' struggles with past injustices could also be illuminating. Americans, for example, took four decades to compensate the Japanese Americans they interned during World War II. As brutal as Nazi policies were and as grudging as many Germans have been toward *Wiedergutmachung*, the Federal Republic was, relatively, very generous. Understanding exactly why seems important.

Overall, Goschler's book, if more detailed than any

but experts are likely to read, is an impressive and informative contribution.

MICHAEL L. HUGHES  
Wake Forest University

MARK ROSEMAN. *Recasting the Ruhr, 1945–1958: Manpower, Economic Recovery and Labour Relations*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xv, 358. \$71.50.

As part of his general plan to "deindustrialize" the former German Reich, U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau recommended sealing the mines of the Ruhr District. In the event, Morgenthau's ideas had been largely discarded by the time the occupation began in May 1945 because of a general recognition of the need for Ruhr coal for the postwar European economy. What is more, at least in the short term, American plans mattered little: the British, after all, controlled the Ruhr. Their efforts to resuscitate this vital region, actual conditions in the mines, and initiatives by German bureaucrats, managers, and workers interacted to alter Ruhr coal fundamentally between 1945 and 1958. Mark Roseman's book traces that interaction, focusing in particular on the fundamental question facing occupiers and occupied alike: how to get (and keep) manpower in the area.

Part 1 of the book deals primarily with various attempts by occupation officials and management to attract manpower to the mines, first through incentive programs and then—especially after the currency reform—through programs to provide cheap and attractive housing. Roseman provides an impressive level of detail in this first section. In addition, he wisely decided to end his study not early in the 1950s, as is more conventional, but rather in 1958, when price increases in Ruhr coal, an influx of cheap American coal, and the reopening of the Suez Canal forced retrenchment in the German coal industry. Still, much of the territory covered in this part of the book will be familiar; those unfamiliar with the subject may find some of the analysis hard to follow since Roseman quotes extensively, and without translation, from German documents. In addition, a number of areas of potential interest to specialists are neglected. What, for instance, was the impact of negotiations for, and the formation of, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) on Ruhr coal? What were Allied plans for restructuring the industry, and what effects did they have on debates about manpower? How were such plans for the coal industry related to more general Allied attempts to alter the structure of the German economy through trust-busting and decartelization? Roseman touches on such questions briefly, but more sustained attention to them would have improved this section of his book substantially.

In part 2, Roseman leaves the well-traveled territory of occupation policy, economics, and technology for "the murkier, richer seas of culture and ideology"

(p. 319). Examining apprenticeship programs, housing design and construction, and the culture of mining hostels, Roseman indicates how Ruhr management attempted not only to attract new workers to the mines but also to reshape working-class culture. Managers hoped to avoid the labor disputes of the Weimar Republic by instilling different values in new, mostly young miners. Yet the attempt failed, in part because managers' vision of the "new" miner looked to the past rather than to the present, taking little account of what the miners actually wanted. More importantly, management practice remained authoritarian and paternalistic, which, especially when jobs opened in other areas in the mid-1950s, had the effect of driving off rather than attracting new workers.

In sum, Roseman's account of continuity and change in ideology and working-class culture in the Ruhr constitutes his most valuable contribution to postwar German historiography.

RAYMOND G. STOKES  
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

o

ANTHONY J. PAREL. *The Machiavellian Cosmos*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. 203. \$30.00.

Historians and political philosophers who study the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli have become increasingly aware of the complexity of the Florentine Secretary's mentality, from which and within which he made his political pronouncements. It is truly amazing how many studies there have been in English within the last ten years seeking to unravel his mental and historical affiliations in order to give some finality and coherence to his work. A major question has been the extent to which he should be considered "modern" or "essentially modern" in his political teaching as opposed to being fundamentally comprehensible as a representative of a premodern, although typically Renaissance, mode of thinking. Such is the case with Anthony J. Parel's study. The key to understanding Machiavelli, Parel claims, lies in his attachment to an astrological world view, one that scholars have become increasingly cognizant of as a major, although not unchallenged, ingredient of Renaissance thought and practice.

Parel sees Machiavelli's astrological notions as characteristic of a Renaissance or late-medieval intellectual school of natural philosophers that would include such figures as Biaggio dei Pelacani and Pietro Pomponazzi. They comprised what might be called pseudomaterialists, skeptical of all religions and holding that all events—celestial, meteorological, geophysical, historical, and personal—were determined by the regular, cyclical changes of position of the planets in relation to each other and the fixed stars in a universe best described by Claudius Ptolemy and the great Arabian astrologer, Abu Ma'shar. To this astro-physical theory of shifting stellar positions determin-

ing influences there was added the Galenic physiology of the four humors—sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic—functioning in a proportional relationship determined by the position of the heavens in relation to the specific locus of an individual either at the moment of conception or birth (theories differed).

Parel applies this to the vocabulary with which Machiavelli describes and judges the political behavior of individual and collective rulers and republics. There are both long-run cycles of history that determine the character of particular times, whether the moment is favorable for a variety of particular types of action, and more rapidly changing circumstances designated as "fortune." Geographical location is also important, because astrological influences affect particular regions differently at any particular time. As a result empires may rise and fall, or provinces vary in their attachment to the organization and use of military power. Most important for interpreting Machiavelli's attitude toward and criticism of the political influence of Christianity on the political events of his time is the astrological doctrine that conjunctions of major planets, which occur at long intervals of time, bring into existence new religions and cause the demise of old ones. Religion therefore cannot be truly based on supernatural gods and deities, but it is a form of group historical behavior naturally brought about by calculable cosmic events.

It can be seen that these are inclusive forces postulated as historical and political determinants; the question is how strictly they should be applied to Machiavelli's writings. Parel is cognizant of the disputed character of astrology in the Renaissance and of the range of astrological theories, from the most literally deterministic to the total rejection of astrology except for certain meteorological effects by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. For many contemporaries the astrological cosmos was subordinated to a Christian theological hierarchy of spirits or intelligences deriving from pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Plotinus, as in the case of Marsilio Ficino. But Machiavelli, Parel holds, recognized no such religious limitation. Parel argues that political history and the influence of religion on political and military behavior are explained by Machiavelli as determined by the astrological framework.

The question of fortune and *virtù* is also critical. For Machiavelli, fortune is the purely fortuitous occurring within the context of the astrologically necessary, and *virtù* is the force of the individual or of the collectivity striving for power or survival. Collectively, this striving assumes the historical form of what Machiavelli calls the "humors" which can be social classes, political factions, or ideological parties mobilized by a passionate desire (hence humors) to attain their collective ends. They can be monarchic, republican, or anarchic, and Parel spells out Machiavelli's thought on each in *The Prince*, the *Discourses*, and the *Florentine Histories*.

Parel's book is carefully and knowledgeably constructed on analyses of the full range of Machiavelli's writings. It deserves the kind of deep and argumentative analysis a book review cannot possibly offer. I ask only how Parel can resolve the paradox that this deterministic system is directed toward a reform of political behavior among the contemporaries or posterity of Machiavelli, a man dedicated to most active striving while living in politically imposed idleness.

CHARLES TRINKAUS  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor

SERGIO PAGANO. *Il processo di Endimio Calandra e l'inquisizione a Mantova nel 1567-1568*. (Studi e Testi, number 339.) Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1991. Pp. xxi, 406.

The publication of this volume is noteworthy on two counts. It provides an unusually rich portrait of sixteenth-century Italian heterodoxy, ranking for range and quality of information with the famous proceedings against the fallen protonotary Pietro Carnesecchi, executed at Rome in 1567, and of the renegade Anabaptist, Pietro Manelfi, tried at Bologna and Rome in 1551. Almost as remarkable is the fact that the Inquisitorial trial of Endimio Calandra, published here in an impeccably prepared edition, is preserved in the Archive of the Holy Office in Rome, which remains inaccessible for scholarly research. Father Sergio Pagano of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano has been a fortunate exception to this rule. In fact, this is the third book to appear as a result of his privileged forays into the palace of the Holy Office. The first was a new edition of the trial of Galileo, and the second a collection of documents connected with the career of the noblewoman and poet Vittoria Colonna, who herself might have become a victim of the Inquisition had she not died in 1547.

Endimio Calandra was a prominent figure at the court of the Gonzaga in Mantua in the 1540s and early 1550s, where he served as the intimate counselor of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. He was also one of the principal figures in Mantuan heterodoxy, continuing his activities and widening his circle of contacts when he left the cardinal's service and took up residence in Venice from 1552 until 1565, before returning to Mantua. The Inquisitorial proceedings against him, spanning the years 1567-68, constitute the only trial surviving from the activities of the Mantuan Holy Office. With the correspondence of the Mantuan Inquisitor, Camillo Campeggi, to the Supreme Congregation in Rome, also preserved in the Archive of the Holy Office, we are permitted to follow step-by-step a notable episode in the unfolding of Rome's rigorous campaign to extirpate heresy from the peninsula launched immediately after the accession to the papal throne of the firebrand Pius V in 1566.

Calandra's may be the only surviving Mantuan Inquisitorial trial. But it is only one of probably dozens conducted in that city by Campeggi affecting all ranks of society and even members of the court and ruling family. The antiheretical campaign, perceived by the population from Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga down to his lowliest subject as a virtual reign of terror, created an unparalleled climate of tension and resentment. "It's as if these monks wanted to imprison the whole world," the duke lamented to his secretary. On Christmas day 1567, two Dominicans, members of the religious order that staffed the Inquisition, were stabbed to death on the street. Monks barricaded themselves in their convents and prepared for a renewed onslaught. The duke, affronted by the wholesale arrests of his citizens, refused to have further dealings with the Inquisitor and withheld the customary support of the secular arm in the discharge of his duties. "The Pharaoh's heart has become hardened," Campeggi wrote to Rome, which in turn ordered its governor in papal Bologna to dispatch troops to Mantua to carry out an arrest opposed by the duke. More significantly, the pope also asked the archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, with his immense prestige, to attempt to mediate the crisis in Mantua and seek a reconciliation between duke and Inquisitor. Eventually, Borromeo obtained the desired ends. Guglielmo Gonzaga acquiesced, and the trials, *autos-dà-fé*, and executions went forward. The stand-off between church and state had ended with a full victory for the cause of the faith.

As for Calandra himself, because he had presented himself spontaneously to the Inquisition and testified fully against evangelical suspects, living and dead, he was sentenced to a brief prison sentence, to the wearing of the *habitello*, the penitential garment assigned to the convicted heretic, and he was deprived of his benefices.

Pagano has illuminated vividly a significant moment in Italian Reformation history. He has also, once again, turned our attention to the wealth of historical documentation preserved in the restricted confines of the Roman Archive of the Holy Office.

At a time when provincial episcopal archives housing Inquisitorial records are opening their doors all over Italy, one can only hope that authorities in Rome will soon want to follow this enlightened example.

JOHN TEDESCHI  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

MARIO TOSTI. *Le Banche dei poveri: Carità, mutualità e piccolo credito nelle campagne umbre dall'antico regime all'età liberale*. (Risorgimento, Idee e Realtà, new series, number 12.) Rome: Ateneo, for the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. 1990. Pp. 159.

Mario Tosti sets out in his monograph to reconstruct the history of the *monti frumentari* in Umbria from



their origins in the old regime (roughly 1500) to their effective demise in the liberal era (1900). Although less studied than their so-called cousins, the *monte di pietà*, they were, Tosti seems to believe, no less important in the economic life of the Umbrian countryside. The *monti frumentari* were, for the most part, village-level institutions created by local priests and/or civic leaders to provide in-kind credit to the needy. They functioned as grain banks, lending grain for seed or for consumption to the poor in times of scarcity and, at least in theory, receiving repayment, again in kind, in times of surplus.

The question that most directors had to face, sooner or later, was what to do if a loan were not repaid. In effect, directors had to decide whether they were providing charity or making loans. In a great many instances, they tried to do both and ended up doing neither well. The problem was simple. If the *monti* were prepared, under certain circumstances, to transform loans into charitable gifts at no cost to the borrowers, then all borrowers would have a strong incentive to seek ways to avoid repayment. Ambiguity of purpose created severe moral hazard problems for directors and limited the effectiveness of the institutions. Contemporaries were aware of these difficulties and, as Tosti shows in some detail, repeated attempts were made to impose regulations on the *monti*. For one reason or another, none was successful. As one would expect in such an environment, some *monti* were more successful than others; some survived, most (I would guess—Tosti does not tell us) did not. What is clear from the text is that by the end of the nineteenth century, the only ones that played any kind of role in the economic life of the region were those that acted as fully fledged microcredit institutions.

The author leaves some important questions unanswered. He fails, for example, to provide the kind of information that would allow the reader to evaluate the contribution made by the *monti* to the credit (or charity) needs of the poor of Umbria. The simple question is, did they matter? Tosti does not tell us. Why were some more successful than others? Although I have my guess, Tosti is silent on the matter. In spite of these shortcomings, the book is certain to become the definitive work on the subject. Those with an interest in the modern history of Umbria will find the book essential reading while those concerned more generally with microcredit institutions will find some useful material in the monograph.

JON S. COHEN  
University of Toronto

SABINA LORIGA. *Soldats: Un laboratoire disciplinaire: L'armée piémontaise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Mentha. 1991. Pp. 318. 120 fr.

Sabina Loriga's study is easily the best book on the relationship between the soldier and his society in the

eighteenth century published since André Corvisier's *L'armée française de la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle au Ministère de Choiseul* (1964). Although her work is cast in a more sociological framework, Loriga has written an excellent thesis that explains the soldiers of Piedmont as they lived and died in the eighteenth century. Given the thoroughness of the research in English, French, and Italian, it is doubtful that any future writer in this social-science vein would dare ignore this book. This work begs for translation into English so that our graduate, and even more our undergraduate, students can be introduced to what must be the beginning of numerous works, long and short, on this general subject.

Loriga has divided her work into an introduction, six concise chapters, and conclusion, with copious footnotes and well-thought-out indexes. After a brief summary of her intellectual antecedents, she discusses in a logical pattern: "La Croissance Institutionnelle de l'Armée," including the size of the force, its organization, and its professionalism (pp. 29–44); "Le Seuil Institutionnel," with discussions of the civil-military relationship, the idea of the garrison, and garrison life, including sickness and health (pp. 45–72); "La Formule Besion," which talks about the closeness of the Piedmont regiments to the local population and how the military was intertwined with the people, the court, the provincial upper classes, and the influence of large numbers of foreign-born officers—although, as close as the soldiers were, they still suffered discriminatory practices (pp. 73–104); "Les Experiences Militaires," which maintains that uniformity was compelling in and between the units, that the army was a place where men were educated, but that pensions and old age presented problems (pp. 105–46); "Incertitude Charismatique," about how fragile morale is while distinguishing among different types of soldiers (such as regulars and militia, volunteers and draftees), and covering such problems as military justice (pp. 147–202); and "Le Projet Disciplinaire," about how disciplinary problems and the entire theme of military discipline sprang from normal uneasiness, the Prussian example so powerful after 1740, and the character not only of the individual soldiers but also of a collection of individuals within a given military unit (pp. 203–19).

Loriga's conclusions (pp. 219–24) are kept within the tight framework of her intellectual antecedents and the work being accomplished at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. By dividing this excellent work's conclusions into five categories, the author has left no doubt about the importance of her thesis or what she considers to be her contributions to our understanding of the soldiers of Piedmont in the eighteenth century. For example, the military is difficult to understand because its members come from all classes and influence all classes. Other than the ritual of swearing allegiance to the crown and using a common language of command, the eighteenth century presents what is really a bewildering whirlwind



of change. There is an obvious requirement that soldiers be heavily disciplined, but the training methods for instilling this discipline in soldiers is a murky area. Some individuals never learn! Perhaps these problems would have been less important if the mechanism of command had not been so fragile. (I offer here that it always has been.) Loriga finishes her conclusions by letting us know that discipline, despite regulations and the vaunted Prussian model, was something worked out in every unit as a result of cooperation between officers, sergeants, and enlisted men. (This has also always been true.)

It would be hard for me to argue with the content and conclusions of this book, which won the thesis prize at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* in 1991. The entire work is a wonderful reminder that history is done well in many different places.

CLAUDE C. STURGILL  
University of Florida

CATHERINE WENDY BRACEWELL. *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 329. \$45.00.

Research in archives in Croatia, Slovenia, Florence, Venice, Vienna (Kriegsarchiv), and at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies provides the basis for Catherine Wendy Bracewell's study. Complemented by a splendid choice of published sources, the book is an exemplary contribution to the history of the sixteenth-century Adriatic and Balkans.

A study of piracy, privateering, and banditry in an area stretching from the Adriatic Bay of Kotor to Istria, and along the military frontiers of three empires—Habsburg, Ottoman, and Venetian—the work focuses on the Uskoks of Senj. Refugees turned privateers and raiders operating from Senj, a small northern-Adriatic Croatian fortress town, free royal city, seat of a Roman Catholic bishopric, and headquarters of a captaincy of the Habsburg Military Frontier, the Uskoks were of heterogeneous ethnic (Serb, Croat, Albanian, Italian, and Vlach) and religious (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim) origin. The Habsburg Military Frontier was constituted between 1522 and 1553. Following the fall of the Croatian fortress of Klis to the Ottomans in 1537, some of the former defenders fled to Senj. Refugees from Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, and Venetian Albania, and deserters from the Venetian galleys, soon followed.

Senj Uskoks on the Military Frontier payroll (*stipendiati*) numbered 150 in 1571, 200 in 1585 and 1588, and 300 in 1593. Those not on the payroll—*venturini*—but joining the privateering ventures numbered 250 in 1571, 800 in 1585, 1,800 in 1588, and perhaps 3,200 in 1593. Many of the newest recruits were pastoral populations of partly Romanic origin (Vlachs), Serbian pastoralists, and former martoloses

(Christian Ottoman frontier troops) who had lost their privileges.

It is not clear why the number of *stipendiati* fell from 400 in 1598 to 150 in 1599 and 1600 and why the number of *venturini* fell to 600 in 1598 and 250 in 1599, rising to 550 in 1600. Perhaps the decrease stemmed from casualties in the war of 1593–1606 against the Ottomans and from the transfer of Uskoks to other captaincies.

A factor overlooked in today's conflicts in the same general region but crucial in the sixteenth century was the local and personal basis of loyalties. Broad areas of southeastern Europe with shared values and cultures lacked "shared goals" (p. 229). The Uskoks thus undertook raids in territories where they had personal connections—a network of friendships (determined by marital alliances), kin, and godfatherhood and foster-brotherhood relationships—and where it was easy to distinguish friend from foe. Largely stockherders by profession and sheep and cattle thieves by inclination, the Uskoks regarded the city and cultivators as the enemy unless personal relationships intervened to weaken such prejudices. Their most unrelenting enmity was directed against merchants and cities who supplied the Ottoman empire with goods it needed, supplying Europe with goods the Ottomans could spare: Jews, Venice, and Dubrovnik, probably in that order. As an urban culture inclined to view Vlachs, most of them of "the Serbian faith," as "coarse and dirty," uncultivated, "no great friends of toil," "more feral than human" (pp. 30–31, 227–28), Venice could not be a friend. Rijeka, however, could, for it was the chief place where the Uskoks sold their plunder.

By century's end, some Uskok leaders rejected the Venetian conception of the Adriatic as *mare nostrum*, thinking of it instead as "our Adriatic sea" (p. 209). But that vision, too, was less an expression of national ideology than of self-interest. The idea of a holy war against Islam drew strength in turn from the ethos of heroism. Valuing the maintenance of an honorable face (*svijetao obraz*), heroism required the prior fulfillment of obligations to kin, friends, and companions.

The subject of millennialism remains unexplored. In 1594, for example, many Ottoman subjects fled to Venetian Dalmatia, "a certain rumor passing among them," according to one Dalmatian report, "that the Ottoman Empire was about to end" (p. 24). Almost simultaneously, the Krmpote Vlachs of the Ottoman Lika frontier fled to Habsburg territory, having been, in their own words, "illuminated in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, and called into the desert of Lič by St. John the Baptist in a night-dream" (pp. 72–73). The author regrettably neglects the possible connection between the two events and does not set their occurrence in the framework of millennialism.

Even before 1600, and yet more by 1620, as the Ottoman empire shifted its attention to Persia and as the Habsburgs had to pacify Venice before being drawn into the Thirty Years' War, a new Habsburg

goal became evident: to bring Senj and the Military Frontier under more centralized control.

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS. *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 270. \$39.00.

At a time when religious and ethnic hatreds have reached a boiling point throughout much of the contemporary world, it is important to remember that violence has not always accompanied diversity within a state. Gerasimos Augustinos's book provides such a reminder.

Augustinos's work concentrates on the middle years of the nineteenth century. His observations slice through the political, religious, social, and economic aspects of Greek life in this critical period of Ottoman history. In general his study shows that the Greek minority of the Ottoman empire made significant progress at this time.

There was considerable variety within the Greek *millet*. Social differences widened as Greeks living along the Aegean coast became more prosperous. Smyrna, after Istanbul, grew to be a major city, the entrepôt of Anatolia. Yet Greek peasants who settled on the interior plateau hardly lived beyond the subsistence level. Their language, as often as not, was Turkish rather than Greek. Only their Orthodox faith kept them within the wider Hellenic world.

Communities (*koinotites*) had a special meaning for Asia Minor Greeks. It was membership in the community that provided identity in the nineteenth century. Both in urban districts and rural villages, the community served as the major political and social organ of the Greek *reaya*. Although elections might be held for leaders, inevitably wealthy laymen and churchmen won out and governed the communities in their own image. This meant that every effort was made to reflect the traditional patriarchal values that had been part of Anatolian life for centuries.

At the same time, it was obvious that change was coming. Since 1453 the Orthodox church and its hierarchy held power in the *millet*, but by the mid-nineteenth century this role was challenged. Forces of change included Ottoman political reforms, the coming of foreign Protestant missionaries, and the secularization of the Greek upper class. The existence of an independent Hellenic state just next door to the Ottoman empire complicated relations between the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Ottoman government.

Augustinos draws on demographic studies to record the improvement in schooling during the nineteenth century. The rising standard of living caused education to be prized among the merchant class of the Aegean towns. Schools for both boys and

girls were well attended. In contrast, educational opportunities were few for the Greeks of the Anatolian interior. Schools taught little more than the basics of reading and writing. The author's statement that independent Greece had no schools in 1821 is too sweeping. There were several male educational institutions in the Cyclades, and Ursuline nuns provided education for Greek girls on Naxos.

Augustinos has written a reasoned and detailed history of the Greeks in Asia Minor. He uses the limited original source material available with care. The book contains no reference to the tragic events that befell the Asia Minor Greeks following World War I that color so much of the historiography on this subject. This book now supersedes all that has been written previously on this subject.

CHARLES A. FRAZEE  
California State University,  
Fullerton

PAUL SANT CASSIA and CONSTANTINA BADA. *The Making of the Modern Greek Family: Marriage and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Athens*. (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, number 77.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 282. \$54.95.

Paul Sant Cassia and Constantina Bada's meticulous and painstaking research on marriage transactions in Athens at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries constitutes a case study of the responsiveness of family structure, function, and symbolism to changing circumstances. The authors demonstrate that after the emancipation from the Turks, power in early modern Greece gradually shifted from a kin-determined, stratified society with endogamous local elites, to a ranked society in which merchants and new government bureaucrats competed for social roles. The rapid peopling of Athens from the countryside (a pattern that continues to this day) led to interchanges of cultural practices and values between urban and rural settings unusual in Europe.

In the family, residence after marriage changed from the bride's move to the home of the groom and his family to a pattern of neolocal, independent living. There were consequences of the changing nature of dowry wealth. For example, dowries that had been conveyed in land or other agricultural property shifted to treasure in the form of coin-encrusted, elaborately embroidered bridal gowns and eventually to cash. Furthermore, with the new emphasis on money, dowry inflation developed. The original conception of dowry as a conveyance at marriage of a daughter's share of the equal inheritance to which she was entitled, shifted in the common (but not the legal) view to one of the dowry as a vehicle for social mobility.

Sant Cassa and Bada, using Marcel Mauss's insights about gifts and the person (*The Gift* [1925]), search for the emotional concomitants of marriage transactions. They examine popular novels of the nineteenth century and twentieth-century anthropological monographs to see whether the dowry, by now both gift and commodity, resulted in the commodification of women. They conclude that the urban move to seclude women in the house stresses their motherhood and that the exaltation of motherhood in civil society (Mother Greece) enables women to retain self-respect as persons. The authors also believe their history shows that, for gender roles, categories like public and private, inside and outside, should be replaced for earlier times by informal and formal. Finally, they ask whether there is a distinct "Mediterranean" aesthetic that can be better phrased than honor and shame. They conclude that in the Mediterranean the dual nature of marriage transactions links men and women to different utilizations of material goods.

The book is densely written and somewhat difficult to read. Comparisons among Greece, Tuscany, Lancashire, and even Scotland appear without any system or regularity and interrupt the flow of argument, as do the many digressions. The authors hope that they have seen the past within the present, thus illuminating the present. They are not convincing on this point, however, because they too frequently reproject contemporary Athenian family characteristics to analyze the past. Sant Cassia and Bada's attempt to find a distinctive "Mediterranean" culture is confused by their claim that Greek studies are particularly important because the history and development of the Greek national state is so different from that of others in the region. It is indeed to those differences, such as the extreme urbanization of Greece at Athens, the dissolution of an old elite, and the massive state bureaucracy that the authors trace the peculiarly Greek marriage system.

One also wonders whether Greek women would agree that the veneration of motherhood (although very real) makes up for their sense of themselves as objects attached to dowry wealth as they compete for better husbands. The recent abolition of a father's legal obligation to provide dowries for daughters was based in part on women's sense of objectification and commodification. Finally, men are seen to pull the strings in marriage and family transactions, but the economic and emotional consequences of these changes for men are not detailed. Women's roles as actors in these events are also underplayed.

A short review cannot do justice to the richness of the data in the book nor to its coverage of all the issues that preoccupy Greek specialists. Sant Cassia and Bada have written a provocative book worthy of the attention of historians of the family, of the region, and, of course, of Greece.

ERNESTINE FRIEDL  
Duke University

ARTUR EISENBACH. *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780–1870*. Edited by ANTONY POLONSKY. Translated by JANINA DOROSZ. (Jewish Society and Culture.) Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, with the cooperation of the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies. 1991. Pp. 1, 632. \$49.95.

This large volume is a welcome addition to the rather meager body of literature on the Jewish experience in Polish lands during the nineteenth century. It also constitutes a summary statement of the work of a distinguished historian. Artur Eisenbach died at the end of October 1992; he was the last representative of the group of Jewish historians who began their scholarly work in Poland between the world wars. Eisenbach was influenced in those early years particularly by Ignacy Schipper, Raphael Mahler, and Emanuel Ringelblum, who was his brother-in-law. Appropriately, this volume, which is a translation of a book first published in Polish in 1987, includes an essay on "Artur Eisenbach and Polish Jewish History" by Antony Polonsky, and a list of Eisenbach's publications. There are also several useful maps, a glossary, a chronology of events between 1764 and 1876, a select bibliography, and a detailed index. The photographs that accompanied the Polish version have not been reproduced here.

The complexity of the task Eisenbach set for himself is apparent on virtually every page of the eleven chapters in this monograph. The changes and the debates over the legal status of Jews in four distinct political entities are described here: the Grand Duchy of Poznań (Posen), which was under Prussian rule and had a relatively small Jewish population; Galicia, which was ruled by the Austrian monarchy; the Russian empire, meaning the Jews in the Pale of Jewish Settlement; and, finally, the so-called Congress Kingdom of Poland, which was also subject to the Russian tsar but developed along a somewhat different course than elsewhere in the tsarist empire. Naturally enough, a majority of space is devoted to the Congress Kingdom, indeed, discussion of the situation of Jews in the Pale is rather perfunctory.

In addition to comparison of the situation of Jews in the various parts of partitioned Poland, Eisenbach refers often to the changes affecting Jews in Western Europe in the same period. Moreover, he is concerned to place the development of the process of Jewish emancipation within the Polish context. He stresses the comparison of changes affecting peasants and burghers with those affecting Jews. Fundamentally, this is less a history of Jews in the lands of partitioned Poland in the nineteenth century than it is a description of the changes in the social, economic, and especially the legal conditions affecting Jews in those lands during the century between roughly 1780 and 1870. To the extent that Jews and their actions are discussed, one hears almost exclusively about those who were advocates of the expansion of Jewish civil rights.

Within these limitations, this is a valuable book, all the more precious for its frequent quotation from primary sources unavailable to English readers. Following a first chapter devoted to "Research Principles," the longest and in some ways the most interesting chapter is the second. It describes the debates over the Jewish question particularly during the Four Year Sejm (1788–92). The value of Eisenbach's comparative approach becomes clear as he draws the reader's attention to the contrasts between developments in France and Poland in that remarkable period. He repeatedly emphasizes that the constitution of May 3, 1791, reflecting the thinking of virtually all political writers in Poland at the time, retained the division of the population into estates and guaranteed the rights of the nobility. And the question of Jews was not addressed.

Subsequent chapters are devoted to the Napoleonic interlude, the "Period of Restoration and Reaction," and to the "Revolutionary Movements, 1846–1848." The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters are devoted mainly to the period from 1848 until 1863. This remarkable and somewhat romanticized interval marks, in the minds of many, the summit of Polish-Jewish brotherhood. Eisenbach refers, without reservation or qualification, to "the patriotism shown by the Jewish population during the 1861 demonstrations and especially the heroic death of [the young Jew] Michal Landa, who took up the cross carried by a wounded monk and was felled by a [Russian] bullet" (p. 435).

This book is flawed in a number of ways. At times it is somewhat apologetic—eyewitness accounts do not mention Landa carrying a cross. It is often rather rigidly Marxist in its interpretations. Occasionally the scheme by which a chapter is organized is obscure. Nevertheless, Eisenbach's monograph is of great value as a compilation, mainly from primary and archival sources, of a vast treasury of information on the course of development of the legal status of Jews in the lands of partitioned Poland.

GERSHON DAVID HUNDERT  
McGill University

JOCHEN SCHMIDT. *Populismus oder Marxismus: Zur Ideengeschichte der radikalen Intelligenz Rumäniens 1875–1915*. (Tübinger Gesellschaft, wissenschaftliche Reihe, number 1.) Tübingen: Tübinger Gesellschaft. 1992. Pp. lxiii, 280. DM 68.

The debate among Romanian intellectuals about the course of development their country should take was intense at the beginning of the twentieth century. The range of opinions expressed knew scarcely any limits. Yet two general currents emerged, one representing tradition and the idea that Romania must remain true to its agrarian economic and social structure, and the other standing for "Europeanization"

and setting up the urbanized, industrialized West as the model to be followed.

Jochen Schmidt elucidates important aspects of this debate in his thoroughly researched study of the intersecting ideologies of Romanian social democracy and populism. His approach to the subject is many-sided. He investigates the sources of socialist and populist thought in Romania in the 1870s and 1880s and argues persuasively that Russian revolutionaries played the indispensable role of bearers of these new ideas. He also examines the reception of Marxism in Romania and its influence on the debates within the Romanian Social Democratic Party on such critical issues as the agrarian and nationality problems. In all these matters he keeps the development of the international socialist movement constantly in view.

Schmidt is primarily interested in the application of Marxist theory to an economically underdeveloped, largely agrarian country, and he takes as the basis for his analysis the writings of three leading polemicists of the period: Social Democrats Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea and Cristian Rakovski, and the Populist Constantin Stere. He traces the evolution of Dobrogeanu-Gherea's thought from Russian populism to Marxism, but shows how the agrarian character of Romania's economy and society was ever-present in his theoretical works. Schmidt nonetheless points out that in Dobrogeanu-Gherea's Marxist writings, including his classic analysis of Romanian underdevelopment, *Neoiobăgia* (Neoserfdom), he emphasized the decisive influence of economically advanced countries on Romania and thus had no doubt that the country would follow the same general path of development as the West as a necessary preparation for the transition to socialism. Schmidt then shows how such views contrasted with those of Stere, who elaborated the theory of an agrarian Romania avoiding both capitalism and collectivism (socialism) and developing in accordance with the "unique" economic laws of small-scale, peasant agriculture.

Perhaps the most original sections of the book have to do with the thought of Cristian Rakovski, the Bulgarian-born leader of the Romanian Social Democratic Party and its principal link with the international socialist movement. Although Romanian historiography has generally treated Dobrogeanu-Gherea as the preeminent theorist of Romanian Marxism before World War I, Schmidt reveals the originality and sophistication of Rakovski's analysis of the critical issues facing Romanian Social Democrats from agrarianism to national self-determination. Contrasts with Dobrogeanu-Gherea's thought are often striking. For example, Schmidt shows how the two men differed in their assessment of Romania's economic underdevelopment. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, who looked to the West as a guide, treated backwardness as an obstacle to industrialization, whereas Rakovski, who had contemporary Russia in view, was certain that the causes of backwardness could be overcome as industrialization itself took place and that the process would



unfold rapidly. Of considerable value, too, is Schmidt's analysis of Rakovski's writings on the national emancipation of the Balkan peoples in conditions of economic backwardness and dependence on the great powers, which, he suggests, placed Rakovski's thought alongside that of leading Marxist theoreticians of imperialism.

This book is not an easy read because the author expects his audience to have had a grounding in the history and doctrines of socialism and populism. But it is well worth a read because his approach to controversial theoretical problems and his insights into the vicissitudes of Romanian socialism contribute substantially to our understanding of both Romanian Social Democracy and the Romanian debate on development.

KEITH HITCHINS  
*University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign*

SERGIU VERONA. *Military Occupation and Diplomacy: Soviet Troops in Romania, 1944–1958*. Foreword by J. F. BROWN. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 211. \$34.95.

In the summer of 1958, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Romania, where they had been stationed since 1944. The 30,000 Soviet soldiers there had not been needed for securing the communication lines with Austria, as maintained by Moscow; the shortest route from the Soviet Union to Austria did not pass through Romania. Despite Moscow's claims to the contrary, the real reason for their presence was to ensure Soviet political domination of Romania. Not surprisingly, their withdrawal was also politically motivated: the goals were to enhance the acceptance of the Soviet Union as a legitimate power and to obtain a similar reduction in the number of U.S. troops in Western Europe.

American and British diplomats paid little attention at the time to the Soviet move, considering it inconsequential for the balance of power between the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In this book, Sergiu Verona argues, in contrast, that this withdrawal—the first from any of the East European countries that were occupied by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II—was important both as a precedent and as a case illustrating the interplay between military and diplomatic actions. In appearance a military measure, the withdrawal was in fact one of several Soviet diplomatic moves that signaled the beginning of a policy of seeking accommodation with the West.

Inaugurated by Nikita Khrushchev and undergoing fluctuations after his demise, the policy of accommodation received a new impetus under Mikhail Gorbachev. That is, in addition to the similarities between the domestic policies pursued by the two leaders, there are also parallels between their policies on national security and arms control. Writing imme-

diately after the August 1991 coup against Gorbachev, Verona maintains that the Soviet leader's failure to bring Khrushchev's legacy to its logical conclusion—that is, a Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe while maintaining political influence in that region—was due to severe internal problems and the wave of change that his domestic policies had stirred throughout Eastern Europe.

As far as Romania itself is concerned, the author shows that the Soviet withdrawal was first suggested to the Soviets, albeit timidly, by the Romanians in 1955. It took Moscow another three years to arrive at the conclusion that such a move would not be detrimental to Soviet security, because of Romania's geographical position well inside the Eastern bloc, and that in fact it might create an atmosphere conducive to real concessions from the West. Furthermore, the Soviets considered Romania so docile that they thought it would be safe to turn it into a showcase of an allegedly remodeled Eastern Europe by allowing it some latitude in the sphere of foreign policy.

Later on the Romanians took their role seriously, and tensions between Bucharest and Moscow increased. This plausible explanation for the origins of Romania's independent stand from the early 1960s onward has the advantage of reconciling two contradictory schools of thought, one maintaining that communist Romania's independence was a sham staged by Moscow and the other arguing that it represented a genuine attempt by Romanian communists to distance themselves from their Russian mentors so as to gain legitimacy in their own country.

The book also contains incursions into many other issues such as Romanian internal politics, Romania's relations with its other neighbors, and American and British policies toward Eastern Europe. These are all pertinent issues, but their treatment is often laden with unwarranted details that obscure the focus of the study. Generally, Verona offers us too many speculations and too few answers. He demonstrates impressive investigative skills and subtle judgment but, not unexpectedly, the meticulous examination of the American and British archival material can hardly compensate for the lack of access to the Romanian and Soviet primary sources.

DOV B. LUNGU  
*University of Toronto*

SABRINA P. RAMET. *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–1991*. 2d ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 346. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Many "experts," official and academic, were surprised at the rapid disappearance of Yugoslavia from the map of Europe amid the fires of a cruel civil war. They should not have been. Sabrina P. Ramet's study of the politics of that unfortunate country clearly shows how the centrifugal forces of narrow national-



ism had been undermining the system over the past three decades, so that a prolonged and worsening economic crisis plus a lack of enlightened leadership after Tito's death were enough to bring on the deluge. The evidence, which she finds in the relatively free Yugoslav press and in other publications, and analyzes in convincing fashion, was there all the time.

This second edition is a reworking and updating of the author's original volume based on her doctoral dissertation and published in 1984. It is in many respects a new book, since so much has happened in subsequent years and many questions left undecided have now found answers, if quite unpleasant ones. And new material, some of it from interviews with major or minor actors in the drama, is worked back into the narrative of the earlier period.

Ramet's main concern, as a student of politics, is with the nature of the Yugoslav federal system and how it worked in practice. Before the 1960s the federalism was largely fictitious in that Tito and the central Communist Party apparatus held the reins in their own hands. But as the problems of governing and of economic development became more complex, and as the conflict with Moscow threw the Yugoslavs back on their own devices, economic reform and decentralization became the order of the day. Devolution of power to the constituent republics and to their separate Communist leaderships gave rise to a system whereby policy decisions for the country required negotiation among six or eight regional units, with shifting alliances and coalitions often determining the outcome. The balance-of-power system became, in the author's terms of art, semi-confederal, then quasi confederal, then quasi confederal with a concert mechanism, then fissiparous with pressure toward recentralization, then truly confederal, and finally slipping into dissolution in 1991. She likens it to an international balance-of-power system, employing a detailed and complex analysis and comparison with models constructed by various specialists on federalism. The international model is not totally apt, since Yugoslavia did have a central government and, until 1980, a powerful leader who could make crucial decisions when necessary.

Whatever one may make of the theoretical argument, there should be no doubt about the great service Ramet has done in describing the central role of the nationality question in Yugoslav politics. Tito and his colleagues in the wartime partisan movement had vision. Aware of the forces that had destroyed the first Yugoslav state and produced the civilian slaughter of the war years, they were enlightened enough to accept the federal idea of separate republics based principally on nationality and on history, counting on social revolution, economic development, a growing sense of "Yugoslavism," and party control at the center to hold everything together. Even when those props did not hold, the system

managed to survive in the manner so well described in this book.

The first years after Tito's death, however, were critical. His successors did nothing to change the absurdities in the constitutional structure he bequeathed them or to move toward greater democracy. Their failure of leadership opened the door to such people as Slobodan Milošević, arch villain of the last act of Ramet's drama. By that time the struggle was not between Yugoslav unitarists and confederalists, but between Greater Serbian unitarists and Croatian and Slovenian secessionists. Was today's carnage as inevitable as the unfolding of classic Greek tragedy? One can only guess. There is still much to be explored in the personalities and the politics of post-Tito Yugoslavia.

JOHN C. CAMPBELL  
Council on Foreign Relations

PAUL BUSHKOVITCH. *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. vi, 278. \$39.95.

The resurgence of interest in religion in the former Soviet Union has yielded a plethora of publications concerning the Orthodox church in Russia. The majority are devotional, addressing questions of spirituality for modern Orthodox believers. Of academic studies, many are reprints of classics from the imperial period. New works often rehash old themes: the narrative history of the church as an institution, the relative amount of pagan and Christian content, or the use of religion as the oppressive tool of the state or as a vehicle for dissent.

In this milieu, Paul Bushkovitch's book stands alone. The author approaches his subject with objectivity and understanding. He does not start from the premise that Russian Orthodoxy represents eternal truth, but neither does he deride religious faith as mere superstition or political statement. Instead, he explores the new territory of religious *mentalité* and practice in its social context.

The book is less a monograph than a series of interlocking essays. Two chapters survey the major ecclesiastical issues of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. One chapter focuses on the religious life of the secular elite; another on the miracle cults favored by the lower classes. The process of canonization is the subject of another essay. The two final chapters focus on the ideas of religious leaders at the seventeenth-century Muscovite court. Nearly sixty pages of notes, bibliography, and index round out the volume.

Bushkovitch revises the picture of Muscovite religious life that still dominates the profession. Instead of the traditional stagnant, unintellectual, ritualistic asceticism, he convincingly depicts a society undergoing religious ferment. Monasticism declined as the single standard of the religious life, and several

alternatives replaced it. The hierarchy promoted veneration of bishops as moral authorities, replacing abbots and simple monks. The cults of miracle-working saints flourished amid popular enthusiasm, aristocratic patronage, and intermittent hierarchical support. The aristocracy turned away from communal and ritual observances and began to emphasize knowledgeable personal faith and virtuous conduct. Ecclesiastics from the Ukrainian academies found a ready audience for their Western-style scholarship and sermons to promote moral improvement. By the time Peter the Great ascended the throne, the mainstream of Russian Orthodoxy had shifted from a religious experience that was public, liturgical, and collective to one that was private, devotional, and individual. This transformation paralleled the development of religion in Western Europe in the same period.

Bushkovitch is enormously well-read, and he amasses a considerable amount of evidence from primary sources in published and manuscript versions. Whenever feasible, he returns to the originals to check and often correct the assertions of generations of scholars. The notes to the chapters are loaded with documentation as well as examination of tangential—but often significant—points. (The placement of the notes at the back of the book rather than at the bottom of the page unfortunately complicates reading.) Bushkovitch integrates the best recent scholarship on the Muscovite political and social milieu, as well as the insights of scholars of religious life in medieval and early modern Western Europe.

The interpretations are cautious and judicious, and they deserve a respectful reading even from scholars who choose to disagree. The data on religious life from Muscovy are filled with counter-currents and anomalies; any interpretation must weight some evidence more heavily. Should Patriarch Nikon be considered a proponent of the new philosophy of individual spirituality and virtue because he eliminated many dubious saints from the calendar? Or should he be ranked among the traditionalists, because he promoted the cult of St. Filipp and himself performed spiritual healing? Bushkovitch espouses the former view, but dedicates equal space to the evidence in favor of the latter. Sometimes he declines to offer even a tentative explanation, for example of reasons for the decline of monasticism, or boyar patronage of miracle cults. This sort of intellectual honesty is both admirable and frustrating.

In sum, this volume contains many intriguing questions, fewer answers, and interpretations that recognize the complexity of the human quest for transcendence and morality. It is a most welcome addition to the scholarly literature.

EVE LEVIN  
Ohio State University,  
Columbus

MARINUS A. WES. *Classics in Russia 1700–1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 33.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1992. Pp. viii, 366. \$94.50.

Surely it is a greater pleasure, and easier, to listen in on an urbane and learned *causerie* dealing with a broad subject than to follow a formal lecture on some specific topic. It is precisely the reverse, however, when it comes to writing a critical account. Similarly, it is much more difficult to review a broadly gauged essay than an erudite monograph. Marinus A. Wes's book belongs to the former type and a reviewer with little space can but try to give a general notion of what it is about.

Wes's book is an extended prodrome to his fascinating and quite readable short monograph on the émigré career of the well-known Russian ancient historian and archaeologist Michael Rostovtzeff (*Michael Rostovtzeff, Historian in Exile: Russian Roots in an American Context* [1990]). Wes invites us in the book under review to accompany him on a walk through the halls of Moscow and St. Petersburg universities, Nevsky Prospekt, and Tverskaia Street in Moscow to ascertain the role of classic models in the cultural life of Russia from 1700 to 1855. In the course of this stroll we meet a large number of personalities in Russian literary, artistic, intellectual, and public life between the reigns of Peter the Great and Nicholas I—many foreigners, some academics, some litterateurs and officials. Before he engages in conversation with any one of them he tells us about each one's background, former careers, and main interests. And as we amble through the streets of the two capitals, Wes points out some of the places and monuments that show the impact of classical reminiscences and comments on their symbolic and cultural significance. It is a fascinating promenade, for Wes is an urbane, knowledgeable, and sophisticated conversationalist for whom classical antiquity and his heritage are thoroughly familiar and dear.

Naturally, our *cicerone* does not merely wish to entertain us by conversing about everything or everyone that has but the slightest connection with the heritage of ancient Greece and Rome in post-petrine and preemancipation Russia. He wants to instruct as well. In an informal, almost chatty manner, he gives a detailed account of the little-known history of classical studies in Russia, the role played in it by German scholarship, Russian-Ukrainian seminaries and ecclesiastic academies, as well as the church's ambiguous relationship to a public recognition of classical scholarship (for example, the avatars of the translation of the Bible into modern, vernacular Russian). In spite of all handicaps and slow starts, the classical authors became well known to educated Russians by the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries thanks to seminaries, universities, and academies, through translations (at first usually from the

French), and from artistic productions. It is not surprising to find classical reminiscences in the works of most Russian writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Wes's treatment of classical models and inspirations in Gogol' and Goncharov are particularly interesting and novel. Better known is the fact that the poets of the late eighteenth (Derzhavin) and early nineteenth (Pnin, Ozerov) centuries were inspired by their readings of classical authors. Wes rightly stresses that in the case of the most gifted and influential poets—Pushkin, Batiushkov, and Gnedich, to mention but a few—we are dealing not so much with mere imitation (*imitatio*) as with inspired emulation (*aemulatio*).

A major purpose of our *cicerone* is to show that in Russia the classics were a vehicle of "Westernization" (or "modernization"), for they provided an access not only to European scholarship and culture but also to the main values of enlightenment and humanism. Such was, for example, also the goal of S. S. Uvarov, minister of education under Nicholas I, usually considered an ardent spokesman for "reaction." For this reason, too, a knowledge of ancient authors was a liberalizing force, and classical studies in school and university curricula imparted a "liberal" dimension to Russian education and thought. It was quite natural, therefore, for T. Granovsky, the "ideal professor" of the 1840s, to proclaim that the study of the classics and their medieval heirs meant Russia's political and intellectual emancipation from the stifling authoritarianism of the post-1848 autocracy. This has to be stressed, for in the second half of the nineteenth century classical studies were to be imposed on secondary education to bolster conservative policies, and as a result they became a symbol of reaction and an object of hatred for the radical or progressive intelligentsia.

I have only pointed out some highlights and the general thrust of Wes's *causerie*. His impressive erudition is conveyed with a light touch, although it is disconcerting to note some lack of discrimination in Wes's references to general and popularizing works in some instances (*nomina sunt odiosa*). In 1711, Peter the Great, toasting his country's beginning Westernization, predicted that, at some future date, Russia would pick up the torch of Greece and Rome, as well as of leading modern European countries, and become the source of world civilization. So far, in the twentieth century, the first emperor's prediction has not come true; but there is no question that Russia is now a partner in a Western civilization that is both heir to classical antiquity and universal. Wes has described the early period of this process in a most original, informative, and stimulating manner. A second edition should take care of unfortunate typographical errors and odd phrasings.

MARC RAEFF  
Tenaft, New Jersey

DAVID SAUNDERS. *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801–1881*. (Longman History of Russia.) New York: Longman. 1992. Pp. xii, 386.

This splendid volume unquestionably represents one of the best in the series, Longman History of Russia. Drawing chiefly on secondary literature, but tapping primary sources as well, David Saunders provides a highly readable account of Russian history from the accession of Alexander I in 1801 to the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. Insofar as a general survey can aspire to have a "thesis," Saunders inclines toward the "pessimist school," which postulates the insolubility of the enormous problems facing the *ancien régime*. His primary task is to examine how the regime defined and confronted those problems. Compared with existing accounts, this volume is remarkably detailed and a fastidious exposition of political and administrative history (the Decembrists, for example, elicit an entire chapter). It is also a fine piece of writing: its trenchant style, flair for the well-turned phrase, and ample supply of wit makes even the tedium of diplomatic history interesting. The volume includes specific references to the literature, a substantial if selective bibliography, and excellent maps. The result is the fullest, most up-to-date synthesis for the period under review.

Nevertheless, even so masterly executed a volume as this raises some questions. Above all, this book essentially offers a political history, presumably to accord with the parameters set by the series. The periodization is set by reigns; the title, similarly, refers to political history. In part, the author merely reflects the literature he seeks to synthesize; it too focused, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, on the "Nikolaevan prereforms," the "Great Reforms," and the emerging "counter-reforms." Still, recent historiography has given much attention to social history, both of officialdom and various social categories; far too little of this has found its way into this survey. To be sure, this volume (like the series) does not altogether neglect social and cultural history, but it gives far too little attention to the spheres of society, economy, and culture. One might have wished for a somewhat different allocation of space; far less for tsars and *sanovniki*, or their adversaries (Decembrists, Populists), far more for those broader elements that in fact defined the limits of the possible.

Moreover, it is regrettable that a multivolume series attends only sporadically to the historiography and sources. Although the series does note (and sometimes challenge) recent correctives, it does not attempt to provide an incisive commentary on the traditional interpretations and recent innovations. A multivolume series might well have served as a more sophisticated guide for advanced and serious students; this series does not aspire to do that. Nor does the evolving source base elicit the attention that it deserves, all the more if one is to appreciate the meaning of interpretations synthesized here.

Within the given parameters, however, Saunders has provided a first-class political history, distinguished by exceptional elegance of style and sophistication in analysis.

GREGORY L. FREEZE  
Brandeis University

BENJAMIN PINKUS. *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority*. (Soviet and East European Studies, number 62.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 397.

Benjamin Pinkus has already given us several extensive collections of documents concerning the Soviet policies toward the Jews—most recently in English, *The Soviet Government and the Jews, 1948–1967: A Documented Study* (1984)—as well as studies on changing Soviet policies toward Jewish emigration, Yiddish culture, and the treatment of Jews in the Soviet media. The present work is an erudite account of the drastic modernization and sweeping secularization of the Jewish ethnic group under conditions of totalitarian control. A judicious introduction reflects on the historiography, sources, and methodology for studying Russian Jewry. By way of background, Pinkus summarizes what is known of the early settlements of Jews in Russia, describes the changing character of Russian Jewry from the first partition of Poland in 1772 (when large numbers of Jews were absorbed by the empire) to the pogroms of 1881–82 that became a psychological turning point for acculturated Jewry; he then surveys the almost four decades that formed the dawn of a new era of cultural ferment for Russian Jewry and seemed to herald its liberation from the confines of pre-emancipation status in an autocracy on the way to a multinational constitutional order.

Pinkus divides the sixty-six years between the October Revolution and the ascendancy of Yuri Andropov into three phases: the period from 1917 to 1939, which he designates the “Years of Construction”; the period from 1939 to 1953, which he calls the “Years of Destruction”; and the span from 1953 to 1983, which, *faute de mieux*, he labels the “Post-Stalin Period.” Within each phase he provides a detailed summary of trends and developments on such topics as the implications for Soviet Jews of Soviet nationality theory, antireligious campaigns, demography and economics, and the restructuring of educational and cultural institutions. His methodological position is that there are three crucial and distinct aspects of the subject. First, there is an “external dimension” that examines the legal-political status fixed by the government for the Jews, general attitudes toward Jews, including anti-Semitism, and related ways in which state policy and popular opinion affected the Jews as a minority. Second, there is an “internal dimension” that deals with the social transformation of the Jewish group. And, third, there are the connections between Russian Jewry and re-

lated diaspora communities. Pinkus assembles, therefore, a work of encyclopedic scope composed of discrete treatments of these three aspects for the periods defined, each treatment handled in a thoughtful, cogent, and exacting fashion.

There is a wealth of valuable information in the book and a certain absence of overall integration. Among the most helpful sections are Pinkus’s lucid description of the limited role of Jews in the Bolshevik regime, the ideological positions of various factions within the Jewish agencies set up by the Communist Party and the Soviet state in the 1920s, a graphic account of the anti-Semitic works published in the Soviet Union after Stalin’s death, and a precise chronology of the vagaries of Soviet-Israel relations since the founding of the Jewish state. Lacking is a focused analysis of the changed character of Soviet Jewish identity as a result of the opportunities that the Communist regime made available to Jews and the destructive policies inflicted on them at the same time.

It appears that Pinkus’s manuscript was finished late in 1985, so absent are discussions of the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev’s policies or the subsequent attempts to rebuild Jewish communal life in Russia along with an emigration that promises to sweep into its wake a larger proportion of Russia’s Jews than even the mass migration westward of 1882 to 1914. With the opening of archives and a more complex understanding of the Soviet years, it may soon be possible to view the experience of Soviet Jewry in a more comprehensive, nuanced perspective, but Pinkus’s work is an invaluable step toward that goal.

ROBERT M. SELTZER  
Hunter College,  
City University of New York

YAACOV RO’I. *The Struggle for Soviet Jewish Emigration 1948–1967*. (Soviet and East European Studies, number 75.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 458. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$14.95.

Between 1948 and 1967 some seven thousand Soviet Jews were granted permission to emigrate to Israel, a trickle compared to the hundreds of thousands who departed in the 1970s and 1980s. At first glance I was skeptical that such a meager outflow merited the in-depth examination that Yaacov Ro’i provides, but shortly into the book I became convinced that the campaign for Soviet Jewish emigration between the establishment of Israel and the outbreak of the Six Day War laid the foundations for the mass exodus of the past twenty years. Ro’i argues persuasively that a combination of domestic and international developments in the years 1948–67 provided the groundwork for the unprecedented emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union after 1967.

Ro’i offers a multileveled analysis of the struggle of Soviet Jews to emigrate in the 1950s and 1960s. First,



he examines the revival of Jewish self-consciousness as a result of the Holocaust and the founding of Israel. This resurgent Jewish self-awareness was in turn nourished by the continued existence of popular anti-Semitism and official government policies, particularly during the last years of Joseph Stalin's rule, that discriminated against Jewish cultural and religious interests and targeted the Jewish cultural and intellectual elite. Ro'i then turns his attention to an exploration of how organizations and governments primarily in North America and Western Europe launched a campaign publicizing the plight of Soviet Jewry and demanding that the Soviet government permit Jews to leave for Israel. Ro'i carefully documents how the Israeli government, frequently acting behind the scenes, mobilized international support for Soviet Jewry and depended on its embassy in Moscow as well as Jewish activists who visited the Soviet Union to establish contact with the small, clandestine groups of Soviet Jews intent on maintaining Jewish cultural life. By the outbreak of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Ro'i argues, a critical mass of nationally minded Soviet Jews had reached the inescapable conclusion that emigration to Israel was the only path toward self-fulfillment as Jews. They were able to rely on a well-organized and well-financed support network throughout the United States and Europe to help achieve their goals.

Ro'i provides a fascinating glimpse into the emergence of the Soviet Jewish national awakening of the 1960s. He insists that it should be seen both as a desire by Jews to learn about their Jewish heritage and a reaction to the anti-Semitism endemic to Russian society and certain policies of the Soviet government. He also highlights the intricacies of Kremlin politics and the inherent contradictions between Soviet nationality policy and government practices toward Jews in these years. Perhaps most importantly, he succeeds in demonstrating how the international campaign to help Soviet Jews of the 1970s and 1980s has its roots in the previous two decades, when the Soviet government did at times succumb to public pressure to alter some of the more noxious aspects of its treatment of Jews. Despite the author's tendency to overwhelm the reader with an array of details and his willingness to accept unsubstantiated estimates about the number of Soviet Jews who wanted to leave the Soviet Union but never bothered to file requests to do so, Ro'i meticulously reconstructs these crucial years in Soviet Jewish history. He demonstrates how the intersection of social, political, and cultural developments in their domestic and international contexts affected the fate of Soviet Jewry in the quarter century after the founding of Israel. Ro'i provides the reader with a fuller understanding of the efforts of Soviet Jews to emigrate as well as keep alive Jewish culture.

ROBERT WEINBERG  
Swarthmore College

DAVID MACLAREN McDONALD. *United Government and Foreign Policy in Russia 1900–1914*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. 276. \$39.95.

It is a statement of the obvious to remark that the study of Imperial Russia's foreign affairs has been neglected in recent times. Although a number of startling new interpretations have caused us all to think very differently about Russia's domestic past than we did a quarter-century ago, the scant handful of books that have appeared during that time about its foreign policy continue to view the forces that shaped the empire's relations with the great powers of Europe and Asia in much the same way as did liberal historians writing during the decade before and after the revolutions of 1917. In these older studies, the mechanisms that decided the key questions of foreign policy under the new order that emerged after the Revolution of 1905 remain unclear, and the real impact of the Russo-Japanese War and the revolution on them (aside from a perceived weakening of Russia's political position in Europe) has gone unstudied.

Especially when it comes to the crises that confronted autocracy on the eve of World War I, what Andrew Verner, David Macey, William Fuller, Frank Wcislo, Dominic Lieven, and a score of others have told us recently about how the Russian government and society entered the twentieth century has not had a substantial impact on the prevailing views about how Russian foreign policy was shaped in the critical years following the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. How did Russian diplomats and policy makers confront the new possibilities of expanding their empire in the East, and how did they come to grips with the ignoble surrender at Port Arthur, the defeats at Mukden and Tsushima, the outbreak of revolution, and the onset of constitutional government? How deeply did "politics" reach into that realm of foreign policy which, since medieval times, had been among the tsar's most cherished prerogatives? That these questions have remained unanswered may not be so surprising; that they have gone largely unexplored is more amazing.

The ease with which its author ventures into this long-neglected realm makes David MacLaren McDonald's book particularly remarkable and original. McDonald understands, as few of his predecessors have, that some of the most important clues to understanding the Russian empire during its twilight years lie in Asia, and his discussion of the politics that set the stage for the Russo-Japanese War is the best that I have seen anywhere. His account of the policies of Finance Minister S. Y. Witte in Asia, his conflicts with the imperial favorite A. N. Bezobrazov, and the struggle between the two men for influence, not only shows the origins of the Russo-Japanese War but also explains how the evolving professional identity of



Russia's high officials had begun to limit the exercise of autocratic power, at least in the minds of the men who served the emperor.

At the center of McDonald's account stands the complex question of how Russia's Council of Ministers, reformed to act as a "United Government" in the wake of the revolutionary events of 1905, worked to shape foreign policy under the leadership of its chairman. McDonald explores the beginnings of United Government under Witte, its strengthening under P. A. Stolypin, and its weakening under his successor V. N. Kokovtsev, as tsarist statesmen struggled to define their relationship with their emperor through this new institutional structure. Yet United Government in Russia could function only as long as the emperor respected the constraints of the system he had helped to bring into being, and his refusal to do so, McDonald points out, undid emperor and servitors alike. This, McDonald concludes, led Russia's chief statesmen "to question the bases of the system they served" (p. 215), the result of which was to create "the conditions under which war suddenly became possible to contemplate in the summer of 1914" (p. 3).

In sum, McDonald obliges us to rethink our long-held assumptions about Russia's foreign affairs during one of the most pivotal moments in its history. Meticulously researched, cogently argued, and engagingly written, this is one of those books that really count, and one that will stand the test of time for decades to come.

W. BRUCE LINCOLN  
*Northern Illinois University*

S. V. TIUTIUKIN. *Iul'skii politicheskii krizis 1906 g. v Rossii* [The July 1906 Crisis in Russia]. Moscow: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 231. 7 r. 10 k.

Although the scholarly literature on the Revolution of 1905 is quite extensive, there is no comprehensive account of the political turmoil that began with the dissolution of the First Duma on July 9, 1906, and ended on July 27 after a series of mutinies and strikes in several cities of the Russian empire. S. V. Tiutiukin has filled the gap by writing a monograph on what he considers to have been a critical event in the revolution, third in importance after the general strike in October 1905 and the uprising in Moscow in December that year. Tiutiukin contends that in the eighteen days of conflict between the revolutionary forces and the authorities the fate of Russia hung in the balance. After the collapse of the mutinies, it was merely a matter of time before the government was strong enough to eliminate the political threat emanating from revolutionaries and liberals. As the author puts it, the July days were the "dress rehearsal" for the events of June 3, 1907, when Prime Minister P. A. Stolypin delivered the final blow against the opposition by means of a coup d'état.

In fact, Tiutiukin's own treatment of the July crisis raises the question of whether the events he places at the center of his account were really as pivotal as he claims. The reaction of the people to the dissolution of the Duma was, to many contemporaries' surprise, rather tepid. The mutinies, the "culmination" of the crisis, lasted only three days and the strikes that followed were faint echoes of the labor unrest in 1905. Moreover, as Tiutiukin convincingly demonstrates, there was never much chance that the unrest would succeed in toppling the old order. The masses were not in a militant mood, the revolutionary parties had done little to prepare their followers for an armed uprising, the opposition was disunited, and the government was in the hands of a determined and resourceful leader, Stolypin.

Nonetheless, the book deserves a wide readership. Tiutiukin, a historian who for over two decades produced traditional Soviet scholarship (much of it on 1905), has made a serious effort to write balanced, undogmatic history. His heart is still with the Bolsheviks, he still quotes Lenin too frequently, and his judgments of the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), Socialist Revolutionaries, and Mensheviks are at times still one-sided and overly censorious. But his accounts of the political crisis in the first half of 1906, the deliberations of the First Duma, the maneuvers of the different political parties in the legislature, and the policies of the government are on the whole accurate and sensible. Leon Trotsky, who was generally maligned or ignored in Soviet works on 1905, is treated respectfully even if somewhat briefly. In the introduction, Tiutiukin dispassionately discusses some Western works on 1905 and cites them at various points in the volume, again a welcome departure from standard Soviet practices.

Most of the sources on which Tiutiukin relies—newspapers, memoirs, collections of documents, protocols of party conferences and congresses—have been available in the West. But he has also made extensive use of archival sources, and although this has not produced any significant revelations that alter the general picture of the Revolution of 1905, he has uncovered interesting details that deepen our understanding of the July crisis. If his account fails to persuade every reader that the crisis was a critical turning point in the upheaval, it does demonstrate beyond any doubt that in the summer of 1906 the revolutionary threat to the regime had not yet been fully eliminated, a point that is often overlooked by historians of twentieth-century Russia. But what is especially notable about the book is its dispassionate tone, which has been absent from most of Soviet scholarship on the first revolution.

ABRAHAM ASCHER  
*Graduate School and University Center,  
City University of New York*

G. A. GERASIMENKO. *Zemskoe samoupravlenie v Rossii* [Zemstvo Self-Government in Russia]. Moscow: Nauka. 1990. Pp. 262. 4 r.

Democratization of local government, specifically the zemstvos, was one the enduring hopes of liberals in tsarist Russia after the turn of the century. Conservative gentry managed to stave off regime-sponsored reform deemed threatening to their domination of the zemstvos, but not for long. The fact that a dwindling gentry electorate could no longer fill all the seats allotted to it in zemstvo assemblies on the eve of 1914 meant that reform was only a matter of time. That time came sooner than expected with the collapse of the tsarist order in Petrograd and the provinces in February 1917.

Now, it was hoped, the zemstvos, which had done much to spread education and health care among the peasantry, would emerge from the shadow of bureaucratic tutelage and achieve popular legitimacy as they shed an undemocratic franchise. Grigori A. Gerasimenko, who has published widely on peasant organization in 1917, seeks to explain why these hopes were dashed within the year. His answer will not surprise those familiar with Western studies by William Rosenberg ("The Zemstvo in 1917 and Its Fate under Bolshevik Rule," in Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds., *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* [1982]) and Orlando Figes (*Peasant Russia, Civil War* [1989]), that peasants in 1917 perceived the zemstvos as bastions of privilege and outside authority, preferring instead a "peasant rule" institutionalized in the class-based peasant organizations that had sprung up or been revitalized after February.

Throughout 1917 the Provisional Government confronted a crisis of local authority, having to contend with a plethora of autonomous organizations—public executive committees in the towns and peasant councils in the countryside—that moved to fill the vacuum left by tsarist officials. The government's plan, according to Gerasimenko, was to use reformed zemstvos, democratically elected and extending down to the *volost* level, in order to root its authority and make obsolete all the ad hoc committees.

But as with so much else in 1917, the moderate government's plans were outstripped by events. Attempts by the center to limit transformation of old estate-based zemstvos while it prepared reform legislation occasioned a storm of local protest. Public executive committees managed to subvert Prime Minister G. E. Lvov's March 5 order appointing existing zemstvo board chairmen as local commissars. Local people began to throw out old zemstvo officers and reelect assemblies in spring 1917, despite the resistance of the government in Petrograd. By the time the government promulgated zemstvo reform legislation in May and June, provincial and district zemstvos had been swamped by a "petty-bourgeois wave" that allowed Third Element zemstvo employees and

others to share power with pre-1917 elites. Gerasimenko fails to analyze these events in terms of center-local tensions or the historical grievances of the Third Element, since this might dilute his central contention that the zemstvos, whether reformed or unreconstructed, were irredeemably "bourgeois." He also downplays the role of urban taxpayers who had been even more disenfranchised than peasants in the old zemstvos.

The centerpiece of zemstvo reform was the all-class *volost* zemstvo. On the basis of data compiled by the Provisional Government's Ministry of Interior and the local press, Gerasimenko describes the campaign to organize elections of *volost* zemstvos as well as to elect new district and provincial assemblies on a democratic franchise. He contends that those most interested in reform were rural elements disenfranchised in *volost* councils and ad hoc peasant committees: landowners, the Third Element (which hoped to take over leadership of zemstvos and did so above the *volost* level), clergy, traders, and peasants who had left the commune under the Stolypin land reforms in the past decade. This rural bourgeoisie, Gerasimenko argues, had also been the principle beneficiary of zemstvo programs, a reasonable assertion in regard to agricultural programs, but not health and education.

According to Gerasimenko, the mass of poor and middle peasants rejected zemstvos, evidenced by open obstruction of the electoral process but above all by low voter turnout for the *volost* zemstvo elections held in late summer 1917, which averaged around 40–50 percent. Given that these elections coincided with the harvest, that women were eligible to vote but often did not, and the very novelty of all-class elections in Russia, these figures can be interpreted in a more positive light (turnout was on a par with that for the Constituent Assembly elections in November). The author is forced to concede that most of these voters were "rank-and-file," "farming" peasants. Furthermore, much of his strongest evidence for hostility to reformed zemstvos comes from regions where zemstvos had been introduced only on the eve of World War I, areas where new zemstvo taxes were immediately resented but zemstvo services scarcely appreciated. Rather, it seems that peasants used the *volost* zemstvo elections in 1917, just as they used other organizational opportunities, to assert peasant autonomy and peasant interests.

Peasants also turned their backs on the Third Element, according to Gerasimenko, identifying veterinarians and teachers as "bourgeois" legatees of the old zemstvo and its traditions. As the village turned against the outside world in 1917–18, peasants often spurned the rural intelligentsia. But the Third Element had its own history of conflict with gentry employers and a different ethos, and there were significant divisions between the better paid and educated professionals and the "fourth element" of teachers and paramedics. Gerasimenko's own data

show that peasants in many locales did elect intelligentsia to the *volost* zemstvos.

Gerasimenko has uncovered much evidence to suggest that after the Bolshevik seizure of power in October it was zemstvos at all levels, led mainly by SRs, which posed the most serious obstacle to Soviet power in Russia's provinces in the final months of 1917 and early 1918. Ludicrously, Gerasimenko chides zemstvos for making a bid for power, which they were not authorized to do under the 1890 Zemstvo Statute, but his evidence shows that they scarcely went out with a whimper as most historians have suggested. All in all, this is a book cast in the Soviet tradition; the author strives mightily to press his abundant evidence into prearranged social and political categories with awkward results.

SCOTT J. SEREGNY

Indiana University-Purdue University,  
Indianapolis

R. C. ELWOOD. *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 304. \$49.95.

Here is the first political biography of Inessa Armand to appear in English. Armand was both feminist and revolutionary, a well-educated woman who like other female revolutionaries moved from early philanthropy and feminism to political Marxism. A teacher of peasant children and protector of Moscow prostitutes, she became a propagandist in 1905, helped found *Rabotnitsa* in 1914, and was the first head of the *zhenotdel*, the women's section of the Communist Party, in 1919.

How ironic that this feminist militant and committed revolutionary would best be remembered as V. I. Lenin's presumed mistress. Elwood, basing his study on unpublished police reports in the Okhrana archives of the Hoover Institution, an exhaustive use of memoirs, Armand's letters to her five children and two husbands, and Lenin's 118 published letters to her, tries to undermine assumptions that she and Lenin had a long love affair. This alleged affair, based largely on reports from Marcel Body via Aleksandra Kollontai, and from the recollections of Angelica Balabanoff, was described in 1963 by Bertram Wolfe in the *Slavic Review*. Elwood agrees with Adam Ulam's contention that a long-time affair seems unlikely.

Lenin's seventeen remaining letters to Armand in the Central Party Archives and her letters to Lenin, still closed to scholars, may provide additional insight to their close friendship. Until such time as the letters are made available, Elwood seems to have provided the last word on the subject.

Elwood pictures Armand as a warm and attractive personality. Her correspondence with her daughter Inna, he claims, shows a different side to the reserved, aloof, and uncompromising woman encountered at party conferences. Her letters to seventeen-

year-old Inna from Switzerland in 1915 are loving, humorous, and self-deprecating, deeply concerned with her daughter's feelings and development.

Insight to Armand's brand of feminism is provided in one letter in which Inessa reminded Inna that "in femininity and gentleness there is a charm which is also a strength." This clue to Armand's personality may partly explain why Armand with all her party experience played so inconspicuous a role in 1917. Elwood contrasts her relatively modest achievements with the more important role of Aleksandra Kollontai, a more forceful woman and a more charismatic speaker. Armand, moreover, spent the fall of 1917 in the Moscow area tending to her ailing son, an interesting commentary on the pull on women, even revolutionaries, of family responsibilities. It was Kollontai, not Armand, who was chosen at the Sixth Party Congress to be the first female full member of the Bolshevik Central Committee.

But Armand, not Kollontai, was appointed in 1919 as the first director of the *zhenotdel*. Elwood assumes that Armand seemed a safer choice. Less flamboyant, less unpredictable, and less politically independent than Kollontai, Armand would head a women's section that was unlikely to become a feminist bastion. Elwood notes the tensions between Kollontai and Armand but has unearthed no new information about their rivalry.

Elwood does not significantly revise earlier pictures of Armand as gleaned from Soviet biographical sketches and memoirs such as Krupskaya's, although he contends that in 1916 Armand abandoned her role as Lenin's unquestioning "girl Friday" and tried to escape his intellectual domination. Instead, in his well-written and sensitive book he synthesizes and wisely interprets previous writings, Soviet and Western. He provides interesting information on Inessa's prerevolutionary life, her upbringing in the wealthy Armand family, and their later financial help to the Bolshevik party. Elwood's carefully researched and detailed political history, written from the viewpoint of female Bolsheviks who worked among women, is a valuable addition both to women's and Soviet studies.

BEATRICE FARNSWORTH  
Wells College

RICHARD K. DEBO. *Survival and Consolidation: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1918-1921*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 502. \$55.00.

For some reason the study of early Soviet diplomacy has virtually disappeared in Western scholarly research. One could advance many reasons for this but the opening up of archives in the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries should allow us to revisit the subject with new questions and insights. Richard K. Debo's work, therefore, will probably be the first of many to come. For the most part it is a

reliable guide both to sources and to what happened. The book's strength lies not in presenting new interpretive perspectives but rather in amplifying the details that made up the traditional view of the issues involved.

Debo, like most other scholars, cites the West's disunity, ineptitude, and incomprehension of Bolshevism, as well as its inability to find any adequate response to the problems and threats Bolshevism posed to Europe or Asia. And, like other scholars, he emphasizes the growing confidence, skill, and consistent mastery of politics on the Bolshevik side, especially by V. I. Lenin and G. V. Chicherin, as the keys to Bolshevik victory at home and of its survival abroad. He also thoroughly relates the turning of the diplomatic wheels to the military progress of the civil war, ably linking the two. All these points are fleshed out in a way that seemingly validates the more-or-less accepted interpretation of the diplomatic contest of 1918–21.

Debo, however, apparently does not believe that there were significant differences among leading Bolsheviks concerning individual policies or overall strategy. This is disappointing because it does not take much effort to find discordant notes in the general Bolshevik symphony during this period. Discounting such differences is difficult unless one assumes they were irrelevant and that Lenin completely dominated the foreign policy process. Surely Leon Trotsky, Joseph Stalin, Chicherin, G. Y. Zinoviev, and others who played key roles in foreign policy did not always agree on issues, and not only on the treaty at Brest-Litovsk.

Those differences readily emerge from the documents that were published in both newspapers and collected archives even before the fall of communism. Those disagreements surely played a role in policy making. These differences substantially influenced policy in Transcaucasia, Iran, and Turkey, and presumably other examples could be found apart from the well-known and inescapable Polish issues of 1920. Nevertheless, they make only a muted appearance here. Debo is right in stating that Lenin and others were prepared to ride roughshod over Bolshevik parties in the Baltic, Belorussia, Ukraine, and elsewhere for the sake of tangible military-political gains and increased control over Russia and that local Bolsheviks did not like it but nonetheless had to accept it. Except in Transcaucasia, where Stalin held tremendous influence, this pattern held. But Stalin's involvement was certainly more than this purely internal and relatively minor role in policy making, and neither his role nor that of others are explained. Undoubtedly further research will deal with some of these questions. But for now this book will stand for some time as a sound guide to the first traumatic years of Soviet diplomacy and international policy.

STEPHEN BLANK  
Army War College,  
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

## NEAR EAST

STANFORD J. SHAW. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*. New York: New York University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 380. \$60.00.

Since the birth of modern Jewish historical writing in the nineteenth century, there has been a tendency, dubbed the "lachrymose" approach to Jewish history, to link together a narrative by incidents of persecution. In this curious effort at a synthesis of Ottoman Jewish history, Stanford J. Shaw does quite the opposite, linking together Jewish history with incidents of benevolence by Ottoman and Turkish authorities, which he contrasts at each historical period to the persecution of Jews in Christian Europe.

The venue for this tendentious construction of history is the Jewish celebration of the quincentennial of 1492, which in the Jewish world has produced numerous conferences and dozens of books and articles devoted to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the Sephardi dispersion. Unlike the Western world, which for hundreds of years has regarded the Turks with fear or hatred, most Jews look back on the Ottoman sultans with approval for having welcomed Jewish refugees from the Iberian peninsula at a time when they were not allowed in most of Christian Europe. Jews in the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prospered as merchants and craftsmen, and, because of the skills brought from Spain and Portugal, they were able to serve the sultans as influential financiers, merchants, customs agents, tax farmers, arms manufacturers, and physicians. In the "Golden Age" of prosperity and scholarly achievement, the Ottoman authorities were able to maintain peace between the various religious groups through the *millet* system, nostalgically compared by the author to the more deplorable present of sectarian strife in the Middle East.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the situation of the Jews deteriorated as the Ottoman empire declined. Entirely responsible for this worsening situation, in Shaw's opinion, were the Christians or the *deüsirme* (young Christians converted to Islam and brought into the ruling class). With the Ottoman decline and the growing influence of European Christian merchants and diplomats through the Capitulations, Jews were driven out of positions of influence by native Greek and Armenian Christians who were supported by foreign intrigues. Europeans imported to native Christians the anti-Semitism that had originally forced the Jews to leave Europe, and increasing incidents of blood libel spurred acts of violence against the Jews. The decline of the Ottoman empire also caused an economic and cultural deterioration of the Jewish community. Echoing the critique of mysticism prevalent in nineteenth-century Reform Judaism, Shaw asserts that obscurantism set in as Ottoman Jews focused their attention on the Kabbalah, which "deformed" (p. 132) the more rationalist traditions in Rabbinic Judaism. A fervent pi-



etism, together with a host of Shamanistic practices, came to prevail, evidenced ultimately in the messianic movement of Shabbatai Tzvi. The communities themselves were taken over by an autocratic leadership of rabbis and notables who despotically enforced a rigorous and detailed code of moral discipline, eschewing luxury and regulating every minutia of daily life.

In the nineteenth century, Shaw depicts a revitalized Ottoman Jewry when the Tanzimat granted complete equality and Jews began to participate fully in public life (here the degree to which the reforms created a civil society is greatly exaggerated). Modernizing members of the Jewish community, supported by the Ottoman government, attempted to reform the Jewish *millet* through the centralizing leadership of a chief rabbi (*Hahambaşı*), secular and religious elected councils, and the introduction of modern, secular schools. Their efforts were challenged by a fanatical group of conservative rabbis, but despite this, increasing numbers of Jews entered the modern state schools and those of the Franco-Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Ottoman Jewry had abandoned the supposed lethargy of the age of decline and entered the modern world of "progressive enlightenment" (p. 187), especially through the leadership of the Chief Rabbi Hayim Nahum Efendi.

The rise to prominence of Ottoman Jewry in the nineteenth century incited the bitter hatred of Christians and hundreds of ritual murder accusations provoked the Christian mobs into acts of violence. In the wake of European invasions and nationalist uprisings against Ottoman rule in the Balkans, Jews together with Muslims were subjected to persecution and, as Shaw alleges, genocide. Thousands of Jewish refugees fled the independent countries of southeastern Europe to join the older, established communities of the Ottoman empire. Of all the minority communities of the Ottoman empire, the Jews were the most trusted and favored by the government and the masses, and the common experience of suffering of Jews and Muslims, as the boundaries of the empire shrank, created a united sense of anti-Christian solidarity. Jews began willingly to serve in the army as devoted Ottoman citizens, even in World War I (here the author ignores the degree to which Jews evaded military service when possible). The Jewish leadership, which rejected the growing Zionist movement (most actively supported by the Ashkenazi community), joined in support of the nationalists after the war in the establishment of the Turkish Republic. During the 1930s and World War II, it was again Christians who brought anti-Semitism to Turkey, while neutral Turkey quietly assisted Jewish refugees seeking entry to Turkey, impeding German efforts to have them deported to the death camps. Although many poorer Turkish Jews emigrated to Israel after the war, over 20,000 remain in Turkey today, fully integrated into society. In Shaw's opinion, the largest problem facing

Turkish Jewry today is assimilation, the same as in other countries where Jews reside.

This appealing view of the history of Ottoman and Turkish Jewry may be fitting for Turkey's celebration of the quincennial year, but it does not tally with much of the excellent scholarship on Ottoman Jewry in the last few decades. The author makes numerous generalizations and questionable assertions that are not supported by references (chapter 3, on Ottoman decline, has only two notes, compared with ninety-six in the following chapter). Had Shaw attempted to analyze the many works found in his lengthy (forty-two page) bibliography, a more balanced and credible picture might have emerged.

DANIEL J. SCHROETER  
University of Florida

FRED H. LAWSON. *The Social Origins of Egyptian Expansionism during the Muhammad 'Ali Period*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 215. \$40.00.

Fred H. Lawson studies phases in Egypt's foreign policy in the first half of the nineteenth century that have always received what might be called "standard" attention from historians: the Arabian campaigns against Wahhabism, intervention in the Greek revolt against Sultan Mahmoud II, and the occupation of Syria from 1831 to 1841. Readers should be prepared for a new and perhaps too neatly packaged view of Muhammad 'Ali's motivation in undertaking each of these ventures.

To back a hypothesis that must be synthesized too succinctly here, Lawson offers what is recognizably an unparalleled compendium of data on economic activities in Egypt during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Following a chapter on the theoretical and historical complexities of capital accumulation, Lawson contends that Muhammad 'Ali's famous *Jihadiyyah*-dominated state apparatus had less monolithic control over key decision-making processes than earlier political historians have suggested. He sees in both internal and external Egyptian economic developments in this era patterns that caused "subordinate" groups (primarily "old regime" landed interests tied to the *iltizam* system and *asnaf* representatives of urban-based artisanal commerce) to "threaten the continued political predominance of the [new] regime." When "members of the ruling coalition" (central state authorities and larger-scale "big merchants," or *tujjar*) responded to such threats, the only way they could keep their own interests from clashing was (in a composite theoretical construct) to "adopt . . . measures to [both suppress] . . . domestic opponents and [secure] . . . areas having . . . resources necessary to reconcile . . . members of the ruling coalition to one another" (p. 15).

Lawson is indefatigable in his effort to document a meeting of state/*tujjar* interests in maintaining their



political and economic hegemony in the face of domestic opposition—opposition that mounts in intensity as one approaches the three major foreign policy events of the reign. Because of what I perceive to be a problem of clear cause and effect documentation, however, some aspects of his data gathering may represent a more convincing and valuable historical contribution than the overall hypothesis.

Indeed, for “standard” historians, one aspect is a core problem of Egyptian history in any period. By tying his main thesis concerning growing large-scale commercial wealth in trade to the evolution of landholding and documenting an early stage of “private” tenure, Lawson helps break down previous suggestions of the near totality of state (*miri*) domination of cultivable land and its marketable goods before the *Tanzimat* land laws of the 1850s and 1860s. Hence, state trade monopolies traditionally considered to have been monolithic may have involved considerable input from a private *tujjar* “shadow government.”

But what are the sources used to build this revisionist scenario? One finds in the notes only rare citations (six detailed, plus one general) from primary archival documents. Almost all references are to standard secondary materials, many dating from two generations ago, or to well-known contemporary observers like Edward Lane and John Bowring. One wonders why, if all these bits and pieces of information were included in different contexts by so many other scholars, the “big picture” has eluded us for so long?

Although Lawson’s conclusion on Egypt is brief given the scope of what he has suggested, there are three “introductory comparisons” in his conclusions, including two contemporary case studies (Ahmed Bey’s Tunisia and Daud Pasha’s Iraq).

Finally, a contemporary comparison (Saddam Hussein in Iraq) appears to be a “timely afterthought.” This suggestion, however, slights a skillful fifteen-page survey of Baghdad’s internal policy decisions up to the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Unfortunately, it may be asking too much of the reader to assimilate this “mini” case study, whatever its inherent historical value or theoretical interest, to the main body of data on Egypt a century and a half earlier.

BYRON CANNON  
University of Utah

MOSTAFA ELM. *Oil, Power, and Principle: Iran’s Oil Nationalization and Its Aftermath*. (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 413. \$39.95.

The Iranian oil crisis of 1951–53 is in many ways a landmark in international affairs. It pitted imperialism against the emerging nationalisms of the Third World. It sparked similar confrontations elsewhere, notably the 1956 Suez crisis. It revealed the postwar decline of Britain and the concomitant rise of the United States in the Middle East. It posed for Wash-

ington a major dilemma: to support Britain, its Cold War ally, or to side with Iran, the prototype of the emerging nationalism. What is more, it gave the CIA the first of its successful coups, inspiring it to carry out similar ventures in other countries. The crisis was even more pivotal for Iran. It made Mohammad Mosaddeq, a nineteenth-century liberal aristocrat, into a charismatic prime minister against Britain and the Pahlavi monarchy. And the CIA coup in 1953, by replacing Mosaddeq with the shah, tarnished the monarchy, undermined liberal democracy and secular nationalism, and, thus, in the eyes of many, paved the way for the eventual emergence of Ayatollah Khomeini and his brand of religious nationalism.

Making full use of the recently opened archives of the British Foreign Office, Mostafa Elm has written a meticulous but highly readable account of the crisis. He begins with the original oil concession of 1901, describes Iranian grievances against the British company, and sketches the various efforts made to renegotiate the concession. He continues with the emergence of Mosaddeq, the nationalization of the oil industry, and Harry Truman’s policy of mediating between Iran and Britain. He ends with the fateful coup engineered by the Dwight Eisenhower administration, the entry of U.S. companies into Iran, and the increasing national resentments now directed against the United States as well as Great Britain. Elm shows that the crisis was insoluble mainly because Iran wanted sovereignty over its industry, whereas Britain was willing to accept the principle of nationalization only if it retained control over the actual running of the same industry. He also shows that Mosaddeq—despite his image in the West—was a rational and cool-headed statesman who successfully outmaneuvered British diplomats in the United Nations and the World Court. What is more, Elm uncovers some new information, especially about British plans to invade Iran, about John Foster Dulles extracting from the British major concessions for U.S. oil companies on the grounds that it was the United States that had overthrown Mosaddeq, and about the active participation in the coup of Western academics who liked to portray themselves as high-minded apolitical scholars. Those who still think that Edward Said exaggerated the links between imperialism and Orientalism should read this book.

This excellent book, however, fails to answer adequately two intriguing questions: why did Eisenhower end Truman’s policy of “benevolent neutrality” and give the go-ahead for Mosaddeq’s overthrow; and why did Mosaddeq make no serious attempt to resist the coup? The first question needs a historian of U.S. foreign policy. The second needs a historian less mesmerized by Mosaddeq’s charisma. While Mosaddeq supporters still shy away from analyzing his failure to resist, Khomeini supporters drew one ominous lesson from the coup: to forestall such conspiracies you should shoot your opponents. On March 5, 1981—the fourteenth anniversary of Mosaddeq’s

death—while a huge crowd gathered at his village to pay homage to their fallen hero, in Teheran Hojjat al-Islam Khamenei—now Iran's supreme leader—declared that the Ayatollah's genuine followers were not weak "liberals," like Salvador Allende and Mosaddeq, who would be "snuffed-out by the CIA." In the following months, Khomeini supporters proceeded to execute thousands of their opponents, including Mosaddeqists. For Kim Roosevelt and other engineers of the CIA coup, Mosaddeq's overthrow was a prep-school prank draped in the rhetoric of anticommunism. For Iranians, it was a national tragedy on a titanic scale.

ERVAND ABRAHAMIAN  
Baruch College  
City University of New York

JILL CRYSTAL. *Kuwait: The Transformation of an Oil State*. (Westview Profiles, Nations of the Contemporary Middle East.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xii, 194. \$37.50.

Jill Crystal, author of *Oil and Politics in the Gulf* (1990), has written a first-rate study of Kuwaiti society and politics within the context of the Iraqi invasion and occupation and subsequent liberation. Crystal's thesis is that Kuwaitis possess a strong sense of national identity but that the community is rent by internal rivalries over the distribution of political power and economic resources.

The book is one of Westview Press' "Nations of the Contemporary Middle East Series," and, as such, presents a general overview of Kuwait. After a brief introduction, Crystal offers a historical survey that begins with the formation of Kuwait in the mid-eighteenth century and follows the story up to the 1970s. She then discusses economic development with an emphasis on the oil industry, the creation of the welfare state, and the economic difficulties occasioned by the unstable oil market. Crystal next turns her attention to Kuwaiti society, emphasizing the unity of the community but also describing the family, class, tribal, sectarian, gender, and national divisions within the society. In a chapter on political institutions, she presents the historical background of formal structures, such as the Al-Sabah ruling family, the consultative bodies, and the bureaucracy, followed by a more detailed discussion of the reign of the current amir, Shaykh Jabir. Crystal also discusses Kuwait's foreign policy, including superpower relations, Arab-Israeli affairs, Gulf relations, and foreign aid policy, and analyzes the country's post-invasion foreign policy options. The last chapter deals specifically with the Iraqi invasion and its aftermath and Crystal's observations on the future of Kuwait. The book includes a map, fifteen tables, a good range of photographs, chronology, bibliographic essay, and index.

Crystal does an excellent job of explaining Kuwait,

especially given the goals of the series editors (scholarly, readable, comprehensive, nontechnical surveys for a general audience in under 200 pages). The great strength of the work is that Crystal is able to knit together the political, social, and economic components of modern Kuwait with the unity-rivalry theme and make a convincing argument that Kuwait is not just an artificial city-state created by nineteenth-century British imperialism. What sets the book apart from all previous works on the emirate is Crystal's ability to develop this argument within the context of the Iraqi invasion and demonstrate how this unity-rivalry paradigm is seen in the Kuwaiti responses both during the occupation (when the Iraqis were largely unable to find collaborators and the Kuwaitis who remained behind offered a credible resistance) and after (when Kuwaitis demanded greater political participation). This is a welcome and timely addition to the literature on Kuwait.

CALVIN H. ALLEN, JR.  
Memphis State University

JULIE M. PETEET. *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 245.

Contemporary women's history and gender studies are framed largely within the conventional boundaries of the nation-state, with its clearly delimited territorial base and national economy. The issue of how gender relations are renegotiated in response to shifts in class and politics is rendered more complex when the society in question is comprised of refugees. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Palestinian diaspora communities; aside from Jordan, the single largest concentration of Palestinians in exile reside in Lebanon. Basing her study on intensive field research between 1980 and 1982, Julie M. Peteet has drawn a finely grained, engaging ethnographic portrait of Palestinian society from the perspective of women's lives as struggle. Although the author conducted on-site investigations in numerous Lebanese Palestinian camps and communities, she focused mainly, but not exclusively, on Beirut and the Shatila camp, caught in the capital's poverty belt, in the period before and after the 1982 Israeli invasion. Nowhere was the ethnographic encounter more dramatic or tragic than in this camp. In September 1982, Shatila suffered a systematic massacre of Palestinians by the Israeli-backed Lebanese militia; when the gratuitous killing ended, 800 people were dead, the majority women and children. Historically, the Shatila massacres represented the culmination of a long series of crises for the Palestinians stretching back to the British Mandate. Peteet's study sets contemporary anthropological data within a historical framework; she prefaces her analysis of "women's lives as text" with a chapter devoted to Palestine in the 1920s, which saw the birth of women's political organizations

protesting the Mandate. She maintains that the "process of realigning gender relations" has its roots in the pre-1948 era when women assumed novel public roles, which did not at that time "propose fundamentally new definitions of women as social beings" (p. 66).

The bulk of the study concentrates on the post-1948 era, above all the decades between 1964 and 1982. In these years the Palestinian national movement in Lebanon achieved a large measure of political, social, and economic autonomy that ultimately proved to be its undoing. In this partial re-creation of Palestinian society, women of ordinary social rank—second and third generation refugees—played no small part. Women were instrumental in re-creating order and stability out of chaos and uncertainty; it was the women who transmitted to their children a collective cultural-historical sense of life in pre-1948 Palestine, of what it meant and means to be Palestinian. Due to the peculiar circumstances of diaspora existence, the crystallisation of both a female political consciousness and perhaps a feminist sensibility occurred. The alienation of exile and revolutionary nationalism could not but transform relations between men and women as well as those between women themselves. Since the domestic hearth became a political arena or forum, no women were left untouched; the lines between public and private spaces and gendered activities were blurred. As Peteeet notes, she adjusted her earlier, theoretical distinction between "activist" and "ordinary" women to accord with gender and politics as lived. Informal and formal political action fused, providing new opportunities and culturally acceptable roles for females in education, work, and other spheres.

Thus, women were fundamental to the emergence of Palestinian nationalist consciousness. Yet as Peteeet deftly demonstrates, the resistance movement paradoxically has tended "to deflect a momentum toward a feminist consciousness" (p. 41). Among the many merits of this fine study is that the author links her close investigation to larger scholarly debates on women, underdevelopment, and national movements. This is ethnohistory at its best.

JULIA CLANCY-SMITH  
University of Virginia

#### AFRICA

GEBRU TAREKE. *Ethiopia: Power and Protest; Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*. (African Studies Series, number 71.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxi, 272. \$49.50.

Gebru Tareke has produced a significant book, a major contribution to the understanding of the role of peasants in African revolts and revolution. The study focuses on popular protests in mid-twentieth-century Ethiopia. The author's main goal is to explain the causes of peasant involvement in three revolts

that occurred between 1941 and 1970: the Raya and Azebo revolt in Tigray in 1943, the Bale revolt between 1963 and 1970, and the revolt in Gojjam, 1968–69. Tareke argues that although until the 1930s Ethiopian peasants appeared to be docile and compliant even in the face of the most harsh, oppressive, and exploitative conditions, after that time incidents of peasant discontent leading to open rebellion became more common. The question is why. Tareke discounts the predominance of social class contradictions as an explanatory factor. Instead he suggests that nonclass structural and ethnoregional affinities were the primary bases for these revolts. As the state attempted to establish its hegemony and to shift the loci of power from the provincial traditional elites, rural classes reacted, in some cases coalescing across class lines against the state. Tareke suggests that these reactions were in response to four main factors: the reorganization of feudal power, attempts to increase national revenues by abolishing rights and privileges of the traditional aristocracy, attempts by the state to capitalize agriculture, and the ethnic chauvinism of highlanders in the south (p. 18).

Tareke argues that throughout the imperial period traditional institutions, values, and mechanisms of social control dominated the lives of most rural residents. Even after World War II and the Italian fascist interlude, tradition remained strong relative to the modernizing state. Although Ethiopia began to participate in the international market in the earliest days of the twentieth century, opening the way for a domestic capitalist market and class formation, there was little class consciousness. What was more common was intraclass conflicts involving the rural aristocracy in alliance with other rural classes against the centralizing state. Under normal circumstances, the burgeoning rural bourgeoisie allied itself with the state, but when state policies threatened that class' position of power and privilege, it shifted alliances to form a front against the encroachment of the state.

Tareke effectively demonstrates that ethnoregional identities proved more powerful than class identities in forming the basis of the Tigray people's resistance to central authority in 1943. A broad-based Tigray movement was suppressed by Emperor Haile Selassie only with the help of Ethiopia's ally, Great Britain. The revolt in Bale between 1963 and 1970 is described by Tareke as having been "quintessentially a peasant question" (p. 159). At the same time, it was a reaction of Oromo peoples to the ethnocultural chauvinism and hegemony of a dominant group from Ethiopia's highland core. In other words, this revolt represented an intersection of class and ethnicity as determinants of political action. Occurring a quarter of a century after the Tigray revolt, the Gojjam rebellion was another incident of local particularistic values superseding class as the impetus for cross-cutting alliances and consequent political action.

In attempting to downplay the importance of class, and to emphasize nonclass considerations to explain

peasant revolts, Tareke fails to recognize the full importance of the way the state and capitalism penetrated rural Ethiopia and with what consequences. He argues that, "Important though they were, it was not the roads, railways, or market pressures that breached peasant tranquility, but state centralism" (p. 11). What the author fails to realize is that the state was the vehicle for capitalist penetration. As it moved into the countryside, it connected the peasantry to the city and the capitalist market. These factors simultaneously undermined and changed traditional authority structures and value systems. Tradition might have resisted, but inevitably it changed, and in the process the locus of social control shifted by degrees.

In places, the author contradicts himself. He argues that Haile Selassie "smashed" the northern oligarchies, but in the same sentence he qualifies the imperial state's effectiveness in establishing its hegemony over other classes (p. 19). The fact is, the emperor benefited greatly because of prior fascist policies that had severely weakened traditional authority systems, but in relative terms he was never able to completely secularize the state and establish his absolute power. Peasant revolts were merely manifestations of the consequences of the limits of state autonomy. It was not that Haile Selassie did not want to radically reform society (p. 85), it was just that he was often inhibited from doing so by the relatively stronger position of traditional institutions.

Whatever flaws exist in this book, they are few. It is must reading for students of peasant revolution as well as African political history.

EDMOND J. KELLER  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

MARYINEZ LYONS. *The Colonial Disease: A Social History of Sleeping Sickness in Northern Zaire, 1900-1940*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 335. \$79.95.

Sleeping sickness was a major source of sickness and death over broad areas of eastern, central, and southern Africa during the colonial period. The devastating epidemic of 1901 in southern Uganda killed an estimated 250,000 people and brought home to colonial officials all over the continent the potential threat that the disease represented in terms of both the health of Africans and the future of the European colonial enterprise in Africa. The broad outlines of the history of this disease and European efforts to deal with it were laid out in John Ford's classic study, *The Role of Trypanosomiasis in African Ecology* (1971). Since then, a number of articles have been written about the specific experience of different parts of Africa with sleeping sickness. Until now, however, there has not been a sustained attempt to explore the complex interplay of the human and biological forces

shaping the history of this disease within a particular region of Africa.

Maryinez Lyons's study of the social history of sleeping sickness in northern Zaire fills this void. The study, however, is more than a social history of sleeping sickness. It is also an insightful study of the role played by public health policies in the construction of a colonial order. Lyons shows how efforts to deal with sleeping sickness in northern Zaire permeated and reshaped social, economic, and political relationships within the region. Colonial medicine was not simply an adjunct to the Belgian colonial enterprise, it was also a central player. From the construction of *cordons sanitaire*, which limited the mobility of Africans and disrupted commercial and social relationships, to the regrouping and resettlement of African habitations, to the carrying out of mass examinations involving intrusive procedures (such as lumbar punctures), and to the placement of thousands of Africans in prison-like lazarets to reduce contagion, the sleeping sickness administration penetrated nearly every aspect of African life in northern Zaire. Lyons's description of these activities is richly documented and thankfully devoid of excessive postmodern rhetoric. One hardly needs a discussion of medical gazes, the colonization of the body, and social spaces to appreciate the intrusive nature of a lumbar puncture.

Although the colonial authorities in other areas of Africa were faced with sleeping sickness, the Belgians appear to have been much more invasive and pervasive in their efforts. One wonders to what extent this difference flowed from their obsession with sanitizing the human population of the sleeping sickness parasite, that is, from a specific theory about contagion and control, or from a more generalized tendency to intervene in every aspect of African social, economic, and political life. In other words, did the pervasiveness of Belgian intervention in the lives of Zairians flow from specific medical ideas and practices, or were these ideas and practices in some way dictated by a broader obsession with transforming African life?

Lyons does not limit her study to the ideas and practices of Belgian authorities. She makes an effort to understand this experience from the perspective of those who were subjected to Belgian efforts at medical and social engineering. Here, as Lyons readily admits, the study is somewhat limited by its reliance on European records. Despite this limitation, Lyons raises some important issues concerning the variability of African responses, examines situations in which Africans resisted Belgian control efforts, and gives examples of apparent cooperation. She also draws on existing contemporary ethnographic materials on the peoples of northern Zaire to suggest areas in which the health perspectives of Africans may have conflicted or coincided with Belgian medical practices.

Lyons's effort on this aspect is not wholly successful. We have no way of knowing whether the precise



ideas about sorcery and witchcraft that Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard ascribed to the Azande in the 1920s, for example, preceded the period in which he collected them and, if so, by how many years. Evans-Pritchard, in fact, indicated that these ideas were in a state of flux at the time he recorded them. This raises the possibility that the ethnographic data on which Lyons bases her speculations about the cultural basis of Azande responses to anti-sleeping sickness practices may themselves have been a product of the historical experience she is trying to understand through their use. Lyons's efforts to understand Azande responses to sleeping sickness measures might have been enriched, in fact, had she used Evans-Pritchard's materials as examples of Azande responses to change rather than as an ethnographic base line for understanding Azande receptivity to subsequent public health interventions.

One of course also wonders how and in what ways oral sources might have provided additional materials. At the time Lyons conducted her research, there were undoubtedly few Zairians alive who had experienced Belgian control efforts first hand. Yet there might well have been a body of traditions, tales, and rumors that could have provided an alternative source of data on African responses to these efforts. Unfortunately, Lyons is not alone in her omission of these sources. Few have made a sustained effort to unearth, or come to terms with, African sources on the social history of health and disease in Africa. Lyons at least has made an initial effort to provide some insights into the African experience.

Lyons ends her study with a timely comparison between the African experience with sleeping sickness and the current epidemic of HIV/AIDS. She draws a number of useful parallels between the two experiences and suggests that there are lessons to be learned from the sleeping sickness experience. I was struck, however, by her omission of what may be the most important lesson. Belgian medical efforts were based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the problem of sleeping sickness, or, perhaps more accurately, on a short-sighted vision of the problem. The Belgians focused their attention narrowly on one link in the chain of transmission and disease—the human host—and ignored both the issue of vector control and the broader problem created by the occurrence of social and physical stress, hunger, and concurrent diseases in undermining host resistance to the disease. Lyons in fact suggests that it was improvements in the latter factors, rather than anything the Belgians did directly to combat sleeping sickness, that led to its gradual decline. Efforts to curtail contagion through isolation proved unworkable given the complex social and economic forces that discouraged compliance and encouraged mobility. Are there not lessons here for those who are currently attempting to cope with the transmission of HIV through behavioral modification? Are we not again seeing an intervention that fails to take account of, or cope with, the complex

social and economic forces what shape behaviors, to say nothing about the possible role of malnutrition and concurrent infections in increasing susceptibility to HIV infection and/or viral replication?

RANDALL M. PACKARD  
Emory University

JOHN C. YODER. *The Kanyok of Zaire: An Institutional and Ideological History to 1895*. (African Studies Series, number 74.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 213. \$59.95.

South of the equatorial forest in Central Africa, the land rises in a series of plateaus and the vegetation turns into open wooded grasslands stretching out into broad horizons. Although not a rich agricultural area, except near the many rivers that flow north into the Zaire River basin, it was an area of easy mobility and attractive resources—fish and game, and copper and salt deposits. Despite low population densities, the wide contacts spread across this region resulted in common cultural patterns over a vast area, shared economic networks, and frequent political competition.

The Kanyok, one of the peoples who inhabited this region, settled in a relatively productive area marked by varied microecologies, each with distinct productive seasons and commodities. Politically, the Kanyok were situated on the peripheries of two major cultural zones, the Luba to the east and the Lunda to the south. That was an advantage, offering political and material resources through alliance and trade; it was also a danger, threatening conquest, and usually requiring tribute payments to one or another (or both) of these expansionist powers. Kanyok corporate history was thus largely a struggle for the internal integrity of Kanyok identity.

John C. Yoder knows the Kanyok well. In this book he traces their history from the remote past to the vanguard of King Leopold's intrusive Congo Free State. Despite this breadth, the focus is firmly on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the earlier portions he sketches out Kanyok history in broad strokes; migration, settlement, the deep structural relations to Luba and Lunda cultural traditions, and the slow way in which politics evolved from ideal matrilineal models into patrilineal preferences. Early in the eighteenth century there emerged a new form of power constellation, centered on the power of the "big man," who attracted clients through the distribution of wealth, the size of a client system, and the manipulation of symbols. Yoder describes the process by which the Kanyok reshaped their oral histories to give legitimacy to this new political logic, replacing the former matrilineal structure of authority.

Yoder claims this book has little to say about methods (p. 151). Do not believe him: the book is full of rich methodological insights. In sharing with us the expressive discourse of politics and (especially) the



use of cliché as a historical shorthand, shifting over time to accommodate changing political circumstances, Yoder provides a fascinating intellectual history. As he notes, "African oral historians present intricately patterned collections of myths which are primarily about values . . . Through [their] careful analysis . . . Africa's intellectual history can be reconstructed with great chronological depth" (p. 2).

A second contribution, more suggested than articulated directly, is Yoder's analytic perspective that situates a local study within a carefully delimited regional history. He pays meticulous attention to the changing role of Luba and Songye political influence, to Lunda trade, to military invasions of autonomous slavers raiding widely in the area, to the Luso-African contacts stretching all the way to the east coast. Yoder is excellent at showing both the opportunities presented to the Kanyok rulers, and the limits that were imposed by operating within such tightly woven regional networks. The Kanyok could defend themselves against individual incursions. But in the end, Kanyok political integrity could not transcend the collapse of the regional networks brought about by increasing militarization and the collapse of both the trade networks and the political coherence which structured such interaction. Over time, the mounting stresses, fueled by global industrial, military, economic, and political forces, eroded earlier Kanyok political networks and the ideologies that supported them.

This analysis shows the mechanisms of these processes at the local level. We are introduced to the figures of speech associated with sorcery, the military venality of the late nineteenth century, and the grandeur of the metaphors of social coherence, of changes in legitimate political authority, and even of political weakness and collapse. In this book understanding local dynamics proceeds from understanding regional configuration; such understanding also ends there, and brings us back to regional issues. But we arrive at this destination with a new eye. Having traveled through the Kanyok woodlands, we now see these as regional issues illuminated and articulated through local realities.

These oral commentaries focus on societal institutions: ironically so, since centralized power was only briefly attained by Kanyok political adventurers. What we miss here is the local-level thoughts, factions, classes, activities, and identities. This is a history of elite ideology changing in relation to outside forces, not of the internal process that forged a Kanyok discourse and a Kanyok history. That is the subject for another work. The focus is on the statuses among Kanyok royal offices and how they changed over the years, although by the nature of the data we are sometimes forced back to synchronic and idealist presentations. This work is only a start to understanding the Kanyok. But it is nonetheless an important

contribution to our understanding of precolonial intellectual history in Africa.

DAVID NEWBURY  
*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill*

ROBERT J. GORDON. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass*. (Conflict and Social Change Series.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xvi, 304. \$55.00.

The Bushmen or San people of southern Africa have provoked more pages per capita of scholarly writing than perhaps any other human grouping. Robert J. Gordon argues that this scientific tradition, with its preoccupation with the presumed primordial character of hunter-gatherers, has diverted attention from contemporary marginalization verging on genocide. It has also ignored the historical record showing that the peoples now so labeled have a complex history of interaction with their neighbors, and that the current category corresponds not so much to an isolated ethnic group but to marginalization rooted in precolonial social formations and amplified in the colonial era.

Gordon's analysis echoes the similar theme of Edwin Wilmsen's *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari* (1989). Making his focus Namibia rather than Botswana, however, Gordon draws on different sources and differs from Wilmsen on several issues. He portrays the relationship between the Bushmen and pastoralist neighbors as more hostile than does Wilmsen. And he rejects the use of San as a euphemistic substitute for Bushman, since it has no traditional legitimacy or agreed derivation. Bushman, in contrast, is the term in general use in Namibia by all groups, its most likely derivation meaning bandit or outlaw.

Despite his training as an anthropologist, Gordon argues that reliance on oral informants among groups presumed to be most isolated and therefore most pristine has produced systematic distortions. He draws deeply on archival and court records to show that from the earliest contact with Europeans, those labeled Bushmen or San have in fact been active if marginalized participants in wider economic and political systems.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and likely before, Bushmen trade caravans sold not only the products of hunting and gathering but also copper from mines they worked. Relations with agricultural and pastoral neighbors, such as the Herero and the Ovambo, were sometimes peaceful, consisting of both trade and intermarriage. But they were also often hostile. Cattle theft was a source of tension varying in extent with both opportunity and need. Other peoples often used Bushmen as slaves or servants.

In the colonial period, German and South African policy ranged from policies of extinction of a people

seen as untamable bandits and not quite human, through incorporation of some into the farm labor force and establishment of "reserves" for preservation of others as anthropological specimens, to the final stage of recruitment of significant numbers into the South African Defense Force's counterinsurgency ranks.

Although Gordon acknowledges a wide range of sympathies among the anthropological students of the Bushmen, he charges the scholarly tradition with either serving or diverting attention from this process of marginalization. Violent abuses against Bushmen by the white state, as well as by white and black farmers and pastoralists, have been fundamental features of Namibian society for centuries. Yet scholars have focused on what Gordon views as a fantasy of pristine isolation.

In more popular form, this image surfaced in the South African film *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980), precisely when most of the people portrayed as cut off from the modern world were being incorporated as mercenaries into the South African Army. According to Gordon, this most recent experience was probably more representative of Bushman life than the carefully constructed anthropological images. "Do you have an image of God?", Gordon quotes ethnographer Lorna Marshall inquiring of an elderly Bushman. "Yes, God is a White-man on a horse with a gun," he replied (p. 217).

WILLIAM MINTER  
American University

## ASIA

MARTIN J. POWERS. *Art and Political Expression in Early China*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 438. \$50.00.

The art of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 220) has been the subject of intense examination in modern Chinese scholarship on art history. By my preliminary count, over 550 books and articles on Han art have been published since 1900, and they show two distinct trends of research during this long period of nine decades. Earlier publications, up to the early 1950s, generally focused on the art itself, with a well-defined intellectual assumption that the central concerns in the study of Han art were analyses of technical processes and materials, styles and schools, techniques, and geographical distribution as well as historical accounts. The publications of the last four decades have clearly marked a new emphasis on the sociocultural, political, and economic dimensions of art, with a fundamental presumption of research that the study of Han art was to attain a broader and deeper understanding of Han life and culture.

Western study of Han dynasty art has on the whole followed the research trend in China, although with a narrower scope and fewer publications. But it stands out by advancing interdisciplinary methodological

refinements and comparative interpretive frameworks and dimensions. The book under review follows this historical and intellectual tradition and underscores the recent trend in the Western appreciation of Han art.

Martin J. Powers's book is a study of Chinese art of the Eastern (or Latter) Han period (25–220), centering on the question of how issues of political expression can be traced in Han pictorial art in the first and second centuries A.D. Powers focuses on the famous mid-second-century Wu family shrines and Zhu Wei shrine in Jiaxiang, Shandong. Within this structure, Powers examines the design and construction of local tombs and shrines, their mural schemes, subject matter, and style, and then distinguishes the major traditions of taste and places each tradition within a narrative of political rivalries. He analyzes not only Han art in its own discourse but also its relation with Han ideas and institutions, covering political and social issues, intellectual change, and economic concerns. For its broad coverage and intense analysis, Powers's work is a good piece of research and a useful reference for students of Han art.

There are, however, serious problems in Powers's book. First, some of the basic issues in the history of the Han dynasty are misunderstood. For example, at the beginning of the book Powers states that the Han dynasty marks the beginning of the bureaucratic system of government and the implementation of a meritocratic standard of official performance in China. But it was the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.) that first instituted these two systems in the history of Imperial China; the Han followed the Qin in these cases. It should also be pointed out that both systems had their origins in the period before the Qin. The Han did not first see the collapse of feudalism in China, as Powers argues; the Qin dynasty had already abolished it. Second, some of the views important to the central thesis of the book are historically incorrect. For example, Powers asserts that it was during Emperor Ming's time (58–75) that the new standard of social worth promoted by the literati achieved official recognition, and for the first time the naked display of worth began to give way to the display of knowledge as a sign of social worth (see chap. 5, esp. pp. 187–88), but such development actually began long before Emperor Ming's time in the Western Han period (202 B.C.–A.D. 8). Third, there are many mistakes in technical details. For example, the dates of many important emperors in the discussions of critical issues in the book are incorrect: Emperor Gao Zu is listed as having "reigned 206–194 B.C.," Emperor Wu "140–86 B.C.," Emperor Guangwu "25–58," Emperor Ming "58–76," Emperor Zhang "76–89," and Emperor Shun "126–145." It should be further mentioned that the Han dynasty began in 202 B.C., not 206 B.C. as is given in the book; the Han existed as a kingdom from 206 B.C. to the spring of 202 B.C., during which period Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty, carried only the title *wang* (king)

not *huangdi* (emperor) because he controlled only part of China and there was no unified empire.

The problems in Powers's book would be less serious if its contention were not relating art history to social history and taking as its central thesis the question of how issues of political expression in specific social, intellectual, and political contexts can be traced in Han pictorial art. These problems reveal less about the author's scholarship than about the difficulties and pitfalls of the methodological approach of this promising intellectual exercise.

CHUN-SHU CHANG  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor

SUSAN NAQUIN and CHÜN-FANG YÜ, editors. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*. (Studies on China, number 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 445. \$50.00.

The editors present nine papers from thirteen that were read to a conference in 1989. In their introduction, Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü draw attention to two problems: theoretical work on pilgrimage, aside from Victor Turner's, is thin, and this is drawn mainly from Judeo-Christian contexts; and pilgrimage in China is poorly documented. They address the first problem by suggesting an agenda of issues and topics needing further study, and the second by proposing that Chinese pilgrimage may be grasped mainly from the perspective of well-documented sites that were visited by pilgrims.

In the place of a nonfictional pilgrim's tale, the volume begins with Glen Dudbridge's translation of two chapters from a late Ming or early Qing novel that satirically recount a pilgrimage to the temple of Bixia Yuanchun on the summit of Taishan. The enterprise turns the Chinese social order on its head, as women take charge and men follow and a scholar is publicly humiliated before his social inferiors. This turnabout, together with the greed of the organizers and outfitters, provide the motives that set this fictional expedition on foot.

Wu Pei-yi presents several nonfictional accounts of Taishan ascents which make a nice counterpoint to the fictional version. Even when the genteel authors clearly state that they were on pilgrimage either to the God of Taishan or to his "daughter," the princess, enclosed in their sedan chairs they kept the rabble at a distance and said nothing of any religious experience.

But religious experience is the core of Chang Shangying's pilgrimage to the great Buddhist center at Wutaishan. A distinguished Song Dynasty literatus and official, he resisted the anti-Buddhism of his social peers, and as a devout Chan layman he opposed a rhapsodic account of his visions of Hanjusri to Chan's cool abstraction. Robert M. Gimello's lucid translations and thoughtful commentary illuminate Song Dynasty elite religiosity.

In his richly informative study of Chan pilgrimage sites, Bernard Faure distinguishes sectarian interests from the "communitas" of Turner's pilgrims. Although Chan in principle devalued relics and sacred geography, the faithful "peregrinated" to attend masters living and dead, and the monasteries competed for their patronage (pp. 151–52). Faure also argues that the relative flourishing and decline of the northern and southern sects was influenced by the proximity of their main monasteries (Songshan and Caoqi) to great cities and by their possession of relics.

Yu Chün-fang begins her account of the temples of Putuoshan by locating this island site within sets of three and of four holy mountains and correlates the latter with the four elements of Buddhist cosmology and with four mighty *bodhisattvas*. The textual basis for the elevation of the island to this high level was the Huayan (*Avatamsaka*) sutra's Potalaka, home of Avalokitesvara/Guanyin. This identification was affirmed by cumulative records of numinous phenomena, imperial patronage, and the testimony of pilgrims grateful for having seen manifestations of the deity.

In his study of the paintings and prints of Huangshan, James Cahill broadens the definition of religion "to encompass the quasi-religious experience of the sublime," and thereby expands the definition of pilgrimage to include the "spiritual ascents" of literati whose quest acknowledged no debt to Buddhism and Daoism (pp. 247–48). Huangshan invited such expanded definitions because increasingly from the thirteenth century it was frequented less by sectarian or popular religious pilgrims than by literati and socially ambitious Huizhou merchants. Cahill also sorts out the different kinds of representation, the classes of their patrons, and the uses to which the works were put.

John Lagerwey contributes to the Daoist side of this volume a study of Zhenwu's Wudangshan temple complex. Beyond drawing on printed texts, Lagerwey examines stele inscribed by or for groups of pilgrims to the mountain in order to find clues to their social and geographical origins, their motives, and the ways in which they were organized. He presents the evidence of Yuan, Ming, and Qing emperors' patronage of the "Dark Warrior," but perhaps goes too far when he says that Wudangshan in the Ming became "the mountain, on which and on whose god dynastic legitimacy itself depended" (p. 297, emphasis in original).

Naquin's study of the pilgrimage to Miaofengshan brings us back to Bixia Yuanchun and her cult. This cult center northwest of Beijing benefited from a lack of local sectarian competition and from its proximity to the immense urban populations of Beijing and Tianjin. The author's assiduous research in regional archives, mainly of Qing date, has produced rightly detailed information about the pilgrims and those who served their needs en route. This material is

brought to bear on a wide range of issues in social history.

The volume ends with Rudolph Wagner's detailed reading of Mao's memorial hall. The author deconstructs the symbolism of the monument in a way that illuminates recent political history and evokes the ideological context in which the hall was designed and built. Perduring elements of a traditional world view, including the construction of hierarchy on a grid formed by the cardinal directions and the use of the leader's embalmed corpse as a holy relic, are integrated with the analysis. The progress of an "implied pilgrim" through the monument provides a narrative structure and links this article to the other contributions.

This volume advances research in Chinese pilgrimage, and in Chinese religion and society generally, with its wealth of information and documentation. Some of the articles will also be found useful for their contributions to the definition and solution of theoretical issues.

ROMEYN TAYLOR  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

RODERICK MACFARQUHAR and JOHN K. FAIRBANK, editors. *The Cambridge History of China*. Volume 15, *The People's Republic, Part 2: Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution, 1966–1982*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxv, 1108. \$120.00.

In this, the fifteenth and presumably final volume of the magisterial Cambridge History of China, we are treated to a painstakingly thorough examination of what editors Roderick MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank have termed "revolutions within the revolution," which most of the contributors have construed to refer to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (although the dates, 1966–82, also permit "revolution" to be interpreted to include the initiation of reform under Deng Xiaoping, drawing an analogy between the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee and the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee). Thus, the dramatic series of events that has probably already caused more scholarly controversy than any other in the history of the People's Republic has, with no less than 1,108 dense pages, some 220 dedicated to bibliographical documentation and a glossary-index (not yet including footnotes), undoubtedly received its most comprehensive analysis to date.

One has no right to expect many surprises in such an encyclopedic scholarly tombstone, whose function is after all to provide the definitive last word rather than pathbreaking new theories, and indeed one finds for the most part that the preexisting scholarly consensus has been confirmed with relatively modest revisions. Yet the authors—all outstanding specialists at the pinnacles of their careers—have nonetheless

managed to eke some new insights and findings from well-ploughed fields. Stuart Schram, for example, renders a new and more precise translation of Mao's "law of the affirmation of the negation," which he now construes to be a major theoretical innovation with portentous implications, including the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. In closing Schram renders perhaps his most damning verdict to date on Mao's crowning quest, suggesting that it was neither "great" nor "proletarian" nor "cultural" nor a "revolution." Harry Harding, in his analysis of the "Chinese State in Crisis," draws an interesting parallel between Mao's defiant (and radical) reaction to criticism of the Great Leap at Lushan and his similar reaction to the "February [1967] Adverse Current" in the Cultural Revolution, and notes Mao's tendency to rely on unreliable allies and to belie his own admonition to carry things through to the end.

Thomas Robinson's discussion of the Sino-Soviet dispute reveals that confrontation to have involved a more concerted and sustained form of coercive diplomacy on the part of the Soviets (in response to initial Chinese provocation) than his previous writings on this topic had indicated. MacFarquhar's chapter, a consummate demonstration of Pekingology (albeit with better scholarly documentation), throws new light on an aspect of the succession riddle hitherto ignored: the question was not only who but also what should succeed, a very real option having been military dictatorship. Jonathan Pollack's chapter offers fascinating new details on the delicate negotiations leading to the "Opening to America."

"China's Economic Policy and Performance," by Dwight Perkins, suggests that the Cultural Revolution's adverse impact on the economy has perhaps been exaggerated, but that such exaggeration was in any event rhetorically useful in justifying a sharp break with Maoist economics under Deng Xiaoping (whose policies get pride of place in a survey going well beyond 1982). Suzanne Pepper's chapter is unique among these in the credence she lends to the ideological pretensions of Maoist educational reforms, which parallel other efforts to cope with unequal access and a deterioration of standards in mass education in the Third World.

Cultural issues are addressed in two chapters that do not overlap in the slightest, a succinct discussion of creativity by Douwe Fokkema and an exhaustive, highly detailed survey of literature (in both China and Taiwan) by Cyril Birch. Urban and rural life receive their due from Martin King Whyte and Richard Madsen, respectively, while Taiwan's independent evolution is traced by Ralph Clough (only Hong Kong is omitted, showing a certain lack of timing). MacFarquhar's intriguing concluding comments raise the possibility of a future fragmentation of the country similar to what has since this tome's publication befallen the Soviet Union—a prospect few Chinese will welcome, despite the author's favorable preview.

Naturally, there will be points (usually minor) with



which individual specialists may take issue. The use of Wade-Giles Romanization seems a bit anachronistic, though presumably necessary to remain consistent with the previous fourteen volumes. It seems paradoxical that a chapter on "The Ideology of the Cultural Revolution" should end up finding the nuances of Mao Zedong's thought to be less relevant than an essentially crude quest for power and ego-enhancement—"the desire to punish and ultimately to destroy his critics" (p. 81)—wherein Mao took his bearings as much from the traditional role of his imperial predecessors as from Marxism-Leninism.

Harding's attention to Lo Ruiqing, who had perhaps less to do with the Cultural Revolution than with Kang Sheng's desire to regain control of the security apparatus, seems discursive, and his dismissal of Maoist institutional reforms in 1969–76 clashes with Pepper's serious consideration of them (at least in the educational realm). Robinson's discussion is overly technical on weapons systems and ends somewhat abruptly. MacFarquhar's assessment of Deng Xiaoping's handling of his own succession after having stepped into Mao's shoes fails to make much of the surprising parallels apparent between these two quite different personalities. Pollack's survey overlaps extensively with Robinson's discussion of the Soviet factor in Sino-American normalization. While Pepper is to be commended for taking radical educational reform seriously, she may underestimate the cynicism involved in turning schools into work camps and sending armies of idealistic young people to hostile frontier regions.

While there are various differences of emphasis among the assembled scholars, all agree that the Cultural Revolution was not only a tragedy but also a political error, for which Mao Zedong bears the lion's share of responsibility. Two general criticisms might be mentioned. One would be the work's inordinate length (most chapters run around a hundred printed pages), which indulges unnecessary overlap and digression and in effect limits the volume to library access. Second, a more precisely defined focus might have helped avoid some of this. Each chapter writer seems to have been more or less at liberty to pick his or her own chronological starting and stopping point: some bring matters nearly up to the present, others to 1976, to 1978, to 1981, or 1989; similarly, whereas most begin with the outbreak of the Red Guard movement in 1966, others go all the way back to liberation (Madsen and Whyte, for example) or even before that.

But in general, both editors and authors are surely to be congratulated for their achievement. The book is a fitting capstone to a magnificent compilation of knowledge and wisdom concerning modern China, likely to be invaluable to students and scholars for many years to come.

LOWELL DITTMER  
University of California,  
Berkeley

JEFFREY P. MASS. *Antiquity and Anachronism in Japanese History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 211. \$29.50.

In this short, insightful book of essays, Jeffrey P. Mass takes stock of the field of medieval Japanese history, a field he is largely responsible for creating in its present form. The first chapter pays homage to his mentor, John Whitney Hall; the last summarizes the work of Hall's students, Mass himself, and his students, and describes the gaps in the Western understanding of early Japanese history that Mass believes need to be filled. In addition to four new papers, articles which previously appeared in print have been redone and adapted for the purposes of this volume.

The argumentation in the central chapters is based on detailed and exhaustive philological work in the primary sources that Mass knows better than anyone else. His essay on personal names, for example, demonstrates that warriors dropped clan names in favor of surnames in an effort to gain autonomy from kin. His primary focus is on specific terms: when did they first appear in documents, what did they mean then as opposed to later, and how might they be explained, not translated, in English. For the most part, this concern can be shared only with other specialists. Even historians of early modern or modern Japan would find it difficult to get excited by the prospect that *jitō* (steward), *shugo* (constable), and *gokenin* (housemen) became ways of defining positions not in 1180 but after 1190. Yet his conclusions are noteworthy. By using contemporary documents, especially juridical statements, he is able to show how later narratives tried to justify the power arrangements of their own time by claiming a greater antiquity for institutions than in fact existed. Based on the premise that the warriors in 1180 did not have nearly as much power as later apologists claimed, Mass is able to show that the *shōen* (manor) system began in the eleventh, not the ninth century; the title of "shogun" meant little to Minamoto Yoritomo, apotheosized in Japanese history as the first shogun; the rudimentary organization he used to deal with his allies and retainers can scarcely be dignified by the term "Bakufu"; and indeed so little did warriors in Kamakura have by way of institutional support that they could do little more than keep their fellows from disturbing the peace. With their more sophisticated and nationally entrenched techniques of rule, the imperial court, plus temples and shrines in Kyoto, continued to function effectively, leading to what Mass and others have called a dual polity: two complementary bases of authority, one in Kyoto, the other at Kamakura. In institutional terms, the decisive break came not in 1180 but in 1333 when Emperor Go-Daigo's attempt to reassert a unitary polity led ironically to the first time that warriors truly dominated the court. Only then did Japan enter its medieval period.

This is a book meant for graduate students. The



discussion of sources, forgeries, and hard words to translate would interest mainly those likely to read them, and indeed, some knowledge of Japanese is necessary to follow Mass's argument. The surveys of the field provide a handy reading list for preparing for exams, whereas the strict adherence to chronology would irritate a scholar looking for essays on specific topics. Mass is a serious and energetic historian, but he refuses to speculate on the significance of what he has discovered much beyond what the documents themselves have to say. Furthermore, his pedantic insistence on using Japanese words is likely to alienate the average undergraduate or general reader who would not consider *jūtō* to be an "unusually common" term (p. 136). Only chapter 4, on "Identity, Personal Names, and Kamakura Society," has enough intriguing detail to entice their attention.

ANNE WALTHALL  
University of California,  
Irvine

HITOMI TONOMURA. *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 285. \$37.50.

This is a study of village life in medieval Japan. Hitomi Tonomura, using an impressive array of primary sources and secondary works, draws a detailed and fascinating picture of what she calls "The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho." But the study, although focused on the aggregation of villages (*sō*), particularly Imabori Village, that constitute the Tokuchin-ho estate (*shōen*) of Ōmi Province, also illuminates village life throughout Japan during the medieval age. Imabori is at the center of attention, but the larger picture of villages everywhere is never neglected.

Tonomura has researched her subject thoroughly and writes with grace and sophistication. This bespeaks her talent and diligent work. But to my mind the excellence she has achieved in this book is also a tribute to the extraordinary advances that scholars have made in the study of medieval Japan in recent decades.

The table of contents indicates the range of Tonomura's inquiry into medieval village life with Imabori as her case study: the physical and political environment, the village within the estate setting, village relations with the outside world, and the development of commercial interests. As she explains in the introduction, this is an examination of the medieval village primarily from the standpoint of cooperation and collaboration between the villages and the central establishments (*kenmon*)—the imperial family, courtier families, the Muromachi Bakufu—that were the "absentee proprietors of [a] vast network of . . . estates . . . spread across Japan [and constituting] the ultimate source from which prestige emanated" (p.

8). This approach differs markedly from the mainstream of postwar historiographical inquiry into medieval villages, based on Marxist historiography, that has stressed conflict rather than cooperation between the villages and the estate holders.

In reading this book, I was struck by the extraordinary complexity and richness of medieval village life, which the author describes most fully in the chapter entitled "The Sō Village." Imabori and other villages were not only internally bound by a tight web of social, religious, and other relations among individuals and families but also by multifarious contacts and ties with neighboring villages, the estates to which they belonged, and the world beyond. In the chapters entitled "Village Links with the Outside" and "The Assertion of Commercial Interests," Tonomura tells what she describes as a "shining example of a commercial success story in premodern Japan." It is the story of the Honai merchants of Ōmi Province. Here we learn much both about this particular group of merchants and about commerce in general during medieval times. This is surely one of the best discussions of medieval commerce available in English.

This is a fine book. I recommend it without qualification to all students of medieval Japanese history.

PAUL VARLEY  
Columbia University

MIRIAM SILVERBERG. *Changing Song: The Marxist Manifestos of Nakano Shigeharu*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 255. \$29.95.

The case of modern Japan calls out for studies of the production of culture. Few other states in the industrial world labored as hard to inculcate values of obedience, diligence, and thrift, while few other societies matched the scope of the mass media and consumer culture that emerged in Japan after World War I. Miriam Silverberg offers us the most incisive and methodologically innovative work in cultural history since Carol Gluck's *Japan's Modern Myths* (1985). Whereas Gluck analyzed the thoughts of a wide array of actors who helped to form Japan's dominant ideology between 1890 and 1915, Silverberg chooses to examine the "Taishō culture" of the 1920s and early 1930s through the observant eyes of one critic, the Marxist poet Nakano Shigeharu.

This may be the boldest attempt in English to apply postmodern literary theory to the cultural and political history of modern Japan. Employing close textual analysis, Silverberg sets out to write "a history of the changing consciousness of one Japanese Marxist" (p. 3). At the same time, she highlights the category of culture by revising our understanding of the overall development of Japanese Marxist thought between the two world wars. The era's Marxist debates, she argues, have been reduced to contests over tactics and whether Japan had already experienced a bourgeois revolution. Silverberg offers a different reading, in

which several influential Marxists, including Nakano, rejected the narrow economism of their colleagues and instead emphasized the intellectual's role in transforming popular consciousness. In this sense, she contends, Nakano resembled Antonio Gramsci, Walter Benjamin, and other "Western Marxists" in contemporary Europe who were similarly pondering "the production and power of culture" (p. 7). Granting artists a role in shaping Marxism, Silverberg challenges the "canonized history of the Japanese revolutionary Culture Movement," in which "revolutionary writers passively molded their literature to meet the demands of political strategies" (pp. 44, 45).

Silverberg's rereading of Nakano's cultural critiques also illuminates the complex relationships among Marxist intellectuals, mass culture, and the state during the 1920s and early 1930s. Like Gramsci, Nakano sought to explicate how advanced capitalism generated a cultural hegemony to prevent revolution. The state propagated ideological conformity through its schools, semi-official associations, and the police, while the urban culture of cafés, department stores, and mass journalism offered a seemingly classless consumerism. As Nakano often noted, the state was increasingly able to control culture in part because the print culture willingly collaborated in various state campaigns by the 1930s. Silverberg goes further, astutely concluding that the commodification of culture during the 1920s did not simply serve the interests of the middle classes and the state. The same "Taishô culture" that promoted the "modern girl" and glorified the police, she suggests, permitted Nakano and his comrades to contribute frequently to mass journals and to publish Marxist works in huge runs. It might also have been fruitful to compare Nakano's Marxist critique of consumerism with that voiced by social conservatives within the government.

Silverberg has set new standards in the use of literature to flesh out Japanese political history. Her lyric translations of Nakano's poetry reveal, in a way that conventional accounts have not, the problems of Japanese exceptionalism, the commodification of tradition, and press complicity in repression. Yet the author could have done more to make the study accessible to a wider audience. A more explicit introduction of her methodology would have done the field of Japanese history a service. Likewise, at several points she needed to depart briefly from textual analysis to discuss the developments in Japanese society that so obviously aroused Nakano's passions. Greater attention to context would have better conveyed the specificity of interwar Japan in this otherwise pathbreaking work.

SHELDON GARON  
Princeton University

HY V. LUONG. *Revolution in the Village: Tradition and Transformation in North Vietnam, 1925–1988*. Assisted

by NGUYEN DAC BANG. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 272.

Hy V. Luong's book focuses on Son-duong village, a rural community in modern Vinh-phu province, northern Vietnam, describing its internal structures and cultural values in transition during 1925–88. These momentous years span the late colonial period, three Indochina wars, collectivization, and decollectivization. Luong argues that the reactions of northern and central Vietnamese peasants to colonialism and socialist transformation are best understood with reference to the precapitalist village social formation, which he analyzes in terms of a dialectical interaction between communal values and structures and the hierarchical, male-based kinship model. The support that many Son-duong villagers gave to revolutionary movements such as the Vietnamese Nationalist Party and the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) is explained largely with reference to indigenous values that emphasized the importance of resistance to foreign domination as well as to the leading role of respected French-educated Vietnamese teachers. Luong gives concrete local illustrations to the arguments of David Marr and Alexander Woodside (*Community and Revolution in Modern Vietnam* [1976]), showing, for example, that the anticolonial myths analyzed by Marr in *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885–1925* (1971) remained potent in colonial Son-duong.

Developing his work's theoretical framework, Luong persuasively argues that neither Millean "rational choice" models (as represented by Samuel Popkin in *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* [1979]) nor Marxian class-based models (such as that employed by Jeffrey Paige in *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Undeveloped World* [1975]) do justice to the Vietnamese sociocultural tradition; such models, he maintains, cannot fully explain the participation of Vietnamese peasants in a modern revolution. Luong's work reminds us that, on purely rational grounds, many revolutionary peasants would more likely have stayed home. Furthermore, he demonstrates the crucial role played by non-peasant and non-proletarian groups (including "resistance landlords" and French-educated schoolteachers) in anticolonial revolution.

Despite these important contributions, the work remains problematic in several respects. In analyzing the rise of Marxist power and the revolutionary transformation of the northern and central villages, Luong sometimes relies too uncritically on the accounts of official Vietnamese Marxist historians, who have ideological axes to grind, and on the testimonies of Son-duong villagers, who might not have been completely forthcoming with this "foreign" visitor. He thus tends to take village-level and national-level elections in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam seriously, without exploring the possibility of behind-the-scenes manipulation by the ICP. Likewise, the author fails to deal adequately with the role of revo-

lutionary terror in peasant mobilization. For example, the revolutionary violence that resulted in the killing of between 3,000 and 15,000 "landlords" during Vietnam's land reform is not discussed at all, giving the impression that peasant support for the revolutionary movement and its accompanying social changes was generally voluntary in nature. The French were not the only ones to use terror in attempting to control the Vietnamese peasantry, and the issue certainly deserves more attention than it receives here.

Most appropriate for historians, anthropologists, and political theorists with an interest in Vietnamese studies and/or theories of peasant mobilization and revolution, this book would also be useful in the undergraduate classroom.

MARK W. MCLEOD  
University of Delaware

STEVEN KEMPER. *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics, and Culture in Sinhala Life*. (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 244. \$29.95.

The argument over whether nationalisms invent their histories or whether nations have in some historical sense been slowly in the making (as proto-nations) is actually a fairly old one by now. In recent times, with the influential works of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson and post-structuralist writings on the nation, the position arguing for the novelty of the nation has not only acquired an ascendancy but also compelled those making the historicist argument to fundamentally rethink the nature of historical causation.

Steven Kemper's book is part of this effort to rethink the historical nature of the modern nation in Sri Lanka. It matters little that he is an anthropologist rather than a historian; in trying to understand historical experience and memory in the present, he is engaged in a project that historians should be more concerned with than they currently are. As I see it, Kemper's role is to clear a path for understanding history so that one may steer between the teleologies of national histories and the presentism of the authors cited above for whom histories represent manipulations for present purposes.

Kemper's account seeks to evaluate the omnipresence of history in contemporary Sri Lankan nationalism. It centers on an ancient chronicle, the Mahavamsa, which has been periodically extended by Sinhalese Buddhist monks since the sixth century. It is a chronicle that "textualizes the identity" of Sinhalese Buddhism by defining the political community of Sri Lanka as Buddhist and Buddhism as Sinhalese—thereby excising, if not demonizing, others, especially the Tamils, from this community. The Mahavamsa celebrates the unity of this political community, which it sees as the result of efforts by heroic Buddhist

monarchs. It is testimony to the power of this model that contemporary Sri Lankan politicians have sought to associate themselves with these heroes and commissioned the extension of the Mahavamsa.

There are also other areas in which modern politicians associate themselves with historical practices of Buddhist rulers, most particularly in the veneration and restoration of sacred places. But while Kemper establishes the basis of continuity, he also seeks to distance his own understanding from that of the nationalists. Thus, he emphasizes how nineteenth-century nationalism both rewrites and extends this textual practice of radical othering. With the influx of Western ideas of race, the Sinhala/Buddhist versus Tamil/Hindu divide is overlaid with ideas of racial difference between Aryan (originally north Indian) Sinhala and Dravidian Tamils. Moreover, the "unity" of Sri Lanka to which the politicians appeal is less that of heroic leaders, but rather to that of the unity of the "people" who are recast in the heroic mode.

From a theoretical perspective, Kemper views history or "the past" as constraining in some respects. The question arises as to why some views of the past have a more shaping influence than others. He believes that for the past to be serviceable in the present it must have "resonance" and "pathos." Cultural changes that are congruent with past practice can accommodate the new by naturalizing it; the past that evokes pathos does so by furnishing standards for judging change and paradigms for action. Interesting and laudable as this effort is to provide an alternative conception of the presence of the past, Kemper tends to objectify the "past" as a constant. Indeed in the last few pages, he tends to conflate the past with "culture." In doing so, he actually burdens the past with an ahistoricity because the anthropological notion of culture has tended to be structuralist or essentialist. Despite his protestations to the contrary that "every cultural reproduction is also an alteration," he has not provided us with the means to think how the past that shapes the present is also a changing one. But this should be seen less as a criticism of a pioneering work than a challenge for historians to take the next step.

PRASENJIT DUARA  
University of Chicago

TAJ UL-ISLAM HASHMI. *Pakistan as a Peasant Utopia: The Communalization of Class Politics in East Bengal, 1920–1947*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xiii, 307. \$54.95.

Utopia is not the word that springs to mind when one thinks of East Bengal, or Bangladesh, as the state that was formed in 1971 is now known, but Taj ul-Islam Hashmi uses the term with sad irony to characterize the hopes that informed the Muslim peasantry as they supported the Pakistan movement in the years between 1920 and 1947. They did so, he argues, be-

cause an appeal to their religious sensibilities was coupled with their hope for ending exploitation by the great landlords, most of whom were Hindus. Hashmi has managed through assiduous interviewing and examination of folk literature, government reports, and private papers to show how religious, kin, and factional alliances cut across class lines, leading to a division on Hindu-Muslim communal lines. His study forces him to abandon, at least as far as East Bengal is concerned, the romantic vision of the "Subalterns," with their belief in peasant movements acting independently of the elites: on the contrary, mobilization of the peasants was, he insists, primarily from the top. And that they were betrayed by the elite politicians who mobilized them, whether from the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Proja Party, or the Communist Party, is the point of his book's bitter dedication: "To the poor peasants of Bangladesh—the first victims of politics."

Hashmi begins his study with an examination of the nature of village communities in East Bengal and their extraordinarily complex system of coparcenary ownership of land, with layers of proprietors, "farm within farm, each resembling a screw upon a screw, the last coming down on the tenant with the pressure of them all" (p. 42). There is little evidence, Hashmi thinks, of the peasants' concern with early phases of the nationalist movement, such as the Swadeshi movement, but the Khilafat movement after World War I caught their imagination, as the Muslim preachers raised the specter of the humiliation of the Muslim world at the hands of the British and their allies. While the Khilafat movement collapsed, it contributed to a sense of Muslim identity that was skillfully used by Muslim political leaders in the period from 1923 to 1929 to mobilize the peasantry on religious lines. This was helped by the opposition of the Hindu moneylenders and landlords to land reform.

Hashmi argues that during the war years from 1942 to 1947 important sections of the peasantry became convinced that utopia was near, landlords and moneylenders would be done away with, and Pakistan would be created as an egalitarian state that would be run entirely by fellow Muslims. Some of these millennial movements were, he thinks, the product of lower peasant leadership, but they trusted outsiders to take over the leadership of their struggle against the landlords. The religious commitments and the economic motivations of the peasants were used by what he calls the reactionary Bengali Muslim bourgeoisie for their own ends, culminating in 1971 in the creation of Bangladesh. His conclusion, following the general argument throughout this important study, is that the peasantry was left in its miserable state, to be exploited both by the economic elites and the Islamic fundamentalists.

AINSLIE T. EMBREE  
Columbia University

WILLIAM J. LINES. *Taming the Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia*. Foreword by DAVID SUZUKI. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 337. \$30.00.

Historians of Australian settlement inevitably deal with the harsh geographic and climatic realities faced by European colonists as they arrived in a strange and alienating land. Accounts of explorers, convict settlers, pastoralists, naturalists, and entrepreneurs of the nineteenth century particularly recount the courage and tenacity required to "tame the Great South Land." William J. Lines uses the vocabulary of taming and conquest literally as he recounts how the land and Aboriginal culture were indeed subdued and eventually destroyed by the process of Western economic development. The book has a single persistent theme, driven by personal memory and an environmentalist's zeal.

This comprehensive history is a challenging reevaluation of historical sources read with an eye for detail and nuanced meaning. The narrative begins with Pangaea and traces the physical processes that slowly shaped the Australian continent with its exclusive flora and fauna over 200 million years before Homo sapiens arrived. Even then, for the most part, Aborigines adapted to the landscape while reshaping areas of vegetation through the use of fire and limited agricultural practices.

By the third chapter, Lines moves into a graphic, often gripping account of European exploration that quickly turned to exploitation of the Australian land. Descriptions of treatment of the Aborigines is not for the squeamish: rape, mutilation, contamination of food and water, target practice on the open range, and bondage of all sorts. The imperial and colonizing enterprise is described in terms of brutality and profits as settlers identify and then exhaust such natural resources as seals, whales, cedar timber, grazing lands, and minerals, even as they introduce rabbits, foxes, and invasive plants that compete with and eventually eradicate native competitors. While such stories are not new (see, for example, Eric Rolls, *They All Ran Wild* [1969]), their cumulative effect gives a very different twist to the term "conquest of nature" than that expressed by the eighteenth-century European explorers.

In fact, the root cause of the devastation wrought by individuals, according to Lines, is the exploitative Western ideology of capitalism that ran rampant and largely uncontrolled in this open land. Australian settlers and their largely foreign financial backers in the twentieth century used ever more invasive and pervasive means of containing those Aborigines still alive and of extracting more resources. Political leadership and the Commonwealth Scientific Research Organization, established in the 1920s, promoted policies to identify and manage resources through scientific institutions well-attuned to the economic implications of their policies.



The last chapter of the book offers evidence of an escalating effort to contain and control a land viewed as harsh, often unyielding, and peculiar. This book is compelling. Lines marshals facts well, inverts traditional heroic stories so that triumph becomes tragedy (rarely the inverse), and writes with perception and vigor: "World War II obliterated subtlety. Only heavy industry, abetted by engineering and science, could guarantee victory. What counted was heavy power: bulldozers, steam rollers, monster guns, huge bombers, and ultimately the atomic bomb . . . In Australia the lesson of the war (the efficacy of heavy power) was applied to the renewed attack on the land" (p. 197). This book, then, is an extended, well-documented, and historically based editorial which ends in a plea. Lines offers a tough-minded challenge to contemporaries to reverse a historic trend and develop new goals attuned to the natural landscape.

SALLY GREGORY KOHLSTEDT  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

#### UNITED STATES

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN. *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1992. Pp. xiv, 217. \$24.95.

The Columbus quincentenary celebrations of 1992 depicted Christopher Columbus as far from heroic. Reducing him to a symbol of Western arrogance and greed, scholars devoted more attention to the microbes and weeds that crossed the ocean blue than to the Admiral himself. Textbook accounts of how "the New World gracefully yielded her virginity to the conquering Castilians," which appeared as recently as 1983 (Samuel Eliot Morison *et al.*, *Concise History of the American Republic*, 10), seem truly long ago and far away.

Leaving the demise of Columbus's reputation in the twentieth century to future scholars, Claudia L. Bushman focuses on the rise of a Columbus cult in America between the American Revolution and 1893. Throughout the nineteenth century, popular American writers such as Washington Irving praised Columbus's bravery and nobility of purpose even while condemning the cruelty and greed of the Spanish who followed him. Americans named myriad places "Columbia" in his honor, including the district of their capital city. Monuments to the great mariner appeared as early as 1792; in the Capitol building alone, Columbus's likeness can be found on a pair of bronze doors (designed by Randolph Rogers and installed in 1863); in a painting by John Vanderlyn (1847); and in Constantino Brumidi's "discoverer" portrait on the ceiling of Senate Room 216 (1859), his mural "Columbus and the Indian Maiden" on the first floor corridor of the West wing (1875), and his "landing" scene on a frieze encircling the Rotunda

(1878). By the 400th anniversary of the landing in 1892, nearly every American city had its Columbus monument (the majority by Italian artists and the gift of local Italian-American organizations), its Knights of Columbus chapter (founded in New Haven in 1881), and its Columbus Day parade.

Although Bushman succeeds in tracing a Columbus tradition in American literature, art, and public celebrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, she only rarely uses that tradition as a window into larger cultural concerns. We see Columbus in the early nineteenth century as a symbol of American nationalism and, later on, as a symbol of Italian and Catholic-American loyalty, but clearly there were other themes that connected various historical periods and their Columbases. Bushman suggests as much in her analysis of Philip Freneau's "Pictures of Columbus" (1774) as not fitting the "patriotic stereotype" (p. 74); can his gloomy portrait be read as a counterpoint to his more upbeat "Rising Glory of America"? Bushman mentions that Luigi Persico's statue of Columbus conquering the Indians, installed at the Capitol in 1844, seemed so offensive by 1958 that it was not replaced when it was removed for renovation. Did other depictions of Columbus in the mid-nineteenth century reflect the ideals of westward expansion and native domination? How did the elite Protestants of English descent, as customary guardians of public historical imagery in the late nineteenth century, take to their national symbol being superseded by a more ethnically and religiously identified Columbus? Does the visual image of Columbus change when he becomes more Italian? While the book is well-illustrated, it contains little iconographic analysis of why some Columbus images became more popular and accepted in different periods than others.

Acknowledging that she is "primarily concerned with the beginning of the [Columbus] legend rather than its development" (p. 127), Bushman would be the first to admit that her book is not an exhaustive study of the images and uses of Columbus in American culture. Besides broadening the analysis to include a wider range of sources (such as popular plays about Columbus) and extending the analysis into the twentieth century, future scholars might consider comparing the evolution of the Columbus image in North American and Latin American nations. How the Italian explorer became a hero to a population literally formed by Spanish conquest, with mixed blood in their veins, would make for a fascinating contrast.

DAVID GLASSBERG  
University of Massachusetts,  
Amherst

CARVILLE EARLE. *Geographical Inquiry and American Historical Problems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 555. \$49.50.



The purpose of this closely documented, interesting, and carefully reasoned book is to deploy a geographical perspective on problems in American history. Carville Earle takes on a series of problems that, he argues, can only be solved when history is based in a geographical perspective of locational and ecological inquiry. The resulting "geographical history" enables us not only to solve certain puzzles in American history but also to reinterpret the macrohistory of the American continent.

Earle's ecological inquiries trace the effects of understanding, or failing to understand, the environment on the course of American history. The locational dimension refers largely to the effects of regional differentiation, interregional relations, and rural-urban relations on key economic and urban processes. He shows, in a series of tightly argued studies, that standard non-locational histories frequently overaggregate; by lumping together locationally specific and regionally distinct phenomena, they miss causal processes and sometimes lead to outright errors.

In the first of a series of ecological studies, Earle shows that the high rates of mortality in the Virginia colony between 1607 and 1724 were not caused by starvation, as the dominant interpretation holds, but rather were due to location of towns in the freshwater-saltwater transition zone, thus producing summer disease. The notion that the lack of ecological knowledge leads to locational outcomes and mishaps also informs the second study, where he argues that the Puritans settled New England because the English thought that the southern latitudes were apt to be an agricultural paradise and so assigned them to Anglican favorites. New England was the ecological leftover for religious dissenters. Earle then applies a model of monopoly colonization to the establishment of early towns in these places.

His locational studies follow-up by analyzing the different fates of these towns, largely based on the "staples thesis." According to this theory, the dominant crop of a city's trading area fixes labor requirements, terms of trade, immigration, and wage rates; hence it sets the pattern of population and urbanization. In the first of these pieces, Earle argues that the tobacco economy of the early South had few forward linkages from the land because tobacco was almost entirely monopolized by English exports and monopolized by English consumers. There was little need for anything other than a few trading ports, leading to top-heavy urban systems with few small towns in the Chesapeake and around Charleston; wheat regions, by contrast, had complex and varied markets and thus tended to develop many kinds of urban places to carry out trading functions. Earle's thesis is based on forward linkages. He rather convincingly argues that Douglass North's well-known analysis based on backward (income and consumption) linkages cannot explain the different urbanization patterns at hand.

His locational analyses offer fresh perspectives on a number of other political and economic issues in American history. Earle argues, for example, that the Boston regional economy was hurt more by the crown's taxation policies than other colonial regions; this explains the origins of the American Revolution there and not elsewhere. Earle then confronts a central problem in American economic history, the Habbakuk thesis, which holds that industrialization advanced rapidly as a way to substitute capital for expensive labor. But he suggests that Habbakuk got it wrong when he argues for using a locational analysis, one which separates the southern plantation economy in the nineteenth century, with its high urban wages, from the North, with its low urban wages. Low-wage labor-surplus dynamics were at work in Northern industrialization, says Earle; they came about due to the low "transfer wage" needed to attract labor from agricultural activity in the North to its cities. Low wages encouraged capital-intensive industrialization by lowering the total costs of production in the face of high capital costs. This is one of the most provocative chapters in the book, although I am not entirely convinced by the exclusively supply-side argument he proffers since there had to be someone to buy the outputs of such industries (many of which were intermediate capital goods for agriculture).

Earle's other fascinating subjects include his refutation of the thesis that southern farmers were "soil miners." He instead contends that imported European Enlightenment ideas about rationalization of the countryside ruined southern soils. Also interesting is his explanation of why Chicago developed a big urban system and Mobile did not, based again on rural-urban wage and population dynamics (and once more tying in to his analysis of the Habbakuk thesis).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is a series of essays on the politics of the American labor movement, which show that geographical differentiation was key to the internal divisions within unions that emerged in the late nineteenth century, thus preventing the emergence of a unified union structure and a unified Socialist political front. His thesis is of a "split geographical personality" of American labor. Earle concludes the book with a long and ambitious, yet only partially successful (as might be expected), essay that lays out a geographically based long-wave theory of American macrohistory, adding to the usual mix of factors included in such long-wave theories the ecological effects of innovation, the locational basis of crises, and the role of rural-urban relations. This section is extremely stimulating.

Earle's methodological agenda is sophisticated and mature, drawing from the *histoire-géographie* tradition of the *Annales* school, from microeconomics, and from analytical sociology. I could quibble with the excess of neoclassicism in his economics, but that is not really the point. In the discipline of geography in recent years, there has been a notable theoretical revival; from merely tracing geographical outcomes

of social, economic, and historical forces, geographers have begun to show how geographical location and differentiation shape economy, society, and history. Earle does this better than I have seen anywhere else in the domain of geographical history; mere historical geography will no longer be sufficient, and that is as it should be. His book is evidence of the rising conceptual power of this new sort of geography, sure of its role alongside the bigger and more powerful disciplines in the academy, with fresh new insights to generate on important issues.

MICHAEL STORPER  
University of California,  
Los Angeles

HOWARD M. SACHAR. *A History of Jews in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1992. Pp. xiv, 1051. \$40.00.

Synthetic histories of American Jewry have become a major growth industry. Historians writing one-volume and multivolume surveys have advanced far beyond the filiopietistic and celebratory tracts that once characterized attempts to tell the entire 340-year history of Jews in America. Howard M. Sachar's book may well be destined to be the most widely read of all these recent synthetic histories. Unencumbered by an outspoken view of the possibilities of contemporary Jewish survival in America and unfettered by complete scholarly apparatus that make the multivolume histories most accessible to scholars, Sachar's work takes readers on a calm, leisurely walk through American Jewish history. Sachar is a master writer and storyteller, and general readers and beginning students will appreciate his wealth of anecdotes and biographical descriptions, which move the book along through close to 900 pages of text.

It is precisely because this book may become the standard work that both students and the public will turn to that readers must be warned that there is one area of Sachar's chronicle that is not only understudied and misunderstood but also betrays extreme prejudice on the part of the author. When writing about Orthodox Judaism's experiences and encounter with America, Sachar takes little note of recent research that both emphasizes the varieties of Orthodox responses to new conditions here and the emergence of Americanized strains of traditional Judaism concomitant with the rise of what would become Conservative Judaism. For Sachar, Orthodox Judaism quickly lost the allegiance of new Americans and their children, was unchanging in its style and custom, and was never really engaged in the early twentieth-century battle for the allegiances of the acculturated.

That Sachar did not do his homework in this one area of a long book might be excused. We can surmise from the bibliography to this unfootnoted study that, unfortunately, he simply relies on several outdated monographs to make his case. One can even overlook

his repeated misnaming of the Agudath ha-Rabbanim (Union of Orthodox Rabbis). Sachar mistakenly refers to the group that represented the least-Americanized segment of that community as the Association of American Orthodox Rabbis and then repeatedly calls them the Agudah, a shortened version of a different organization (pp. 191 and elsewhere). He also incorrectly dates the rabbinical organization's existence to 1886 (1902 is the correct founding date). What cannot be countenanced is the way he frequently misuses sources to characterize Orthodox Jewish leaders as self-serving, corrupt, and even criminal. Sachar displays a meanness of spirit when he, for example, depicts those yeshiva "deans" and "presidents" who, in the 1920s and 1930s, opposed the modernization of Dr. Bernard Revel's yeshiva in New York and offered "scholarships" to students attending their "authentic" yeshivas (Sachar put the words in quotation marks) as tendering "thinly disguised bribes" (p. 388). Sachar sees what was a real and complex ideological dispute between Revel and his opponents as an "unseemly spectacle [that] eroded the reputation of Orthodoxy that Revel's Yeshiva complex was intended to enhance" (p. 388). Incidentally, just a page earlier, Sachar questions Revel's own reputation. Sachar ascribes Revel's appointment as president of what years later became Yeshiva University "perhaps . . . as much to his in-laws' willingness to cover half the institution's deficits as his own intellectual credentials" (p. 387). The sources Sachar should have consulted dispassionately all point to the uniqueness of Revel's talents and outlook that made him an unquestioned choice to transform this East European institution. Moreover, there is no published evidence that quantifies the extent of Revel's in-laws' largess to the school.

If Sachar is snide about how Orthodox institutions were built and led, he is well-nigh apoplectic about alleged Orthodox attitudes toward criminality and law breaking within their community. When writing, for example, of communal reactions to criminality in the ghetto (ca. 1900–10), Sachar submits that "the reaction of the Jews' spiritual leaders was mixed." Orthodox rabbis, he argues, "favor[ed] caution" over "public censure," while heroic Reform rabbis possessed of "a more clearly articulated vision of their social obligations . . . were prepared to speak up" (p. 167). More objective writers have seen Orthodox leaders as searching for the best way to actively respond and questioning whether Jews should act independent of other civic organs.

Finally, there is Sachar's extreme rhetoric in describing criminality in New York's diamond district during the late 1970s that involved some Hasidic Orthodox Jews. Although no one should suggest that a complete history of contemporary Jewry should avoid the dark sides of that group's life, Sachar's choice of words in depicting the offenders as "bearded, skull-capped and cassocked to within an inch of their lives" or as "solemnly befrocted Orthodox pi-

etists" (pp. 864–65) is more typical of anti-Semitic literature than modern historical scholarship. It must be left to future students of American Jewish historiography and psychohistory to explain the personal dynamics that tragically mar a large-scale work that could have been unquestionably applauded.

JEFFREY S. GUROCK  
Yeshiva University

LAWRENCE FOSTER. *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons*. (Utopianism and Communitarianism.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 353. Cloth \$37.95, paper \$16.95.

For more than a decade, Lawrence Foster has made important contributions to the field of communal studies. In this volume, he has brought together a number of his own previously published articles in order to present a "coherent overall perspective" (p. xiv) on the social systems of the Shakers, the Oneidans, and the Mormons. The quality of the scholarship in the individual chapters is impressive, but the book as a whole is not entirely successful.

Most of its problems stem from the fact that the majority of the chapters originated as articles. Sometimes, as in the case of the Oneidan concept of "ascending and descending fellowship" (p. 88), readers are introduced to a term before it is defined. In a number of places, information is needlessly repeated. In chapter 5, for example, readers are told that "Oneida is best understood as the lengthened shadow of . . . one extraordinary man" (p. 77) and that "the Oneida Community can in many ways be considered as the lengthened shadow of one man" (p. 89).

Foster claims that "almost all" of the chapters in this "new book" "have been substantially revised" (p. xiv), but his debt to his earlier book, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (1981) and to eight articles published between 1979 and 1988 is evident (and acknowledged) throughout.

In some instances, it is unclear precisely how "substantial" the author's revisions were. The summary of internal problems faced by the Shakers in the antebellum period (p. 45), for example, is a nearly word-for-word reiteration of material included in *Religion and Sexuality* (pp. 63–64). The same passage also appears in two articles published by Foster in 1985 and 1987. Similar repetition occurs in a number of places. Foster occasionally comes close to what David Hackett Fischer has called "the fallacy of [historical] argument ad nauseam . . . in which a thesis is sustained by repetition rather than by reasoned proof" (*Historian's Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* [1970], 302).

It is also not always easy to tell what Foster thinks of scholarly work published between the appearance of his original articles and the publication of this vol-

ume. Chapter 3, for example, which compares Shaker spiritualism and the Salem witchcraft hysteria, is based on an article published in 1985. In the revised version, Foster makes only a cursory attempt to incorporate into his analysis insights from Carol Karlsen's *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (1987). In this as in other similar cases, his primary technique for dealing with new scholarship is to add an endnote, introduced by a phrase such as "studies . . . that have influenced this analysis include" or "for key treatments . . . see" (p. 255).

This volume is unsatisfying in other ways. Despite its title, its substantive focus on the "family" function of child rearing is minimal. Several chapters, especially chapters 4 and 9, are only vaguely connected to the goals outlined in the preface. The author promises "to explore . . . the implications these groups might have . . . for the changing role of women today" (p. xiv), yet he does little more than suggest areas of connection that he hopes will be investigated in the future.

Foster's body of work on the ideological and social innovations of the Shakers, the Oneidans, and the Mormons is valuable. Scholars owe him a substantial debt. But readers familiar with his work will find little new in this volume.

PRISCILLA J. BREWER  
University of South Florida

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY. *Textures of Irish America*. (Irish Studies.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 236. \$29.95.

Using the familiar triptych of Irish-American Catholicism, politics, and exile nationalism to frame a study of social mobility and cultural identity, Lawrence J. McCaffrey returns to themes that he has debated in previous works about this ethnic group. His contentions have been sharpened, however, by current historiographical and interpretive arguments that place the Irish Americans in a central role with respect to evaluation of this country's pluralist traditions. Despite his own censorious criticisms of the Irish and their institutions, he takes vigorous issue with Kerby Miller's view in *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (1985), that Irish immigrants were largely a group with a persistent inability to cope with American individualism and competitiveness. He also derides the contention of Donald Harmon Akenson that, as in Canada, rural settings were actually more prevalent for the Irish and more socially beneficial. McCaffrey believes that the Irish adaptation to American life has been a success story, albeit one with dark episodes of discrimination and rejection.

Tracing the rise of the once-alienated Irish to positions of political and religious power, McCaffrey argues that "Catholicism has been the essence of Irish

America" (p. 176). He argues that through education, religious zeal, and ethnic pressure the group contributed greatly to the shaping of broader government services, labor reforms, and progressive movements, displaying an admirable "common good idealism." But in the larger realms of national eminence and social coherence, he judges the Irish to have been culturally compromised and ineffectual. Assessing the careers of a crowded gallery of Irish-American notables and skillfully using a richly illustrative treasury of Irish-American literature, he sets forth a panorama of social inadequacies and the trading of ethnic vitality for the pottage of suburban comfort and acceptance in the mainstream. He asks, "Is Irish America traveling from ambivalence toward extinction or a new creativity?" He posits no answer.

The response both to this question and to the riddle of just how large ethnic groups have shaped and share the American polity requires research into areas of group influence and development that may not accord with long-accepted premises. Irish Catholicism, for instance, may not have been too narrow and parochial, as McCaffrey alleges, but too broadly diffuse with Mediterranean religious trivia to permit concerted moral direction in a raucous America. Irish politicians, criticized for being too intent on the pork chops of patronage and power, were hardly singular in a political culture where ideology was abhorrent and where high purpose was constantly constrained by democratic dilution. It is significant, but rarely acknowledged, that the Irish idealism that battled for reform was often secular, radical, and at polemical odds with Catholic conformism. The Irish nationalism that was partly revolutionary and partly an expression of localized aspirations for status and conservative solutions could be seen as never having been rebellious enough, for Sean Cronin showed in his book *Washington's Irish Policy, 1916-1986* (1987) how impervious the top Anglo-dominated echelons of American power remained to the long Irish drive for liberation.

Such considerations point toward new historiographical approaches to Irish-American and ethnic studies, approaches that more acutely align ethnic histories with major American movements and search out social and regional dimensions of group life that have been overshadowed by traditional categories. The studies of women's history, work life as distinguished from labor organization, the social history of education and popular culture can all contribute to a more complete record. The anticipation of perhaps a further quarter million immigrants to America from an economically stricken Ireland over the next decade should prompt us to explore intently the cultural and historical configurations of this ethnic group that has been part of the nation's life since before its formal founding.

DENNIS CLARK  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

NORRIS HUNDLEY, JR. *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 549. \$25.00.

Norris Hundley, Jr., has written a monumental book on a multifaceted subject. Geographically speaking, California had everything: stunning mountains, long seashores, vast and fertile valleys, lush forests, and a hospitable climate. The missing resource was water, at least water where it was wanted. How the state resolved the problem is the focus of this book. It is a dramatic story, focusing on city and country, contending agencies, competing states, and on talented, aggressive, and occasionally greedy people, all intent on the "redistribution of the water supply from areas of surplus to areas of deficiency" (p. 275).

The state has been remarkably successful in this effort. San Francisco and Los Angeles captured water hundreds of miles away (Hetch Hetchy Valley and the Owens Valley) and built impressive aqueducts to transport their liquid booty. In both cases the projects not only provided for immediate water needs but also assured the cities that the availability of water would not limit growth.

The manipulation of water in the Central Valley of California provides Hundley with another gripping story, albeit a complex one. The rivalry of two competing water law systems (riparian rights versus prior appropriation), plus differing interpretations of the Reclamation Act of 1902 provided fortunes for attorneys and no end of acrimonious debate between north and south, small farmer and agribusiness, and environmentalist and developer. Particularly hard fought has been the meaning of the 160-acre limitation clause of the Reclamation Act. The clause limited each farm to 160 acres of federal reclamation water with the express purpose of creating small homesteads. The San Joaquin Valley, however, was dominated by large landowners. Eventually these landed interests won out by pressuring the state and the Bureau of Reclamation to abandon the 160-acre rule by accepting loopholes which Hundley labels "technical compliance." The ideal of small farms gave way to the politics and persuasions of agribusiness.

Hundley is quick to note that huge water projects were not the result of an interested minority. Construction of federal and state waterworks received the support of the people, both rural and urban. The great majority of Californians wanted to transform the state into "a system of water channels . . . knit . . . so intricate as to make every rivulet give account of itself" (p. 298). When the federal government hesitated, residents were willing to vote the necessary bonds for massive undertakings such as the California Water Project, "the largest hydraulic enterprise ever launched by a state" (p. 410).

Until the 1960s, few residents challenged the technological ambitions of the hydraulic developers. But in that decade opposition emerged, questioning the



old verities of growth and the belief that a free-flowing river represented a wasted resource. A protracted battle over the Peripheral Canal (an elaborate canal engineered to transport water from the Sacramento Valley into the San Joaquin water system while still protecting the Delta region from salt water intrusion) ended in defeat. Environmentalists forced the city of Los Angeles to resurrect a dying Mono Lake and to accept limits on pumping ground water from the Owens Valley aquifer. By the 1980s, any dam or canal project faced determined opposition.

What of the present and the future? To those historians and environmentalists who suggest that California dismantle its hydraulic system and return to a simpler, decentralized society, Hundley counsels that such a solution is unrealistic, as is the Jeffersonian ideal of the yeoman farmer. Neither is he convinced that the great urban centers must give way, yet he does underscore the "folly of continuing to encourage the influx of people, whether new residents, developers, or farmers, into areas where the environment is already overburdened and despoiled" (p. 405).

The story makes for stimulating reading. When the nation's most populous state struggles to distribute its most precious resource, the narrative does not lack in drama. And Hundley tells it well. His work will stand for many years as the authoritative work on California water. With his immense knowledge of water issues and water law he has given the reader a rich history buttressed with admirable objectivity. Above all, he has taken a subject of complexity and given it clarity.

ROBERT W. RIGHTER  
University of Texas,  
El Paso

JAMES R. STONER, JR. *Common Law and Liberal Theory: Coke, Hobbes, and the Origins of American Constitutionalism*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. viii, 287. \$35.00.

For at least the last thirty years American historiography has suffered from no dearth of studies of the intellectual origins of the American Revolution and constitution. James R. Stoner, Jr., attempts to contribute a new perspective to this crowded field. Stoner develops at length (more than half the book) the political philosophy of both Sir Edward Coke and Thomas Hobbes. Much briefer chapters then provide an overview of the principal work of John Locke, the Baron de Montesquieu, and William Blackstone. Stoner concludes with several chapters on the debate over American independence and the drafting and ratification of the constitution.

Because Stoner's theme of tying together these various writers is at best elusive, I can only quote his own words: "I hope to show that judicial review and the constitutionalism of which it forms a part can be illuminated by an awareness of the sources of the

Founders' understanding in two different, indeed sometimes directly opposing schools of legal and political thought: on the one hand, the tradition of the English common law; on the other, early liberal political philosophy" (p. 4). Coke, obviously, represents the common law tradition. Stoner focuses particularly on *Doctor Bonham's Case*, hardly fresh terrain. Stoner's analysis of the liberal tradition derived from Hobbes's philosophical writings concludes with a careful study of Hobbes's late work, *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England*, a lesser-known attack on the work of Coke and the common lawyers and an interesting parallel for the legal positivism of Jeremy Bentham.

The basic problem with the book is that the parts, individually enlightening, do not fit together into a convincing whole. Bernard Bailyn's basic frame of reference for considering the intellectual antecedents of the revolutionary generation has fairly well stood the test of time. Although the theme of civic republicanism has perhaps been overdone in recent years, it seems implausible today to seriously alter Bailyn's subtle analysis. Of course, there is truth in Stoner's assertion "that the strength of the judiciary and its peculiar character must be understood in light of the common law background of the institution" (p. 205). But did the founders really think seriously about Coke and *Doctor Bonham's Case* rather than about their own experience as lawyers and local politicians?

Furthermore, I question Stoner's ability to read and properly interpret the complex jumble of cases in Coke's *Reports*. Stoner asserts that Coke had no constitutional theory at all, yet Coke's major role in history involves precisely his constitutional battles with Lord Ellesmere over the limits of equity jurisdiction and with the king over the limit of the royal prerogative. Stoner fails to grasp the historical context of Coke's life work and thus provides only a blinkered commentary on some of his writings, casting only a fleeting glance at the world in which Coke worked and wrote and which alone makes his writings intelligible. Finally, I am puzzled by the constant reference to modern liberalism, as if this fuzzy and undefined term somehow provided the key to connecting the disparate writers Stoner considers.

HENRY J. BOURGUIGNON  
University of Toledo

PETER CHARLES HOFFER. *Law and People in Colonial America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 156. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$14.95.

The very absence of introductory surveys on the law in colonial British North America makes Peter Charles Hoffer's brief essay necessary and welcome. One could wish that more space could have been devoted to the substantive and procedural aspects of the law than Hoffer provides here. He dispenses with



the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in ninety-four pages, devoting the balance of the book to some reflections on the revolution and the law.

Few will argue with Hoffer's choice of emphases—that the law is a kind of “discourse” of its own, and that law reflects the social and ideological norms of the dominant members of a given culture. Nonetheless, one yearns here for some deeper reflections on the nature of law, especially given the uninitiated undergraduates for whom the essay is intended. Hoffer summarizes various “visions” of law in England itself and in the seventeenth-century colonies, but he seems to confine to Puritans alone the conviction shared by almost all early modern Europeans, that law was first of all supposed to be, and seldom was, a reflection of divine justice. The tensions created by the attempt to realize this conviction in a social setting devoid of the usual institutional and structural supports of European law might well have been explored more systematically.

Instead, Hoffer relies on an almost purely functional approach to law. There is much to recommend this argument given the very ordinary, pragmatic needs of modest property holders for debt resolution and securing the orderly devisal of property on heirs. But even in such mundane matters, which Hoffer rightly notes began in earnest with the upsurge in litigation after 1700, a good deal more could have been done. Indeed, substantive and procedural law in the eighteenth century are dispensed with in twenty-eight pages. A two-page summary discusses law and religion, omitting completely the intense debates that began in the 1750s over incorporation law and how church property should be secured from internal and external challenge. Since a developed literature exists on the law of charity and church law for the period, one wonders about this complete silence on such a key issue that became even more important as the turn toward private philanthropy intensified in the last third of the century on both sides of the Atlantic.

The somewhat plaintive conclusion in which the author calls for a “Rule of Law” illustrates some of the conceptual shortcomings of the essay. To be sure, one can argue that the construct “the people” replaced “the king” as the source of law. But such juxtapositions mask the deeper questions of where eighteenth-century North Americans grounded the law and why, for instance, they should have cared particularly that the law be extended beyond white, male, Protestant landowners. If a moral dimension of the law is being invoked—and it certainly is here—why not deal with the question? Instead, the law in Hoffer's treatment seems only a utilitarian instrument that, in a manner not quite clearly explained, becomes unacceptable in the hands of the majority even though it quite clearly served their interests. A useful bibliographic summary of literature concludes an essay that one wishes could have been just a bit longer and more willing to

tackle some of the harder questions implicit in the history of law in early America.

A. G. ROEBER

University of Illinois,  
Chicago

Chicago-Kent College of Law

AMANDA PORTERFIELD. *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 207. \$29.95.

Amanda Porterfield locates Puritan spiritual sensibility at the intersection of “female piety”—meaning a model of religious comportment articulated through images of feminine activity—and “religious humanism”—her term for discourse identifying grace as an aspect of the everyday. By merging these vocabularies, she argues, Puritans understood their relationship with God primarily in terms of women's quotidian affairs. Female piety identified sanctification with the holy submission women achieved in daily life, and eroticized devotion by likening faith in Christ to the love—corporeal and spiritual—bonding husband and wife. Images of pious women proclaimed the common humanity of both sexes but functioned differently for each: psychologically, they controlled male aggression while indirectly affording women authority; sociologically, they enhanced women's status domestically even as men retained sovereign power in pulpits, courts, and homes. The two Annes—Hutchinson and Bradstreet—so often cast as opposites, prove to Porterfield two sides of the same cultural coin: if Hutchinson represents female piety's aptitude to instigate individual religious exploration even to the extreme of challenging the ministry, then Bradstreet demonstrates its capacity to inspire devotion within regnant familial and ecclesiastical hierarchies. Female-centered piety facilitated community cohesion by clothing the social order in marital felicity, yet ultimately fostered its own demise by successfully promoting commercial enterprise and social stratification, inciting class discord. The plenitude of women in New England's pews after 1660 enhanced the significance of female piety, their strength against affliction now apotheosized as the national covenant's marrow, but the Salem horror collapsed that rhetoric's utility.

Conceptual laxity, questionable interpretations, and methodological deficiencies mar the work. Porterfield brandishes terms like “modernization” and “capitalism” without either defining them or presenting any evidence to support her thesis about their impact on cultural transformation. If Puritanism unambiguously encouraged enterprise, why did New England's merchants so consistently dissent? She prefers psychological explanations for events more plausibly understood differently—I doubt, for instance, that Hooker “retreat[ed]” to Hartford because he

feared that the Antinomian Controversy would unleash his "characterological" aggressiveness and diminish the "self-control" for which he was so "respected" (p. 53)—and falters in several substantive matters, such as confusing Cotton's theology of assurance and preparation (pp. 71–72) or including radical sectaries like Quakers under the "Puritan" umbrella (p. 84), which stretches the term's skin too far. Excluding images of male piety decontextualizes the discussion of women and renders the importance of feminine imagery problematic for want of an appropriate comparison. In the end, however, the book's value exceeds the sum of its flaws. Porterfield discovers a feminine mystique at the heart of a religion normally alleged to vest transcendence in a Trinity of (essentially) masculine persons and temporal power in male authorities but that nevertheless attracted women by placing them in powerful positions at its devotional center. She is most deft in showing how female piety upheld women's informal power and then linking their behavior to New England's social cohesion. In recognizing this imagery's capacity to both empower and subdue, Porterfield gets the much vexed question of Puritan women's status and prerogatives exactly right.

CHARLES L. COHEN  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

EDWIN S. GAUSTAD. *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1991. Pp. xiv, 229. \$14.95.

Few major figures of colonial American history remain as enigmatic as Roger Williams, Puritan dissenter and founder of Rhode Island. His stalwart defenses of liberty of conscience and genuine efforts to live peaceably and justly with Native Americans mesh well with modern sensibilities. Yet when combined with an intense spiritual piety, a perplexing Christian theology, and a combative and obtuse religious rhetoric, what seems familiar turns obscure and distant. Little wonder, then, that Williams's complex character continues to challenge even the most astute observer. Fortunately, Edwin S. Gaustad proves himself up to that challenge with his biography.

Gaustad sets out to make Williams more understandable to both scholars and the general public. He primarily presents Williams in his "public" roles, as theological author and disputant, as political official in Rhode Island, as government agent to England, and as diplomat to New England Indians. Gaustad carefully describes the series of religious and political controversies within which Williams became embroiled and works hard to explain the respective positions of Williams and his opponents. The person who emerges in these pages is an irascible contender for his understanding of religious truth, a man of "absolute principle" (p. 159) and uncompromising

standards, a man willing to live by the radical implications of his own convictions. Williams seems to have been an extreme "absolutist" even by seventeenth-century standards, doggedly insisting on the validity of his beliefs and hoping that either the reasonableness or repetition of his arguments would win others over. The persuasiveness of his case, however, was the only acceptable tool for changing other minds, according to Williams, and on nothing else was he so dogmatic. Liberty of conscience was an absolute for Williams, an absolute born of Christian theology rather than pragmatic politics or religious indifference. His twin commitments to religious freedom and religious truth made him unusual for his own day and perhaps equally so for today.

In telling Williams's story, Gaustad makes excellent use of the limited sources available. Those sources force him to pay less attention to his subject's "private" side than might have been hoped. Still, he succeeds better than any previous biographer in providing a well-rounded portrait that does justice to the daily realities of Williams's seventeenth-century world and demonstrates how those realities shaped the celebrated dissenter's thought. All of the thorny issues Williams addressed, from the nature of the church to the role of the state, arose not out of mere academic debates but from concrete problems he confronted as pastor and politician.

Gaustad's final chapter traces popular and scholarly opinions of Williams over the last 300 years. Admirers and detractors alike have tended to separate Williams from his own era and evaluate him on the basis of presentist concerns. To his credit, Gaustad avoids that pitfall while deftly depicting Williams as a man of the 1600s who nevertheless remains vitally relevant to late-twentieth-century America because of his passionate concern for religious liberty.

RICHARD W. POINTER  
Trinity College  
Deerfield, Illinois

DANIEL P. JONES. *The Economic and Social Transformation of Rural Rhode Island, 1780–1850*. (New England Studies.) Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 267. \$40.00.

In 1780, northwestern Rhode Island was rural, provincial, even insular. Its inhabitants resisted the economic and cultural inroads of Providence's commercial society. They managed to impede, if not halt, the threat posed by cotton mills and toll roads, those harbingers of modernization that would one day transform the way of life in the region, a life characterized by subsistence farming, a barter economy, and a communal rather than a competitive culture. Even the Six-Principle Baptists, who dominated the region, neglected the ethos of an essentially traditional society. They shunned educated ministers, refused to pay those ministers, and required their communicants to

adhere to communal rituals such as the laying on of hands.

By 1850, the region was altered almost beyond recognition. Mills and stores dotted the landscape. Toll roads tied provincial Rhode Islanders to the east and to each other. Farm land was tilled with profits in mind. People paid for goods with cash. Ministers were educated and were paid for their services. And the Six-Principle Baptists no longer dominated the religious community.

Daniel P. Jones tells the story of the forces that drove the changes characterizing northwestern Rhode Island. The area was both pushed and pulled into the vortex of the commercial market. Mill-owners, bankers, and Providence merchants infiltrated the area and eventually held sway. Missionary movements spawned by the Second Great Awakening also invaded the region. Urban Congregationalists, the Christians, and the Freewill Baptists, alarmed by the religious indifference characterizing most rural Rhode Islanders, all welcomed the opportunity to reform and civilize a lawless and "pagan" people.

Internal dislocations in the region as well as external forces were essential to the process of modernization. Overpopulation, coupled with the Panic of 1819, forced many farmers to enter the market for the first time. As they watched their sons' prospects dwindle along with the supply of good land, they realized that they would have to begin farming for a profit. Without profits, their sons would not be able to purchase farm land. Without farm land, the old ways would disappear.

But once commercial farming gained a toehold, the process of modernization proved irresistible. Sons, daughters, and wives sought employment in the local mills. Stores filled with luxury items appeared at the crossroads. Local boosters welcomed toll roads and banks into the region. Some farmers succeeded, of course, while others did not. Thus, the gap between rich and poor widened in a society that became at once more competitive and more hierarchical.

Jones's study of northwestern Rhode Island is carefully researched and persuasively argued. His description of the region echoes David Szatmary's picture of western Massachusetts in the mid-1780s. But Jones resists the temptation to romanticize the life of the subsistence farmer. His yeomen are lazy and provincial even while they are egalitarian and espouse a communal rather than a competitive ethic. Jones's study is balanced and skillfully argued. His organizational construction is overly schematic, and his prose somewhat pedestrian. But his conclusions are solid, based on a careful reading of the evidence.

SHEILA L. SKEMP  
University of Mississippi

LAWRENCE W. KENNEDY. *Planning the City upon a Hill: Boston since 1630*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 314. \$27.50.

Following Stanley Schultz's argument in *Constructing Urban Culture* (1989), Lawrence W. Kennedy asserts that planning long antedates the emergence of modern professionalism, that "the evolution of the physical Boston has been accompanied by the evolution of the practice of planning" (p. 248). In nine chapters, Kennedy attempts to explain how planning has been most successful when government and the private sector have cooperated.

Puritan settlers encouraged commercial development through franchises and rights to fill the waterfront, while around the turn of the nineteenth century Charles Bulfinch, together with Harrison Gray Otis, erected numerous structures that still grace the city. Thereafter, planning increasingly became a public concern. Josiah Quincy used eminent domain and public funds to erect Quincy Market, while his son and namesake oversaw construction of the city's Cochituate Reservoir. By the mid-nineteenth century, the state had assumed responsibility for filling the Back Bay, the city for developing the South End. The end of the century saw the construction of Frederick Law Olmsted's park system and the formation of metropolitan commissions responsible for parks, sewer and water infrastructure, and transportation systems. But the city's greatest opportunity for re-planning, in the aftermath of the great fire of 1872, was thwarted by commercial interests that traditionally had supported planning. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, cultural conflict and the business community's abhorrence of Irish politicians hindered the planning initiatives of mayors John F. Fitzgerald and James Michael Curley, leaving Boston in 1949 a stagnating, divided city.

A new direction in planning, or perhaps a modification of the older partnership model, began in the 1950s with the massive infusion of federal and state dollars and a reinvigorated private sector. Kennedy chronicles the failures of the initial phase of urban renewal, the increasing involvement of the private sector under the aegis of mayors John Collins, Kevin White, and Raymond Flynn and Redevelopment Authority directors Edward Logue and Stephen Coyle, as well as new directions in planning undertaken during each administration. The author praises cooperation between the public and private sectors, but he never attempts to demonstrate how this planning model was more advantageous for the public than other possible solutions to such problems as affordable housing or neighborhood revitalization. For example, between 1968 and 1978 federal, state, and local governments spent \$1,824,000,000 for infrastructure and other public investment. Although Kennedy mentions a number of individual projects undertaken during these years, he does not account for private-sector spending, either in dollars or contributions to the benefit of the community.

Kennedy also does not effectively place Boston's experience within a national context. The linkages between private downtown development and public

purposes were first used in New York, and the differences that emerged in the two cities are critically important. In addition, by focusing almost exclusively on the view from city hall, Kennedy overlooks the important role played by women and minorities in the planning process during the twentieth century. Elisabeth Herlihy, for a generation one of the most respected planners in the nation, makes a cameo appearance, and Mel King, a strident critic of urban clearance/renewal and Flynn's opponent in the 1983 mayoral campaign, merits only a couple of sentences as a proponent of the neighborhoods rather than downtown. Despite this book's admirable scope and enthusiasm for the accomplishments of planning, it ultimately leaves the reader unsettled about the very nature of the planning it champions and dubious about the public benefit generated by private sector initiatives.

DAVID SCHUYLER  
Franklin and Marshall College

DONALD A. GRINDE, JR., and BRUCE E. JOHANSEN. *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy*. Foreword by VINE DELORIA, JR. Assisted by JOHN KAHIONHES FADDEN. (Native American Politics Series, number 3.) Los Angeles, Calif.: American Indian Studies Center. 1991. Pp. xxv, 320. \$15.00.

This is a challenging book. Donald A. Grinde, Jr., and Bruce E. Johansen endeavor to prove throughout that Native American political concepts greatly influenced the government of the United States and contributed significantly to the development of its democracy and freedom. Concentrating on the Iroquois and on America, the authors have done what William Brandon did on Europe in his *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (1986).

The book begins with accounts of early English and French traders, missionaries, and settlers about natives' political organization and liberty. The authors then present a penetrating study of how Native American nations practiced their democracy and an analysis of the images of American Indians in European popular culture and in philosophers' works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also provide a succinct portrayal of Roger Williams, who used native precedents for political freedom and religious toleration, and examine the idea of confederation in the Albany Congress of 1754 as seen through the eyes of Benjamin Franklin and the Iroquois leaders such as Canassatego and Hendrick.

The revolutionary era constitutes the major part of the book, in which the authors demonstrate that the images of Native Americans were fully used by Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and the Sons of Saint Tammany and insist that some of the Founding Fathers did view the Indians as a symbol of liberty

and unity. And, finally, the authors trace references to native ideas in governance to the mid-twentieth century.

Drawing on secondary works and standard printed sources, Grinde and Johansen have meticulously collected numerous bits of information and pieced them together in a coherent framework. No one would dispute their argument that many colonial and revolutionary leaders were well familiar with the Indian political system and ideology and that they, in turn, did have some influence on the American government. The problem is how much influence the Indians exerted.

The authors seem overly zealous in claiming more than their evidence could substantiate: they often fail to track down the specific connection, and many of their statements are overdrawn. Even the abolition of primogeniture, the Northwest Ordinance, feminism, judicial review, and the Bill of Rights are claimed to have had Indian origins. The authors seem to downplay the importance of institutional developments in the English colonies, and they do not draw any sharp distinction between "native" and "American." In order to properly assess the Indian influence on the Albany Plan, the dynamics of internal politics within the Iroquois Confederacy and the colonial precedent for unity, such as the New England Confederation and the Dominion of New England, should be fully analyzed. The Confederation and federalism may also be traced to the colonial practice. Although the American experiment was the first implementation of federalism in a large country, the idea was already known in Europe.

Nevertheless, the authors' bold interpretations, some of which will doubtlessly provoke controversy, will stimulate the interests of scholars on both sides. Tracing an intellectual connection is inherently difficult, but if the authors insist that the debt of the United States to the Native American heritage is substantial, they should be able to ascertain the extent of the influence. In this context, a more extensive use of oral history may yield a fruitful result. Let us hope that the authors will conduct further in-depth studies on limited topics and come up with more decisive proofs on Indian political contributions.

YASUhide KAWASHIMA  
University of Texas,  
El Paso

CAROL DEVENS. *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 185. \$30.00.

This book springs from Carol Devens's dissatisfaction with the neglect of both historical process and gender relations in anthropological studies of Native Americans. Devens's own analysis of missionary contacts between the Ojibwa, Cree, and Montagnais-Naskapi



peoples of the Great Lakes and eastern subarctic certainly demonstrates why gender is critical to historical analysis.

Devens makes a convincing, and sometimes nuanced, case for the analysis of gendered responses, but the details of her own interpretations are often problematic. In examining these missionary accounts over several centuries of contact, she finds "three patterns of response" (p. 3). Sometimes whole communities expelled missionaries. Sometimes an entire group made "a quiet, if grudging accommodation to Christianity." And sometimes women and men divided, and the communities split along gender lines with men accommodating and women resisting. It is this last pattern that eventually dominated. Colonization thus created the core of the modern "antagonism that exists between women and men in American Indian communities" (p. 3).

Devens assumes a precontact world of complementary male/female roles in which there is little or no contest or conflict. Trade supposedly undermined this world. But if the fur trade increased the importance of male labor and Christianity had a negative impact on women, why, among other groups in the region (such as the Illinois during the seventeenth century) did women see Christianity as a way to increase their status and take the lead in promoting Catholicism?

Devens realizes that the sources on Indian responses to missions pose problems, but for all her attention to gender among Indians, she occasionally shows surprising blind spots in analyzing the gendering of mission work itself. As she recognizes, European ideas of proper male and female behavior made the access of male missionaries to potential female Indian converts difficult. But the lack of effective proselytization among women by missionaries might be due as much or more to the reluctance of male missionaries to approach women as to the traditionalism of Indian women themselves. Although Devens genders the Indian response, she pays little attention to gender roles among the missionary couples of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Certainly, by the early nineteenth century the ABCFM desired married missionaries and female missionaries precisely because they wanted to increase missionary access to women.

Finally, Devens has an unfortunate attraction to "traditional" as a cultural category. At the end of the book, in order to subvert what are often claimed as traditional inequalities between men and women, she calls on the notion of invented traditions. She claims, however, to delineate the real traditions found in the documents. But throughout this period of vast change and accommodation, practices and beliefs were in flux and facing constant challenge. Traditional does not seem a very useful category.

I raise these issues because this book asks such important questions, ones too long neglected by ethnohistorians. Devens's conclusions are open to dis-

pute, but her questions are certainly the right ones, and this is a book ethnohistorians should read even if they quarrel with its particulars.

RICHARD WHITE  
University of Washington

HERTHA DAWN WONG. *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years: Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 246. \$35.00.

In the strictest sense, autobiography requires assumptions about self, life, and writing that some scholars believe are not consistent with Native American views. Certainly until recent developments, Native American languages were not written; Native Americans did not write. Some have argued that Native Americans are directed more to community and to mythology than to self and personal life. Hertha Dawn Wong challenges these ideas by modifying the strict requirements for autobiography and demonstrating that, understood more broadly, autobiography is a traditional Native American form of expression.

Suggesting "communo-bio-oratory (community-life-speaking) or auto-ethnography (self-culture-writing)" as more appropriate to Native Americans, Wong attempts to plumb the traditional roots of autobiography (p. 6). To discern a "pre-contact" baseline, Wong examines pictographic materials, coup tales, vision stories, and naming practices. The native traits she identifies include "relational identity; episodic narratives of spiritual experience and martial events; and spoken, painted, and performed self-narration." The presentation of these materials is informative and there is no question that they reflect individual expressions of life and community. Wong acknowledges that her sources are restricted to northern plains cultures and that they are inseparable from contact history, yet she oversteps the restrictions and leaps to the romantic conclusion that they represent all "pre-contact" Native Americans.

Believing she has identified the purely Native American autobiographical strand, Wong moves on to consider other materials that show the relation between Native American and European-American autobiographical forms. Wong begins with plains Indian sketchbooks and pictorial diaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then proceeds to autobiographies of Crow and Winnebago peoples collected by non-natives. Wong presents the contexts in which these life stories were motivated, collected, and affected by their collectors. Of special interest is the pairing of female and male stories: Plenty-Coups and Pretty-Shield were brother and sister whose stories were told to Frank Linderman; Sam Blowsnake and Mountain Wolf Woman were siblings whose stories were collected by Paul Radin.

Wong next considers the collaborative autobio-



graphical accounts of Nicholas Black Elk (with John Neihardt) and Charles Eastman (with his not-Indian wife). Finally, Wong turns to contemporary works by Native American fiction writers N. Scott Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko. In all of these works Wong is bent on demonstrating that the precontact Native American traits persist in some combination with traits introduced by European-American expectations of autobiography.

The general reader will learn from this book much about the complexities of Native American autobiography and gain an introduction to a few examples. Yet the book seems directed more toward consideration of academic issues, and in this it is far from satisfying. Wong draws general conclusions about Native American autobiography while restricting her attention almost exclusively to northern plains examples. She organizes her work as a history of the development of native autobiography and describes the history of the production of many of the works she considers, yet her conclusions largely ignore the implications of the history she acknowledges.

SAM D. GILL  
University of Colorado,  
Boulder

LISA WILSON. *Life after Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750–1850*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 215. \$34.95.

Lisa Wilson's book examines the most privileged and, at the same time, most vulnerable group of women in the early republic: widows. At a time when most women had no legal existence apart from their husbands or fathers, widows could own property, make binding contracts, and sue or be sued in court. Yet precisely because they lacked male providers, widows often found themselves at the margins of economic existence, subject to straitened circumstances, if not outright poverty. An examination of widowhood thus provides an illuminating prism through which to view both the possibilities and the limits of women's roles.

Wilson's decision to study widows in Pennsylvania proves to be judicious. During the period under consideration, widows constituted about 10 percent of the adult female population. Half of all married women became widows at some point in their lives, usually in their late forties. Drawing on wills, probate and tax records, and documents from charitable institutions in both Philadelphia and Chester County, Wilson is able to compare and contrast the experience of widows from a predominantly agricultural community with that of women from a cosmopolitan, mercantile urban center. Her conclusions on both accounts challenge the existence of impermeable "separate spheres" dividing men's and women's roles, as well as simplistic notions of male patriarchy.

Wilson argues that issues of family survival represented the husband's paramount consideration in the

disposition of his estate, in the appointment of executors, and in making provision for his widow's maintenance. Few men, for example, placed restrictions on their widows' ability to remarry when there were no children; about a third did so when children were involved, primarily, Wilson says, to protect the survivors' inheritance from being whittled away by the women's future husband. The common practice of giving a widow a life estate, which restricted the beneficiary from selling land or bequeathing goods, served the same function.

Perhaps not surprisingly, important differences in inheritance practices emerged between agricultural and urban areas. Whereas widows from Chester County tended to inherit a portion of the farm's produce, those in Philadelphia often received stocks, bonds, and the husband's business concern, in which the wife had acted as a "silent partner" (p. 115). Increasingly, urban husbands left their entire estates to their wives. Partly as a consequence of the differentiation in urban and rural inheritance patterns, the system of poor relief for widows diverged. Although in both places widows were offered the choice between either an almshouse or "outdoor relief" (in which the widow lived with a family who received an allowance for her maintenance), the constituency of these institutions varied according to locale. Perhaps most significant, Wilson concludes that widows who used such institutions had been leading marginal existences even before being widowed.

Although modest in scope, Wilson's book points to the need to study women's roles in the terms people at the time understood them. Her emphasis on the importance of family, as opposed to gender roles per se, provides a necessary corrective to anachronistic concepts that obscure rather than clarify our understanding of women in early America.

ROSEMARIE ZAGARRI  
Catholic University of America

MARY ZWIEP. *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 376. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.95.

Like Patricia Grimshaw, whose book *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* appeared in 1989, Mary Zweip seeks to recapture the experiences of white women whose devotion to Protestant evangelization led them to Hawaii in the early nineteenth century. Unlike Grimshaw, Zweip focuses on the first group of seven missionary wives who set out in 1819, detailing their stories over the mission's first eight years and summing up their collective legacy. Zweip's background as a literary scholar is reflected in her use of letters, journals, and other texts to recapture the mission women's "rich interior lives" as well as the "assumptions, metaphors, ideas, and emotions" they brought to their work (p. xvii).

Through the women's words, she aims to recount "the public, domestic, and intellectual stories of the mission" (p. xix).

The women's stories are indeed engaging. Six of the seven began the exhausting journey aboard the *Thaddeus* as new brides, having chosen their missionary careers in the only fashion available to them: marrying men pledged to the Hawaiian endeavor. At least three were pregnant by the time of their arrival; all would continue to bear and rear children as they pursued their missionary labors, juggling the multiple demands made on them as wives, mothers, homemakers, gardeners, teachers, diplomats, and "living illustration[s]" of Christian family life" (p. 16). As Zwiép demonstrates, the women often met these demands heroically, despite illness, physical and spiritual exhaustion, and a profound alienation from the culture of the Hawaiians whose souls they had come to save. For most, the difficulties of bringing up their own children in "polluted heathen surroundings" (p. 123) precipitated such serious crises that they either endured wrenching separations, isolated their children completely within mission compounds (even forbidding them to learn native languages), or returned with them to the United States. Only two of the original seven lived out their lives in Hawaii.

Within the narrative framework she establishes, Zwiép tells the missionaries' stories well. The reader comes to know the missionary women and to understand their strengths, limitations, and foibles. Zwiép is particularly sensitive to the women's ethnocentrism and their blindness regarding the missions' destructive impact on Hawaiian culture. If her focus on detailed examination of the Hawaiian missions' evolution leads to some unnecessary repetition and occasional confusion (I had trouble at times sorting out the residents of the Hawaii, Oahu, and Kauai mission stations), Zwiép is nevertheless successful in drawing a sympathetic, mostly internal portrait of the missionary women and their world.

But the book lacks analytical punch, in part because Zwiép raises few probing questions about how diaries, letters, and journals come to be constructed and preserved, and in part because she avoids placing her study within the context of comparable recent historical studies that use race and gender as analytical categories (Peggy Pascoe's book *Relations of Rescue* [1990] is a model of such work). Zwiép's work will certainly (and deservedly) find an audience, but it is more likely to be one interested in local Hawaiian history than one concerned with broad issues in the history of women.

ANNE M. BOYLAN  
University of Delaware

WILLIAM EARL WEEKS. *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1992. Pp. 238. \$29.00.

The name John Quincy Adams is synonymous with expansionism. Samuel Flagg Bemis praised his drive toward the Pacific. Walter LaFeber labeled him a continental imperialist. William Earl Weeks leans more to William Appleman Williams's and Norman Graebner's commercial-capitalist imperative interpretation to portray Adams as the godfather of America's global empire. Weeks thus joins other neo-mercantilist scholars of early American expansionism, such as Thomas Hietala and James P. Rhonda.

We find in this book a complete Adams, driven to embellish the family myth while neglecting family, righteous and insecure, with contradictory convictions and a political naiveté because he spent so many years outside America's boundaries. His intense mind and disciplined habits rendered him a cerebral loner, a compulsive worker. He saw his country and himself as God's agents for human progress, a redeemer man in a redeemer nation. But he was a prodigious intellectual, more so than any American diplomat, ever.

Weeks also ably sketches James Monroe's America and its foreign policy. Expansionism grew from an economic dynamic as well as the impulse to purge North America of Old World neighbors. Ironically, the heirs of Jeffersonian Republicanism forged links with businessmen and promoted protective tariffs to build America's manufacturing base while in pursuit of free trade. And the Latin American revolutions provided the context within which Adams sought to settle lingering differences with Spain and secure America's and his own territorial ambitions.

Weeks dissects the Adams-Onís, or Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, as a window on Adams and the politics and diplomacy of pre-Jacksonian America. This story has been told before, by Bemis, among others. Weeks shows more succinctly how Adams constructed a brilliant campaign of bluster, rhetoric, intimidation, force, and statecraft to obtain the Floridas, and then a corridor to the Pacific, from Spain. He manufactured a justification for the seizure of Amelia Island, defended Andrew Jackson's murderous marauding in Spanish Florida, and fooled Don Luis de Onís about possible recognition of the Latin American republics. Throughout, he deflected congressional meddling, convinced of the idea that the executive, not the legislature, should manage diplomacy.

Weeks pulls no punches. He uses Adams's Phocion letters to show that Adams covered up and lied for his president, as so many have since in the management of foreign affairs. The author also argues that Adams and Henry Clay clashed because of sectional neo-mercantilist differences over America's future, at least as much as over recognition of Latin America's new countries. The claim that Clay trumpeted western expectations about future international trade is less persuasive than the argument that Adams wanted a success against Spain and a transcontinental corridor to propel himself into the presidency. That was

why he defended Jackson and consciously contradicted his dictum that reason and morality were the touchstones of statecraft. Weeks notes that Adams argued a prophet's, not a scholar's truth.

Weeks renews the Transcontinental Treaty's significance for early American foreign policy, and deftly dissects Adams and his statecraft. But can we push the imperial presidency back to Monroe? Are westward continentalism, insular imperialism, and global dominion on a continuum? And the rhetoric of American empire at any time has been subject to furious dispute. Such interpretive points aside, this valuable book will interest students of American foreign policy, the early republic, and John Quincy Adams as it finds a useful place on scholarly bookshelves.

REGINALD C. STUART  
Mount Saint Vincent University

WILLIAM R. TAYLOR. *In Pursuit of Gotham: Culture and Commerce in New York*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xxviii, 212. \$24.95.

William R. Taylor begins his discussion of culture and commerce in New York City with a search for the meaning of its most familiar nickname—Gotham. In several recent cinematic outings, superhero Batman prowls a sinister, neo-Gothic Gotham whose glitzy towers and overblown civic statuary are used in an ironic way, to point up the ultimate failure of urbanism. But the term goes back to Washington Irving and gentle comedy: Irving's Gotham was a sleepy Dutch village designed to amuse readers who lived in the bustling, up-and-coming New York of the early nineteenth century. Or it may refer to the original Gotham, in Nottinghamshire, England, widely known in the 1700s as a place of fools, inhabited by folk wily enough to play at being simpletons in order to trick the unwary. These usages seem to fit the New York that dominated the nation in both cultural and commercial affairs between the 1880s and the Great Depression and then began its long, lethal slide into ruin. Taylor wonders how it got that way and what the bustle and the business have to do with innovation in the arts.

The answer runs through a series of nine essays, begun in 1975. The first four pieces are grounded in the visual characteristics of the metropolis, with an emphasis on height and aesthetic impressiveness. Taylor explores verticality and the city through an examination of the modern medium of photography; the evolution of the characteristic skyline view of New York in relation to earlier descriptive traditions; the development of public space in the city as a function of conventions of commercial display; and the iconographic usefulness of conservative, Beaux-Arts details in shaping the modern office block. With chapter 5 his focus shifts to theories of mass culture and the marketplace, and to the written word—publish-

ing—as the basis for an understanding of what the city means and how; New York as text, in other words. The remaining essays—on Times Square (a brief note, setting the scene in spatial terms), Walter Lippmann, the writers of Greenwich Village, H. L. Mencken's commuter career as a New York journalist, and Damon Runyon—all concern the peculiar argot of Gotham that came to define "smart" and "stylish" for the lady from Dubuque and her kin west of the Hudson River.

In a sense, Taylor's study is as much about scholarship as it is about New York City. The chapters trace the trajectory of academic styles from the interdisciplinary cutting edge of the 1970s through the first glimmerings of Marxist social theory to the all-the-world's-a-text orthodoxy of recent years. But Taylor is not or was not a master of all the discursive modes in question. The chapters using artistic data for evidence, for example, are uniformly weak in two respects. First, Taylor's analytic skills often desert him in the face of visual images, as when he describes the daring, energizing, plunging perspective of Alfred Steiglitz's famous photo, "Winter, Fifth Avenue," inaccurately as a "long, straight line of ruts running laterally across the picture" (p. 5). Second, his bibliography on the arts is both out of date and short on the sorts of periodical literature and catalogues in which the best new research on the issues he wishes to address routinely appears. His diatribes against the high modernists who made fun of Beaux-Arts architecture would be puzzling to most undergraduates, since columns and pediments have long since regained their position of respectability among scholars and tastemakers alike (see the postmodern entablatures of any contemporary strip mall).

But defects in the execution should not overshadow the value of Taylor's historicalchutzpa. He provides a daring and useful model for rethinking the ways in which holistic social history ought to be written. And his later essays, on Runyon and Mencken, are lively and provocative, although most interesting, perhaps, when they stray from the question of finding the Gotham factor in little old New York.

KARAL ANN MARLING  
University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities

ROBERT K. SUTTON. *Americans Interpret the Parthenon: The Progression of Greek Revival Architecture from the East Coast to Oregon, 1800–1860*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1992. Pp. xv, 213. \$32.50.

With more than 100 illustrations interspersing fewer than 170 pages of text, this book by Robert K. Sutton might seem slight. It assuredly is not. Sutton has provided us with a thoughtful and imaginative work, one that gives substance to the adage that less is more.

Solid studies of the Greek Revival exist; so do those pertaining to the American West. Sutton manages to integrate the two subjects in a manner that offers a genuine contribution to local and national history, the history of architecture, and the growing history of material culture.

The author initially traces the origins of the Greek Revival in the United States. The successful revolt of Greek subjects from their Ottoman masters after the Napoleonic wars elicited passionate huzzahs and intensified the renewed interest in classicism generated during the previous century. Even more germane to the revival in its American setting was the arrival of European architects like Benjamin Latrobe who brought with them both their working experience and books on classical architecture. State capitols increasingly began to exhibit a Greek Revival design. So too did banks, which by and large followed the example of William Strickland's Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. Even the bank's greatest enemy, Andrew Jackson, had his Hermitage residence remodeled along Greek Revival lines. By the 1830s, Greek Revival design represented the single most popular style in the nation's architecture.

Well done as is this brief chapter ("Genesis of a Style"), it is the subsequent chapters that detail and speculate on the spread of Greek Revival architecture that give greatest dimension to the book. The question of cultural transmission inevitably poses problems for the historian, and how, why, and with what modifications the revival traveled from the settled Atlantic seaboard to less-settled areas affords no exception. It is here, however, that the author is most adept and convincing as he tracks both the continuities and changes that attended the progress of the revival westward. Not architects but carpenters, professional and otherwise, were responsible for most of the building that took place. They learned their craft through what they saw firsthand and also in pattern books, which were as rife as they were central to the American architectural experience at the time. Frequently changing residence, they proliferated a distinct style of building with marked individual variations. Oregon, the ultimate geographical focus for this book, bears witness to the process. A veritable wilderness in 1840, the territory thereafter began to attract settlers from throughout the country. Examining extant residences, photographs, and important primary sources such as the diary of Alvin T. Smith, who eventually traversed the continent after having left his native Connecticut, Sutton tightens the threads that otherwise would only more loosely link Oregon's Greek Revival to the larger national one. To what extent Oregon's experience was or was not idiosyncratic is a fit subject for continued study, as is the anti-Turnerian view that Sutton's book reenforces, namely, that those who settled the frontier, in seeking to reproduce what they had left

behind, were essentially conservative custodians of culture.

ROBERT MUCCIGROSSO

Brooklyn College

Graduate School and University Center,  
City University of New York

R. SCOTT APPLEBY. *"Church and Age Unite!" The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism*. (Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 296. \$29.95.

In the decade and a half from 1895 to 1910, the American clergy in the Catholic church were several times abruptly warned by Rome against pioneering a new apologetic to "the age." The encyclical *Longinqua Oceani* (1895) insisted that the American version of "the separation of church and state" was a poor substitute for the confessional state. The letter sent in 1899 by Pope Leo XIII to Cardinal Gibbons, "as an evidence of good-will," stigmatized as an unacceptable "Americanism" the notion that in the twentieth century (as the Paulist Father Walter Elliott had declared) "conformity is not the supreme virtue, and discipline is not the supreme fruit." In 1907, Pius X, in his encyclical *Pascendi*, contrasted the eternal truths of neo-scholasticism with the dangerous "modernist" heresies of immanentism, evolutionism, the development of doctrine, and the "higher criticism" of scripture; the pope also required bishops to administer "anti-modernist" oaths to their clergy.

Historians of American Catholicism have been disposed to regard "modernism" primarily as a European controversy, centering on such prominent intellectuals as the English Jesuit George Tyrrell and the French Abbé Alfred Loisy. Twenty years ago, however, in an influential article, Michael Gannon asserted that "counter-modernism" effectively repressed the first "marked flowering of American Catholic clerical culture" ("Before and After Modernism," in John Tracy Ellis, ed., *The Catholic Priest in the United States* [1971], 326). R. Scott Appleby's book is an attempt to show what a handful of American scholar-priests in these years tried to do, how far they were influenced by prominent European modernists, why most of them abandoned scholarship in the wake of *Pascendi*, and why two of them (the Paulist William Sullivan, and the Josephite William Slattery) left the church.

In the 1890s, John Zahm, influenced by the English scientist St. George Mivart, attempted to show that theistic evolution was compatible with the teachings of Augustine and Aquinas. But his *Evolution and Dogma* (1896) displeased Rome, and Zahm virtually abandoned further scientific work. In the next decade, a group of priests attempted to modernize the curriculum at the diocesan seminary at Dunwoodie, New York. They also began the *New York Review*,



which published the findings of leading European scholars like Tyrrell and Loisy, as well as efforts by American priests at "critical exegesis, immanentist philosophy and theology, and non-scholastic apologetics." Even after *Pascendi* was issued, they continued to insist that Rome did not intend to inhibit "the friendly warfare of theological schools within the Church." They were mistaken. The *Review* was obliged to suspend publication in 1908, and most of the editors were deflected from further scholarly enterprises by being assigned to pastoral duties.

Appleby implies that, in the face of Roman intransigence, the "trajectory" of the "modernist impulse" made it virtually inevitable that some Americans would leave the church. Sullivan became convinced that the authoritarianism of the "institutional" church fatally inhibited the "religion of the Infinite Spirit"; he soon became a Unitarian minister. Slattery was incensed not only by *Pascendi*—a "peevisish remedy" for incidental scholarly rashness—but also by what he regarded as the culpable inertia of the church in responding to the religious needs of American blacks. He renounced his ordination for the practice of law.

It was not part of Appleby's agenda to analyze extensively the long-term consequences on the American church of the condemnation of modernism. Gannon wrote bitterly that a "*grande peur*" afflicted a generation of the American clergy. And William Halsey has argued that a neo-scholastic orthodoxy was so unchallengeable until the 1940s that American Catholic intellectual life was largely innocent of profitable engagement with modern thought. In his final pages, Appleby gratefully acknowledges the revivification of Catholic scholarly inquiry in the 1950s and 1960s; but it was not his task to explain *aggiornamento*. Looking back he concludes that "the sterility of thought and lack of creativity that characterized American Catholic theology and apologetics for decades after the condemnation of modernism" were the result of a "studied decision taken by Rome" to scotch "Americanism and modernism."

ROBERT D. CROSS  
*University of Virginia*

ROGER WUNDERLICH. *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times*, New York. (Utopianism and Communitarianism.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 259. \$34.95.

Appearing at the twilight of antebellum communitarianism and peopled by a low-key band of eccentrics, the Long Island experiment of *Modern Times* (1851–64) has been neglected or else misrepresented in the literature of American utopianism and reform. Roger Wunderlich's monograph sets out to rescue this libertarian enclave from the mire of gossip and—perhaps worse—the mists of obscurity. For the most part it succeeds, although at times this oddly titled book

mirrors the flinty argumentativeness and casual disorganization of its subjects.

Modern Times enacted a program of social noninterference and economic individualism that emerged from the ashes of Owenite and Fourierist communities. Chastened by the failure of communalism at New Harmony, Yankee printer Josiah Warren advocated a no-government, private-property settlement where individual producers exchanged "labor notes" measured in time rather than market values. Onto this "equitable commerce" New York ex-Fourierist Stephen Pearl Andrews grafted the doctrine of "individual sovereignty" in life style and creed; as a result Modern Times attracted a colorful coterie of freethinkers, reform cranks, and sexual radicals, ready-made targets for sensationalized exposés in the New York press.

The book's strongest aspect is its separation of fact from yellow-journalistic fancy through careful sifting of surviving correspondence, visitors' accounts, and government records. Wunderlich documents the unsuccessful attempt by free-lovers Thomas Nichols and Mary Gove Nichols to convert the village, uncovers a handful of unconventional relationships that prove the community less a hotbed of promiscuity than a haven for refugees from disastrous marriages, describes the pathetic proselytizing of Henry Edger for Auguste Comte's Religion of Humanity, and even discovers that Horace Greeley bought several lots on the anarchist plat. This is, in short, the first reliable history of Modern Times.

It comes, however, in an untidy package sometimes more akin to the village's rudimentary products than finished scholarly work. Antiquarian genealogies and town histories, innumerable and confusing blind quotations, authorial jousting with forgotten nineteenth-century critics of libertarian ethics and economics, and tangential excursions up dead-end alleys (such as Warren's lack of discernible influence on Emerson and Thoreau) disfigure the text. Just as disappointing to me is the shortage of cultural context to thicken the history-of-ideas approach. For all its eccentricities, Modern Times partook in a series of mid-century cultural shifts transmuting radical dissent into individualist accommodation. How could prophets of profitless enterprise accept capitalism, no-government radicals fight for the Union, and individual sovereigns become town fathers? Deeper engagement with antebellum cultural history, from the classic "boundlessness-to-consolidation" thesis of John Higham and George Fredrickson to John Spurlock's recent interpretation of antebellum radicalism as a middle-class counterculture, could highlight the limitations of *Modern Times'* program and help explain its accommodation to capitalism and government during the Civil War.

CARL J. GUARNERI  
*St. Mary's College of California*



BRUCE LEVINE. *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 378. \$34.95.

Historians for many years accepted the view of Carl Schurz and other Forty-eighters that they had led a German-American community opposed to slavery into the new Republican Party in the 1850s. This interpretation was questioned in the 1960s by ethno-cultural political historians whose quantitative evidence suggested that the temperance and sabbatarian issues kept most German immigrants loyal to the Democrats. In this book, Bruce Levine comes at this old issue from a new angle by emphasizing the importance of class divisions in German America in the 1850s and, focusing on the reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, suggests that those divisions profoundly influenced the German response to the threat of slavery's extension. "Issues bearing on ethnic and religious identity . . . never nullified 'class or economic differences' among the immigrants" (p. 10).

Levine begins with a fine survey of conditions in Germany on the eve of the massive emigration of the 1840s and 1850s. Noting growing population pressures and the beginning of large-scale industrialization, Levine describes a Germany in which the chances of ordinary people to live decently was shrinking. Levine interprets the events of 1848 as, in part, a reaction to this deepening social crisis.

Levine then shifts his attention to the other side of the Atlantic to examine the growing German-American working class. Curiously, there is almost no treatment of the emigration itself, so the connection between Old World and New is not as clearly developed as it might have been. Levine provides a thorough and useful survey of the occupational and social structure of the urban German-American community at mid-century, focusing mainly on New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago. Although a small elite prospered, many German workers, concentrated in "bastardized" trades like tailoring and shoemaking, found an America very different from the paradise they had hoped for. Out of this growing discontent emerged labor unions and radical groups such as the Turners.

Levine next turns to the reaction of the urban German-American population to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Traditionally, most German immigrants had paid little attention to the slavery issue and, because of their opposition to temperance and sabbatarian legislation, voted Democratic. The Kansas-Nebraska Act galvanized Germans into "overt, organized and eventually partisan action" in support of Free Soil in 1854 (p. 151). This process is traced by an extremely detailed, city-by-city, meeting-by-meeting, description of the response. The class divisions among German Americans were reflected in the response to the act, and Levine's analysis of petition signers makes clear that opposition was strongest among manual workers.

In the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Germans began to move into the Republican Party. Again workers led the way. German moderates and radicals carried their conflict with them into the new party, but nevertheless they were able to unite behind Lincoln. "Most organized German craftworkers and other radical democratic organizations evidently supported Lincoln in 1860" (p. 250). Levine notes, however, that there were substantial differences between cities in the extent of Republican support and that the Democrats continued to retain widespread popularity among rural immigrants.

This work is well written and extremely well documented; Levine displays a most impressive knowledge of the rival groups and leaders of mid-century German America. He makes a convincing case for the significance of class in the response of German immigrants to the crises of the 1850s, but Levine rarely broadens his focus beyond the German-American community or puts his story in a national context. For example, the basis of German opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act is not analyzed in detail; did Germans accept the Republican argument of slave power, which was so significant in the evolution of northern opinion against slavery? The chapters lack conclusions, as does the book itself, leaving important questions about the significance of what is being described unanswered.

RICHARD STOTT

George Washington University

EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER. *Salem is My Dwelling Place: A Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 596. \$35.00.

In the field of literary studies, Nathaniel Hawthorne has stood for at least a decade in the center of what may be termed the "canon wars," discussions of the reasons certain literary works have come to be considered "great," and consideration of the ways in which the writers of these works participated in the political and popular culture of their own time. In *Sensational Designs* (1985), Jane Tompkins discussed "The Politics of Hawthorne's Literary Reputation" under the skeptical rubric "Masterpiece Theater." Richard Brodhead's *The School of Hawthorne* (1986) analyzed Hawthorne as the product of and fountain for a literary tradition that has created even as it commented on a sense of shared history. David Reynolds's *Beneath the American Renaissance* (1988) considered Hawthorne and other canonical American writers in the context of a vibrant and pervasive popular culture. None of these scholarly studies, however, is represented in the lengthy bibliography of Edwin Haviland Miller's new Hawthorne biography. Miller's study is the most thorough and detailed telling of Hawthorne's life yet to appear; however, it focuses resolutely on the man and his writings, offer-

ing scant attention to the political, intellectual, and literary climate in which he lived.

"I try to present Hawthorne as a sculpture that one observes from every angle," the author writes in his preface (p. xiv), and indeed he skillfully avoids both of the biographer's twin temptations, to glorify and to debunk. Making extensive use of the letters and journals of Hawthorne (which are now more reliably available thanks to the centenary edition of the author's works) as well as those of Sophia Hawthorne (mostly still buried in relative inaccessibility in library collections), Miller constructs the most comprehensive picture yet of Hawthorne's personal life. Our understanding of the writer and the man is vastly increased by the biography's careful delineation of the two unusual and self-contained households to which Hawthorne belonged, that of his widowed mother and sisters, and that created by his devoted wife. While avoiding superficial psychologizing, Miller creates a coherent picture, supported by readings of literary texts and biographical facts, of a man returning again and again to the losses and vulnerabilities of a painful childhood. The death of his father, a ship's captain, when Nathaniel was almost four years old, may indeed be the source of the theme of abandonment and vulnerability that Miller sees most paradigmatically in the early short story, "The Gentle Boy," and which colored so much of Hawthorne's hesitant intercourse with the world, both personally and as a writer. To support his thesis, Miller presents chapter-length analyses of Hawthorne's major works, interpretations of numerous sketches and short stories, and an interesting discussion of the unfinished romances.

The strengths of the biography, then, are its detail and its respectful but clear-headed analysis of Hawthorne's life and works. It is less successful, however, in its presentation of Hawthorne as a historical figure. His sojourn at Brook Farm, for instance, is presented solely in terms of his own perspective; anyone who does not know on what philosophical and political basis the utopian community was founded will not find out about it from this book. The friendships with Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Franklin Pierce, his ambivalent feelings about the Civil War, the innovations of his publishers, Ticknor and Fields, in the sales and marketing of his books—all these questions are muted. Miller has presented a careful and comprehensive literary biography, but the seeker after cultural analysis will have to look elsewhere.

JOY S. KASSON  
*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill*

RICHARD NELSON CURRENT. *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*. Boston, Mass.: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 253. \$21.95.

The myth of a homogeneous South whose citizens marched as one to battle the Union was debunked long ago, but Richard Nelson Current has found an often overlooked element of that dissent: those 100,000 southerners (Current's estimate) who forsook southern nationalism and Jefferson Davis in favor of the Union and Abraham Lincoln. Current has written a long overdue study of these "unknown soldiers of the Civil War," who in the "vast and growing literature of that conflict" have heretofore "remained practically unmentioned" (p. 195).

About half of this book is a sprightly narrative of the efforts of the federal government and of Unionists in the Confederacy to recruit men from every Confederate state into the Union Army. Current details the unique political situations in western Virginia, coastal North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee that encouraged large-scale dissent as well as attempts to attract Union men and Confederate deserters through bounties and even threats of conscription. He also features the confusing and competing jurisdictions of federal and state recruiters, the effects of the evolving federal policies regarding slavery and of Confederate conscription efforts, and the ins and outs of the oaths of allegiance required of southern Unionists. Current describes the often harsh treatment of captured southerners by Confederate forces in such episodes as the Fort Pillow massacre, analyzes the military contributions and shortcomings of the southerners in blue, and compares southern Federals to their Yankee and Rebel counterparts. Although more dissenting than loyal southerners originated in upcountry regions or in ethnic groups such as the Germans and Hispanics of Texas, Current finds more similarities than differences. Like most Confederates, few southern Federals owned slaves. In addition, like soldiers in any army—including the Confederate Army—their performance on the battlefield varied widely. The author ends his story with the sad treatment of former Union soldiers in the South during Reconstruction, when they were virtually ignored by the federal government, persecuted by former Confederates, overshadowed by African-American veterans, and all but left out of the books and memoirs published in the late nineteenth century.

This book would have been even more useful had it explored the personal dynamics of southerners' service in the Union Army more thoroughly. Current devotes a chapter to the issues of motivations and consequences, the impact of their enlistment on soldiers' families, and other elements of the complex nature of southern dissent, but he fails to get at the deeper meanings of the dramatic steps taken by these men. Of course, such a study would require a book of its own, and it may be unfair to criticize an author for not writing a different book. Current also compromises his otherwise vigorous writing style and tight organization with his tendency to end chapters with rather dry statistical summaries.

These minor points aside, this is an entertaining

and important work. Perhaps the most striking elements of Current's findings are the extent of disaffection in the Confederacy and the determination of some southerners, even in isolated places far from federal aid, to fight for the Union. Their commitment was matched by the extraordinary efforts of the federal government to exploit that sentiment. Lincoln seems always to have been ready to consider yet another plan for recruiting "Galvanized Yankees," whether the source was a prominent friend or an opportunist of dubious background. Current's fast-moving account, the result of his career-long interest in looking at the sectional conflict in original ways, shows that there are still unexplored niches in Civil War scholarship.

JAMES MARTEN  
Marquette University

ROBERT D. SAWREY. *Dubious Victory: The Reconstruction Debate in Ohio*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1992. Pp. 194. \$30.00.

Although historians have written extensively about southern Reconstruction, few have explained the attitudes and opinions of northerners. Robert D. Sawrey analyzes the response of Ohioans to the various efforts to reunite the nation after the Civil War.

Sentiment regarding reconciliation with the defeated South varied in 1865. Most Ohioans, however, believed that there was a large body of loyal whites in the South and that it was irrational to blame the South for the war. Both Republican and Democratic parties desired the speedy unification of the country without slavery, the renunciation of the doctrine of secession, and the disfranchisement of southern rebel leaders. Ohio Unionists continued to attract support after the war, but when they ran Major General Jacob B. Cox for governor with a platform endorsing black suffrage, the party split. When Democrats opposed black enfranchisement, Republicans accused them of being the party of racism and rebellion. In the election of 1865, the Republicans won a significant peacetime victory.

Initially supportive of President Andrew Johnson, Ohio Republicans were not pleased when he attempted to purge the party by calling for a National Union Convention. When Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which mirrored their demands, they backed it. At their convention in June 1866, the Republicans endorsed the Fourteenth Amendment and black suffrage. The Memphis and New Orleans riots confirmed their belief that only the ratification of the amendment would achieve a successful reunion. Ohio Democrats attacked Congress for usurping presidential prerogatives, prolonging the national crisis, and insisting that the southern states ratify the amendment before being readmitted to the Union. Republican victory in the election of 1866 was frus-

trated when the South rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, thus destroying Republicans' hopes for a speedy end of Reconstruction.

With the political success of the Democrats in the fall election, Ohio Republicans backed the Military Reconstruction Act. The two major issues in the state election of 1867 were the suffrage amendment and Reconstruction. Although the Republicans elected Rutherford B. Hayes as governor, the Democrats continued to control the general assembly. A state constitutional amendment permitting black suffrage failed. Rebuked by the voters, moderate Republicans moved to regain ascendancy of their party.

Ohioans supported the election of Ulysses S. Grant, believing that he would bring a speedy end to Reconstruction. Democrats rejected the Fifteenth Amendment in 1869, but in the ensuing election enough Independent-Reformers were returned to ensure its passage. Sawrey believes that by 1868 Ohioans were not only ambivalent but also had lost interest in Reconstruction.

Sawrey has produced a balanced account of both Ohio Republican and Democratic views regarding the issue of southern Reconstruction. More such studies, not only of midwestern states but also of northern states, would provide a clearer understanding of the motives and attitudes of the North as it sought to create a social and political revolution in the South. The book is well written and well documented. The author has used not only presidential and congressional papers but has consulted some sixty-two collections of lesser historical figures as well. In addition, he has researched contemporary newspapers, legislative debates, and diaries. The book possesses both an excellent bibliography and index.

ROSS A. WEBB  
Winthrop University

DUANE A. SMITH. *Rocky Mountain West: Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, 1859-1915*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 290. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$16.95.

For a quarter century, ever since publication of *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (1967), Duane A. Smith has enjoyed a well-deserved reputation as one of the American West's leading interpreters. Comprising more than twenty books, plus dozens of articles, Smith's work is remarkably diverse, both in subject matter and presentation. This study is a significant departure from Smith's previous work. Neither monograph nor anecdotal institutional or local history, it is an extended speculative essay. Although an oft-decorated senior scholar, Smith's thinking about the West reveals perpetual freshness. He advances his interpretations tentatively, and he appears comfortable with both complexity and ambiguity.

To be sure, Smith's earlier works and ideas permeate this book. His two-fold thesis is straightforward. The mythical frontier West endured for decades, and vestiges remain today. In Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming, "the frontier was that blink of an eye between wilderness and civilization" (p. xi). In mining camps, railroad towns, and elsewhere, this metamorphosis often occurred within two years. Smith also argues that the Rocky Mountains resisted the most strenuous efforts of conquerors: "no man or woman ever goes into these mountains and succeeds, except on the mountains' terms" (p. xi).

Smith examines selected topics in the emergence of three states. Colorado and Montana experienced similar patterns of development, with an emphasis on urbanization: prospecting and rumors of rich gold strikes, brief periods of placer mining, followed by increasingly mechanized and, finally, corporation-dominated extraction of varieties of precious and other minerals. In Colorado and Montana, Smith focuses on miners: only a lucky few achieved riches without much work. The vast majority exhausted themselves in placer mining, moving from camp to camp, reacting to the latest rumors of rich strikes. Many of the more astute prospectors turned to mining the miners, becoming merchants and tradesmen and otherwise serving a transient population. In Wyoming, early development centered around construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. In the late 1860s, Cheyenne emerged as the most promising regional hub, until Denver achieved railroad connections and wrested the honor away.

Smith traces selected facets of "civilization" in these three states: Indian removal, the transition from territories to statehood, women's suffrage efforts, the effects of economic depressions, and the rapid emergence of "eastern" cultural amenities. He also documents westerners' love-hate relationship with the federal government. From the start, westerners demanded subsidies for transportation and communication lines, water storage and diversion. Yet many fought conservation efforts, and they were divided over establishment of national parks. By 1915, however, four national parks were in the early stages of development, and thoughtful regional leaders recognized the economic potential in exploiting a nascent tourist industry.

By 1915, the themes that would dominate regional development in the twentieth century were clearly evident. On the dark side, corporate giants such as Anaconda Mining Company were effectively countering environmental efforts to preserve the skies and streams of western Montana. Few miners benefited from boom periods; most became near slaves to burgeoning corporate entities. Similarly short-sighted commercial interests fought efforts to preserve forests and distribute precious water resources equitably. Fortunately, enlightened public officials and their allies had, by 1915, established mechanisms that even-

tually brought a semblance of order to threatened chaos. Smith concludes his book with an insightful look at the long-range influence of painters, photographers, and writers who perpetuated the myth of the American West.

In any such brief work there are bound to be gaps. Smith provides cursory treatment of eastern plains farming, and ranching is barely mentioned. The author consciously eschews a full-scale history of these three states, which has been provided by other scholars. What he has achieved is a well-researched, lively synthesis, a think piece that will perpetuate the continuing debate over the meaning of the American West. In so doing, Smith has served the profession and his readers very well.

MARK S. FOSTER

University of Colorado,  
Denver

EDWARD L. AYERS. *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 572. \$30.00.

Trains and long stretches of track run through Edward L. Ayers's new book on the American South from the 1880s to the early years of the twentieth century. The railroad is a good way to travel through the social and political landscape of the New South. Trains furthered—and symbolized—the great themes of this era: the struggle to reverse economic disaster, the yearning to find lives free from racism, the plans for flourishing cities, the curiosity about other places. Besides, Ayers enjoys trains, and this is an insightful book by a historian who enjoys his work.

More than forty years ago, C. Vann Woodward, looking at this period, was uneasy with the term "New South," worrying that it might be simply a rallying cry of southern boosters. Ayers attempts to get past this concern by going beyond the political deceptions and delusions that preoccupied Woodward to an understanding on "what it meant to live in the American South" in this time (p. vi). Ayers aims to take his readers past the old political maps of this era (marked by "Bourbons," "redeemers," and "Black Republicans") to a vision at once broader in scope and more intimately peopled.

The beauty of Ayers's book is that it largely succeeds in this important and difficult quest. The first eight chapters on everyday life in the South are wonderfully engaging and informative. Ayers has almost perfect pitch when it comes to people's voices. A deep regard for life's complexity and surprise is the measure of his research and writing. Astonishingly, there are no stock characters in this book; everyone is a person. Ayers is as incisive writing about mine workers as he is Methodist preachers, and under his sure direction we see how the temptations of consumerism became magnified amidst the South's broken



economy, we appreciate anew the resistance of African Americans in the face of racist law, and, always, we feel the isolation of rural life as well as its certainty and warmth.

When Ayers arrives at what he calls the center of his book, the focus on everyday life shifts to a far more familiar history of southern politics, especially the emergence of the People's Party. Ayers agrees with those who see the Populists as genuine reformers, leaning toward modernity rather than nostalgia, and he argues that the South's economy was potentially dynamic enough to respond. But whites' racist fears and blacks' traditions of careful survival combined to snuff out Populist hopes. Much the same thing happened in the South's cultural life, Ayers's final focus, although here he sees greener shoots that flowered in the Southern Renaissance by the 1930s. Southern fiction and southern music, in fact, embodied the New South for many non-southerners. These media achieved what southern politics did not: they spoke from the heart of the region, but they spoke to others, too.

If Ayers's account of politics and literature is inclusive and clear, it is also less innovative than his picture of everyday life. And from this point I began to miss a central argument large enough to match the book's scope. What was the "promise" of the New South, and how did literary and political change influence or mirror everyday life? Sometimes the promise seems to be in modernity, in southerners' capacity to imagine and define the temper of the twentieth century. At other times it seems that race relations held the promise of renewal even when renewal failed. At still other points, Ayers hints at a broader unifying theme, an understanding of how difficult it was for southerners of all descriptions to grasp the complexity of living in a region that has so promiscuously embraced history and myth.

In the end, the New South hardly seems there at all. What happened to it seems locked up in something Ayers does not fully explore: southerners' edgy feelings about their own history—about what history "teaches" and how. Hearing about a "New South," southerners were invited to look forward—to move on—when, as Woodward observed, they should have looked squarely at the past. The antebellum era, even war and Reconstruction, are not often in Ayers's pages. Thus, he cannot use this depth of years to shape a discussion of the stories southerners loved to tell about the past and of the silences. Although Ayers does not overestimate the urge to change, he perhaps underestimates the urge not to change. Parades of Confederate veterans and shelves of sentimental Lost Cause novels were not simply memorials to loss. They were a version of history. As another student of this era, W. J. Cash, would argue just before the great changes of the 1950s, the contradictions and extravagances of the New South did not come from the

place southerners wanted to go, but from the place they had already been.

STEVEN M. STOWE  
Indiana University,  
Bloomington

RICHARD K. SCHER. *Politics in the New South: Republicanism, Race, and Leadership in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Paragon. 1992. Pp. xvii, 465. \$18.95.

Richard K. Scher's book is a "popular" history designed for undergraduates and based entirely on secondary works. As an introduction to twentieth-century southern political behavior, the story is useful. Scher approaches his subject broadly and endeavors to place regional politics within the context of socioeconomic change. His interpretation is relatively conventional. A traditional politics circumscribed by poverty, racial animosity, disfranchisement, voter apathy, and elite domination ultimately gave way to a more dynamic and responsive politics. The result, according to Scher, is "that politics is no longer part of the southern problem, but an integral part of southern solutions to its problems" (p. 421).

Much of the book is devoted to the restoration of two-party political competition and black political participation. Although the tone of the book is optimistic, Scher makes clear that the South's two-party system falls considerably short of the normative two-party model. Republican weakness at the local level in the South and the general decline in party discipline and partisan identification have limited the impact of two-party politics. Similarly, despite the triumphs of the civil rights movement, black political participation has achieved significant but still only modest gains for the majority of African Americans in the region.

The latter part of the work evaluates modern political institutions and leadership. Scher is understandably impressed with the gubernatorial leadership that has emerged in the region since the era of massive resistance. He also rates contemporary southern political institutions quite favorably. "Compared to what southern politics were like for the first sixty years or so of this century," Scher concludes, "they are now unquestionably more open and democratic, less authoritarian and closed, than they were earlier" (p. 421). Such a statement is surely in the broad sense correct, but as the contributors to the volume edited by James F. Lea (*Contemporary Southern Politics* [1988]) have concluded, the democratic features of modern regional political practices could easily be exaggerated.

Scher's study is a worthwhile survey of twentieth-century southern political practices, but historians will probably continue to prefer Dewey W. Grantham's *Life and Death of the Solid South* (1988), which covers the same subject with greater insight.

NUMAN V. BARTLEY  
University of Georgia



SIDNEY W. MINTZ and RICHARD PRICE. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Rev. ed. Boston: Beacon. 1992. Pp. xiv, 121. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$12.00.

This is an attractive new edition of a study originally published by Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price in 1976 as *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past*. It will find a ready audience. The original, more ephemeral, version passed from hand to hand as something of an underground classic among historians and anthropologists. It made a significant contribution to the increasing sophistication with which scholars write about African influences on American cultures and about the influence of American social realities on the cultures brought from Africa by the enslaved.

At its best, this volume provides an apt combination of theory, speculation, common sense, and insight from comparative history to argue against static conceptions of slave culture in the Americas as either African or acculturated. Rejecting Melville Herskovits's conception of West Africa as a "culture area" and emphasizing (indeed overstating) the extent to which the human cargoes of slave ships were ethnically "randomized" (p. 87), Mintz and Price suggest that the locating of specific West African cultural practices retained in the New World should be only one focus of scholarship on "Africanisms." They posit a much more amorphous, or at least unstudied, unity in West-African cultures at the level of values, cognitive orientation, phenomenological assumptions, and interpersonal style. These elements, which we might follow Sterling Stuckey's brilliant work in calling an "ethos," proved capable of not only surviving amidst oppression but also of adapting creatively and of shaping the culture of European Americans.

Mintz and Price insist that research on African Americans be firmly grounded in history. They leave no room for sentimentalizing that history. "The inescapable fact in the study of [the] Afro-American," they write, "is the humanity of the oppressed, and the inhumanity of the systems that oppressed them" (p. xiv). Their model reckons with the tremendous costs of that inhumanity and with its considerable power to constrain the cultural expressions of slaves. But the model also casts slaves in an active role, providing, 500 years after Columbus, an apt reminder to us all: "New World it is, for those who became its peoples remade it, and in the process, they remade themselves" (p. 84).

Mintz and Price add a new preface to this edition of their classic study. It is less effective than the rest of the book. Although acknowledging the considerable sophistication of recent studies of Africa and African-American culture, its tone is overly worried. There is a suggestion that such scholars as the art historian Robert Farris Thompson and the Caribbeanist Edward Kamau Brathwaite came around belatedly to a rounded view of the process of acculturation.

Thompson in particular is said to be one "of those scholars whose methods we criticize most roundly in the original essay," but who is now showing "greater conceptual flexibility" (p. x). Actually, Thompson is barely mentioned in the original essay and Brathwaite is praised in it. Perhaps something of a hidden polemic animated the 1976 edition and perhaps the new preface is meant as a warning against certain varieties of Afrocentrism. If so, we would probably be better off talking directly about these issues. In my view, the presence of useful models like that developed by Mintz and Price, and the attraction of the issues they explore for serious, engaged scholars, make it likely that the trends toward greater sophistication and greater emphasis on cultural dynamism will continue in studies of African Americans.

DAVID ROEDIGER  
University of Missouri,  
Columbia

STEPHEN WARD ANGELL. *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 340. \$34.95.

The first modern biography of Henry McNeal Turner aspires to elevate this bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church to the standing of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Although Turner is unlikely to be made into a central figure of black history, this study by Stephen Ward Angell should prevent Turner's omission from any future history of African Americans.

We have known Bishop Turner either as Edwin S. Redkey's black nationalist who preached the theme of back-to-Africa, or as E. Merton Coulter's off-color Reconstruction politician who soiled his clerical collar. Now Angell turns the focus to Turner's sixty-two years in the Methodist ministry. The existence of an interstate ministry of free black preachers before the Civil War has not been well known. It is illuminating to learn that the nineteen-year-old Turner received his license to preach from the Southern Methodist church in 1853 and then traveled for five years, evangelizing whites and blacks in five southern states.

Switching his affiliation to the African Methodist Episcopal church in 1858, Turner moved north to pastor congregations in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., before returning to the deep South as U.S. Army chaplain during the Civil War. After the war, preaching and recruiting of black Methodists by Turner helped to shift the African Methodist Episcopal church from being a small northern denomination to a national church with four-fifths of its half million members in the southern states.

Turner entered Georgia politics during Reconstruction, organizing for the Republican Party and getting himself elected to the state Constitutional

Convention and the state House of Representatives, as well as briefly gaining a patronage plum in the postmaster position in Macon, Georgia. Bruising interracial politics tarnished his moral reputation, and particular charges of sexual infidelity led senior AME Bishop Daniel Payne to say that Turner had damaged his usefulness as a minister. Bishop Payne opposed the elevation of Turner to bishop but southern ministers insisted on electing their most distinguished preacher in 1880.

Bishop Turner did advocate the return to Africa, yet Angell argues that emigration was only part of Turner's Christian message. Turner taught that God had brought captive Africans to North America to be civilized, Christianized, and then liberated so that they might redeem both Africa and America. Turner took pride in black Christianity, black achievement, and in the black Protestant ethic in this country as well as Africa. While Washington preached accommodation, Turner, an early proponent of black theology, preached liberation and equality in this and all other worlds.

Angell has given us the most convincing account yet of Bishop Turner. His book is a treasury of black pride, evangelism, advocacy of female equality in the ministry, and much else that still speaks to American readers.

DAVID M. TUCKER  
*Memphis State University*

WAYNE J. URBAN. *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904-1972*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 266. \$30.00.

The subject of Wayne J. Urban's biography is Horace Mann Bond, historian, college administrator, and father of civil rights activist Julian Bond. Horace Bond was born in Nashville and received his early schooling in the South. His parents, Jane Bond and James Bond, Sr., were the children of former slaves and believed that education was much more valuable than material possessions. The couple met and were married while students at Oberlin College, where James studied for the ministry and Jane received her training as a teacher. After graduation, James Bond pastored Congregational churches attached to black colleges and universities in various southern cities, where their six children received their schooling. Horace Mann, the youngest of the five boys, graduated from Lincoln Institute in Kentucky in 1919 at the age of fourteen. When he entered Lincoln University in Pennsylvania later that year, Horace was the youngest member of the freshman class. The first two years were particularly difficult, however, but by his junior and senior years he had settled in and achieved an outstanding academic record.

After graduate courses at Penn State, Bond enrolled in the University of Chicago's department of education, where he remained as full or part-time

student until 1936, when he received his doctorate. At Chicago, Bond worked with Robert Park, Charles Judd, Frank Freeman, Newton Edwards, and other influential scholars and was incorporated in the network of black academics supported by the General Education Board (GEB) and Julius Rosenwald Fund. Bond received grants and was employed on several research projects funded by these foundations in the late 1920s and 1930s.

Bond's scholarly reputation rests primarily on two important works, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (1934) and *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (1939). The former was a comprehensive history and survey of black education in the United States from the antebellum era to the 1930s, while the latter was a revisionist interpretation of Reconstruction in Alabama that attacked the views of Walter L. Fleming and emphasized the role of wealthy white capitalists, rather than black politicians, in saddling the state with massive debts.

While in graduate school, Bond taught at Langston University in Oklahoma, Alabama State Normal School in Montgomery, and at Fisk University; in 1934 he became an academic dean at Dillard University in New Orleans and in 1939 at the age of thirty-five he was named president of Fort Valley Normal School in Georgia. During his six years there he took the school from junior college status to four-year baccalaureate-granting institution. In 1945 Bond became the first black president of his alma mater, Lincoln University, where he remained for twelve turbulent years. Strong opposition to his policies and programs from entrenched white faculty members and conservative alumni and trustees kept Bond from accomplishing a great deal during his presidency. His last years were spent as an administrator and educational researcher at Atlanta University.

Urban's biography successfully uses the Bond Papers to document his active administrative career. Bond's political and ideological development, however, remains unexplored and is presented in an intellectual vacuum. Urban concludes that Bond's scholarly work suffered when he "let his political goals drive his scholarship" without asking (let alone answering) the question of how Bond differed from other black scholars of his generation (p. 178). Social and political activism has been a distinguishing characteristic of African-American academic life in the United States and, for better or worse, Bond's career reflected that tradition. Although it comprehensively details the ups and downs of a black scholar and administrator in the mid-twentieth century, this biography ultimately fails to define Bond's place in an emerging African-American intellectual tradition in the United States.

V. P. FRANKLIN  
*Drexel University*

NICHOLAS NATANSON. *The Black Image in the New Deal: The Politics of FSA Photography*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 305. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

Nicholas Natanson has done neat detective work with this book on images of blacks in New Deal photography. Concentrating on the largest government photography project of the Depression, the Farm Security Administration (FSA), Natanson places the agency and its (mostly white) photographers within the context of contemporary American race relations and argues that FSA photographers such as Ben Shahn, Arthur Rothstein, and Russell Lee managed to avoid some of the currents that influenced other parts of the photographic community. When they depicted black Americans, FSA photographers were not only less racist than many of their contemporaries but they were also less inclined toward romantic sentimentalism, populist heroism, or New Deal boosterism. For all this, however, Natanson finds the FSA photographers too timid and argues that they submerged both their own bitterness and their subjects' assertiveness.

Natanson has given us significant insights about the FSA photographs of blacks. Steering between the common stereotypes of happy Sambos and oppressed victims, FSA photographers achieved a picture of black America that was proud (Joe Louis was celebrated in Natchez), capable (blacks were overseers in Arkansas), and even feisty (a Chicago child stuck out her tongue at the camera). Yet editors and writers proved less willing to accept these complexities, and Natanson demonstrates that their heavy-handed cropping, captioning, or retouching served to reify stereotypes. Having done statistical and comparative work, Natanson also notes that FSA photographers portrayed blacks more often than did their counterparts in other New Deal agencies.

Written with a refreshing style, this is a well-researched book. Occasionally Natanson reads too much into the images, translating ragged clothing as "natty" and battered furniture as "vaguely eloquent" (p. 108). But his interpretations are more often masterful, conveying the ironic juxtaposition of Chicago tenements with a steel mill, or the poignant commentary of an impoverished family posed around its alarm clock. Natanson is good at this, and one wishes that he had more frequently lingered over the nicely reproduced photographs.

This book has a prominent, sometimes shrill historiographical dimension. Disappointed with much of the existing FSA scholarship, Natanson groups together a disparate lot of historians such as James Curtis and Karen Strange and labels them "revisionists." Whether they are too-aggressive leftists or too-skeptical postmodernists, Natanson thinks these historians have misread photographs of the 1930s, paying too much attention to the images' subjective dimensions and not enough to their objective aspects.

There is thus a sort of neo-positivism about this book, for although Natanson grants that knowing the "fixed reality" of the past may be problematic, he believes that we must nonetheless pursue it because otherwise the "absence of standards" can lead us "to the brink of an intellectual nightmare" (pp. 12–13). It is not surprising that such truth issues would surface in a book about photography, for the photograph is a potent admixture, its mimetic qualities referring to the objective world, and its framing and point of view echoing the subjective one. Natanson is adamantly committed to the notion that historical truth lies more outside of us than inside.

Clearly owning this conviction, Natanson has dug deep into the FSA files and enriched our understanding of the black image in the New Deal. This is a good book.

DAVID P. PEELER

*United States Naval Academy*

ROBERT J. JAKEMAN. *The Divided Skies: Establishing Segregated Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934–1942*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 416. \$37.95.

Civil rights scholars have long recognized the impact of World War II in stimulating the black movement for racial equality. A. Philip Randolph's plan for a mass march on Washington in 1941 not only prompted the Roosevelt administration to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but it also foreshadowed protest tactics in the post-*Brown v. Board of Education* era. Yet even before Randolph pried loose concessions from the federal government, African Americans were challenging obstacles to first-class citizenship through a variety of traditional and militant means.

A year before Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into war the armed forces agreed to train black pilots for entry into the Army Air Corps, from which they had been barred. Robert J. Jakeman explains how African Americans had served successfully in other branches of the military in previous wars, hoping their participation would generate racial advances during peacetime. Their expectations remained unmet, and by 1941 blacks could fight for their country on land and at sea but not in the air. Racial prejudice reinforced the belief that African Americans could not master the technological skills required to pilot planes and engage in aerial combat. Charles A. Lindbergh, who more than any other person had aroused a keen interest in aviation, voiced his doubts whether blacks were capable of taking to the skies, which he saw as the privileged domain of whites. Against this commonly held perception of racial chauvinism, African Americans strived to prove themselves worthy as military aviators.

They finally received their chance more than a decade after Lindbergh soloed across the Atlantic.

Although during the 1920s and 1930s a number of black civilian pilots had demonstrated their aeronautical abilities, the military high command remained unimpressed. Civil rights pressures exerted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Airmen's Association of America, backed up by the growing strength of the northern black electorate, forced the Air Corps to relent. Federal legislation in 1939 and 1940 provided blacks with the opportunity first for civilian and then for military flight training. While the NAACP pushed for an integrated policy, educational leaders at Tuskegee Institute pursued an accommodationist approach. For several years the Alabama school had sought to establish a course of study in aviation and was willing to accept segregation as a trade-off for black access to the Air Corps. In this instance, Tuskegee officials viewed segregation not so much as a substitute for equality but as a replacement for exclusion. Following the dogged efforts of its directors, the Institute broke through the military's racism, concealed in bureaucratic red tape, and launched the pioneering flight training program. Its graduates, assembled in the Ninety-ninth Pursuit Squadron, distinguished themselves in carrying out their combat missions over the racially divided skies of Europe.

Jakeman's clearly written and well-researched study amply explores the crucial events at both the national and local levels that brought the flight school to Tuskegee. The author is less successful in connecting the story of the training of the Tuskegee airmen with the broader struggle for racial advancement waged by the town's civil rights leaders, as depicted in Robert J. Norrell's *Reaping the Whirlwind* (1985). Nevertheless, Jakeman allows readers to see more sharply how the Institute's attempts to open up the military to black aviators, albeit on a segregated basis, supplied powerful ammunition in the postwar period for the black freedom arsenal.

STEVEN F. LAWSON  
University of North Carolina,  
Greensboro

LOUIS CANTOR. *Wheelin' on Beale: How WDIA-Memphis Became the Nation's First All-Black Radio Station and Created the Sound that Changed America*. New York: Pharos. 1992. Pp. viii, 264. \$19.95.

Louis Cantor has written an entertaining history of an all-black radio station in Memphis, Tennessee, while also providing some interesting information about the radio business. WDIA-Memphis claims not only to be the first radio station to move to a format of programming aimed specifically at a black listening audience but also that it was the first to use all-black on-air talent. Cantor backs this claim with data from other stations in the North and South that had occasional programs to appeal to blacks but which did

not tout them as such through their promotional efforts. These included stations in Chicago, New York, and even a rival station in Memphis, which aired programs featuring local gospel groups or the popular big band music of the likes of Duke Ellington and Count Basie.

To Cantor's credit, he attempts to place the boldness of this venture that began in 1949 within its sociological context: a segregated southern city that rigidly enforced its social order of degradation and discrimination. Sometimes he does this well, as when he points out that Bert Ferguson, who was the general manager and active partner, was motivated more by his desire to make the station a highly profitable business than by altruism. The story begins when the partners, John Pepper and Ferguson, in a desperate attempt to keep afloat financially, looked to the black community as a means of expanding WDIA's declining listening audience. They made the wise choice of one Nat D. Williams, a popular high school teacher, newspaper columnist, and entertainment entrepreneur, who was highly respected in the community. Cantor devotes an entire chapter to Williams in order to illustrate his influence, his charismatic personality, and how these converged to bring WDIA immediately into the arms of black listeners. The unexpected outpouring of calls and letters to the station was the impetus for Ferguson's gradual and calculated move to delete all "white" programming and on-air personalities and move to all-black on-air personalities and programming. Cantor's attempts to explain the discrepancy between the paltry salaries of the black on-air personalities and the all-white managers and control-board technicians falters on the reasoning that these were better salaries than most blacks made on their "full-time" jobs. On the surface this is true, but what Cantor seems to miss is the fact that he, an inexperienced college student, was given a job and salary and on-air exposure mainly because he was white, while blacks were limited to on-air positions that did not allow them to manage their own control boards. Fortunately, he discusses the white-dominated power structure and the impact of the civil rights movement that gradually forced a change in WDIA as it did in other aspects of the community.

The most enjoyable chapters of Cantor's study are his vivid sketches of the black men and women who came to WDIA as on-air personalities. This was the pioneering boldness of WDIA in 1949, to employ persons who may not have had radio experience specifically, but who had already proven their ability to capture an audience and who were not white. His accounts of the various people who commanded the microphones—musicians such as B. B. King and Rev. "Gatemouth" Moore, and panels on current affairs—are a microcosm of the burgeoning black middle class. Cantor complements these sections with the hard facts of radio promotion and sale of air time to reveal how Ferguson and his staff were able to convince the local as well as national agencies that black



consumers spent as much money and sometimes more than their white counterparts. Additionally, he points out how Ferguson quickly grasped the importance of respect for his newly won audience and his efforts to give back to the community through support of various charities and community activities.

The final chapter sums up the changes in the station, its management, and community relations after integration and poignantly reveals some of the losses in community cohesiveness and the power of WDIA, which had truly been the voice of the black community for nearly two decades.

Cantor uses a variety of sources, including those of the radio industry, that lend a solid basis for his study. Perhaps the weakest aspects are the redundancy of some of the main points about WDIA's pioneering status, his tendency to overuse colloquial slang, and his seeming lack of regard for good paragraph structure. Nevertheless, this is an interesting and well-grounded profile of a significant communications experiment. More importantly, it provides a perspective from the inside as well as outside that gives the reader a broader picture of the complexities involved in a society that was moving from total segregation toward integration.

DAPHNE DUVAL HARRISON  
University of Maryland,  
Baltimore County

ROBERT A. PRATT. *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series in Black Studies.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1992. Pp. xvii, 134. \$22.95.

Robert A. Pratt chronicles the fight to desegregate the public schools of Richmond after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. It was a battle fought with vigor and determination on both sides as the schools became, in Pratt's words, desegregation's major battleground. In 1961, in *Bradley v. Richmond School Board*, eleven black parents brought a class-action lawsuit against the board to desegregate. Ten years later, suits were still being filed. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, the Supreme Court in 1971 upheld the decision in Richmond to use massive busing to attain school desegregation. The pro-desegregation forces tried every means imaginable to integrate Richmond's schools: equalization of funding, pupil pairing, court-ordered busing, magnet schools, and regional consolidation to obtain racial balance. All failed.

The opposition of white Richmonders to integrating the school system ran high. Segregationist forces were numerous, well organized, powerful, and determined. By the time that the Supreme Court rendered its follow-up decision to *Brown* in 1955, with its mandate to proceed "with all deliberate speed," the defenders of segregation in Richmond had fortified

their position and taken steps to subvert the desegregation process. Pro-segregationists such as James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the *Richmond News Leader*, used all of their skills to link segregationism with states' rights and interposition. U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia advocated massive resistance against integration in his home state and throughout the South. He contended that integration would have no chance if the white South remained united in its opposition. Pratt uses Byrd's call for massive resistance as the take-off point for his examination of the various tactics used in Richmond to defeat school desegregation. Massive resistance was practiced in Richmond from 1955 to 1959. During these four years, Richmond schools were in chaos and several shut down rather than obey the order to admit black students.

Massive resistance gave way to the more sophisticated and subtle approach of gradualism (or obstructionism). The leading practitioner of this approach was Lewis F. Powell, Jr., a partner in a prestigious Virginia law firm who chaired the Richmond school board from 1952 to 1961, and who would later serve as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. He advocated keeping all schools open and allowing for only minimal integration over an extended period of time. Blacks saw this for what it was: an attempt to maintain the status quo. But Powell's gradualism did have a major black supporter: Booker T. Bradshaw, a member of the Richmond school board from 1953 to 1965 and an accommodationist in the tradition of his namesake, Booker T. Washington. The Richmond board engaged in a policy of containment aimed at neutralizing the national school desegregation laws.

There is no escaping the conclusion that the segregationists won in Richmond. The judicial integrity and rulings of Judge Robert R. Merhige of the U.S. District Court for Eastern Virginia could do nothing to change the hearts and minds of white Richmonders. Even the gallant efforts of Virginia Governor Linwood Holton made no difference. Governor Holton personally enrolled his thirteen-year-old daughter in the predominantly black John F. Kennedy High School. Holton's endorsement of school desegregation cost him politically, including a U.S. Senate nomination in 1978. And for those blacks, such as Kenneth Whitlock, who were among the first to attend an all-white school, the anguish suffered was too high a price to pay.

To avoid going to school with blacks, white Richmonders literally fled the city and its schools and have fought efforts to consolidate Richmond's schools with those of the more affluent suburbs. Today Richmond's schools are predominantly African-American. Pratt's book provides further documentation of a sad American reality: the impenetrability and everlasting pervasiveness of the color line in this society.

DONALD SPIVEY  
University of Miami



LAWRENCE J. OLIVER. *Brander Matthews, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Politics of American Literature, 1880–1920*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 254. \$29.95.

When Randolph Bourne titled his review of literary critic Brander Matthews's autobiography as "A Vanishing World of Gentility," in one cutting stroke he both established and demolished Matthews's reputation for posterity. Although Lawrence J. Oliver's study does not completely reclaim Matthews's reputation, it does reestablish Matthews as a one-time prominent man of letters and as something less than a stick-figure of gentility.

Matthews's interests were varied and his influence pronounced. Blessed with a constitutional need to network, Matthews was connected with many literary clubs and professional organizations. He served as president of the Modern Language Association in 1910 and was presiding officer for the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He published widely and in many forms: producing novels, plays, and criticism. And, most importantly for Oliver's book, Matthews was closely aligned by friendship, politics, and taste with Theodore Roosevelt.

It is the Matthews-Roosevelt connection that allows Oliver to move his subject away from the genteel world into the Progressive Era. Matthews openly championed the work of James Weldon Johnson and Mark Twain. Most importantly, his literary and personal politics were expressed in the language of Rooseveltian racialism, imperialism, and cultural nationalism. If no longer the exemplar of genteel culture that Bourne characterized, then Matthews must now be considered as a fellow traveler in Roosevelt's political and cultural excesses. Whether this makes Matthews any livelier or sympathetic as a critic remains an open question.

An air of the antique or genteel still hangs over Matthews's reputation, and Oliver is well aware of this. Although Matthews might be open to certain realistic novels, he could not bring himself to embrace naturalistic fiction. Indeed, Matthews's tastes were tame, his need for a moralistic ending to fiction paramount. Matthews actually "re-visioned" the story-line of Stephen Crane's *Maggie* (1893). Instead of decline for Maggie, Matthews's sanitized version has Maggie married to a good-natured saloon keeper, with dreams of success looming on the horizon!

Oliver is successful in demonstrating that Matthews's literary tastes, while genteel, were not antagonistic to American literature and its aspirations. Although much of Matthews's work was concerned with British and French models, his American literary nationalism translated itself into an early history of American literature and crucial participation in the development of the canon-making *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21).

Oliver's book has many strengths. He succinctly and clearly makes a case for Matthews's centrality in

literary circles at the turn of the century, and demonstrates how the seductions of conceptualizations such as "genteel" can lead one astray. Oliver convincingly shows Roosevelt's deep involvement, as both president and private citizen, in the literary politics of the day. Yet Matthews remains a somewhat blurry figure. Even when knocking on the door of modernity, Matthews was most at home in the comfortable den of gentility and Victorianism. When he did venture outside, in literature and politics, his work too often resounded with the moralistic progressivism of Roosevelt. But Matthews remains little more than a mere footnote. His status and reputation may have once been significant, but his work has not outlived him. And that is the worst fate that can befall a critic and novelist.

GEORGE COTKIN  
California Polytechnic State University,  
San Luis Obispo

PAUL WOLMAN. *Most Favored Nation: The Republican Revisionists and U.S. Tariff Policy, 1897–1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xxv, 328. \$34.95.

Between 1890 and 1897 the U.S. Congress drew up three tariff acts after fierce combats between protectionists and various types of tariff reformers, only to avoid the subject for the next eleven years. Paul Wolman has undertaken to explain this reversal and trace the tariff question under the Republicans through the first decade of the new century to the inauguration of the Woodrow Wilson administration in 1913. He describes the growth of a new transparty political group, the tariff revisionists or reductionists, who sought to compromise between protectionists and free traders by working out means of lowering overly high duty schedules without antagonizing too many votes on both extremes of the scale. Perhaps inevitably this group split into two factions: radicals, who wanted to favor small businesses by restraining the growing power of corporations, and conservatives, who would accept corporations and try to reconcile them with expanding foreign trade.

For the first five years of the period, tariff revisionists pinned their hopes on reciprocity treaties, a favorite remedy of antiprotectionists since the 1870s (although Wolman apparently ascribes them to James G. Blaine in 1890–91). Unfortunately, the treaties negotiated under the Dingley tariff (1897) were never ratified. After 1902, with Theodore Roosevelt in the White House and a tariff conflict shaping up with Germany, revisionists turned to a European model. This centered on maximum and minimum tariff rates that could be granted to trade partners, mostly European, without the carefully balanced exchange of benefits required under reciprocity. By the time the German problem had intensified to a crisis in 1906,

revisionists added to their system another element of flexibility, the tariff commission.

But when they sought to incorporate this into a new tariff act in 1909, Congress balked at the surrender of authority thus involved. The resulting Payne-Aldrich tariff contained a provision for maximum and minimum rates but no commission. It antagonized Republican insurgents in the Senate and started the new president, William H. Taft, on a path leading to his repudiation by the electorate when he unwisely praised it. For the rest of his term partisan disagreements reduced tariff revision to stalemate. Wilson obtained a lower tariff and eventually a commission.

Wolman concludes that the unified revisionist movement "superseded the [nineteenth century] ideology of a self-sufficient home market and facilitated the broad acceptance of tariff reduction and systematization as beneficial, legitimate, and vital to U.S. open-door policy" (p. 213). He thus sees continuity not only between the Roosevelt-Taft policies and the more successful Wilsonian tariff revisions but also with the tariff questions arising in the 1920s and 1930s. This is an important contribution to twentieth-century tariff history. Wolman also makes clear why Theodore Roosevelt approached the tariff question with great caution. Finally, by implication he places the trade crisis with Germany in the chain of events leading to the American break with that nation in 1917.

DAVID M. PLETCHER  
*Indiana University,  
Bloomington*

PAUL D. LACK. *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History, 1835–1836*. (Texas A&M Southwestern Studies, number 10.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1992. Pp. xxv, 332. \$39.50.

Most Texans nurture the belief that theirs is a state with a unique history, and that what distinguishes it most is its revolutionary era and republican status before it became a part of the American Union. It should also follow that these times would be the most studied by the state's historians and popular writers and become the object of the greatest number of published works. Not so. The Spanish beginnings of Texas, Texas Rangers, cowboys and cattlemen, and even twentieth-century economic history—especially the petroleum industry—have earned more ink than the Texas Revolution and the brief era of the Republic of Texas that the revolution established.

Robert Calvert and Walter L. Buenger, editors of *Texas through Time* (1991), an analysis of Texas historiography, suggested that historians have stayed away from the revolutionary experience because of the preeminent writings of Eugene C. Barker, dean of Texas historians for at least the first half of the twentieth century. Paul D. Lack wrote the chapter in

their study in complete agreement with his editors, and in his current work he rejects the thesis that the Texas Revolution "has been done" by Barker, or at least done well enough. Lack's new study is the first synthesis of the entire Texas Revolution to appear in decades. It joins John H. Jenkins's ten-volume *Papers of the Texas Revolution, 1835–1836* (1973) as the most significant post-Barker publications on the era.

In the first half of his study, Lack presents a chronological review of the various disturbances, conventions, and protests in Texas from late in the 1820s through the experience of the interim government that functioned until the republic came into being in September 1836. The six chapters involved in this review are long on causes, attitudes, and analyses of the motives of participants, and short on narrative of military events. Indeed, readers seeking to learn of the actions at Goliad, the Alamo, or San Jacinto will find little here to satisfy their appetite. Instead, Lack writes as if in agreement with the familiar observation of John Adams regarding the Spirit of '76 that the actual revolution occurred in the decision to seek independence, not in the war to confirm it. In these chapters, Lack tells of the struggle for cohesion that all but eluded Texans who seemed as hellbent on disagreeing with each other as they were with their host nation. He properly sets the revolution in its context as a states' rights versus centralism movement and does not present the revolution as an expression of ethnic differences, at least in the beginning.

The last half of Lack's study deals with specific constituencies within the Texas Revolution. The Texas army is the subject of two chapters. Lack analyzes such things as age and length of time in Texas as factors of motivation. He concludes that the army remained in charge of the revolution from the first and accepted few directions from the six governments that pretended to conduct affairs in Texas from October 1835 until September 1836, when the government of the republic came into existence. Furthermore, the nature of the army changed during that time from overwhelming participation by Texans of at least five years' residence who had material stakes to protect or expand, to an army of recent arrivals from the United States more interested in adventure and acquisition.

Subsequent chapters concentrate on the role of, and consequences for, Tories, Tejanos (Texans of Mexican descent), Anglos, and blacks, especially slaves. In Lack's view, the preservation and expansion of slavery played a large role in the disagreement between Texans and the Mexican government.

Hopefully, Lack's study will not simply replace Barker's work as a "definitive" explanation of the Texas Revolution for the next fifty years, but instead will encourage increased scrutiny of this pivotal event in the history of Texas.

ARCHIE P. McDONALD  
*Stephen F. Austin State University*

STUART FEDER. *Charles Ives: "My Father's Song"; A Psychoanalytic Biography*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 396. \$35.00.

Charles Ives is a historic figure because he broke rules. Before Igor Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg he composed atonal symphonies. While others followed standard European formulas, Ives constructed grand unconventional musical panoramas. He dared to weave the sounds of clashing marching bands into the warm nostalgia of "Turkey in the Straw" and "Nearer My God to Thee." How odd that such a modern, offbeat sensibility should emerge in the age of Grover Cleveland.

Instead of seeing Ives as other biographers have, as the outcast genius among Babbits or as a self-isolating crank, Stuart Feder portrays Ives as a troubled soul, a composer whose many deep conflicts poured out musically. Feder shows that Ives's artistic life was tied to his most important relationships, especially his bond with his father. George Ives, a bandmaster in Danbury, Connecticut, and the black sheep in a stolid bourgeois clan, educated his son musically and collaborated in his early composing. In 1894, just at the point when Charles struggled most irascibly as a college student to disengage from the tightness of the bond, his father died. Feder argues convincingly that Ives's most creative music was infused with the resulting emotions of mourning, guilt, loss, regret, idealization, and, above all, memory.

Ives, in fact, is an excellent subject for a psychological study. He wrote frankly about the biographical roots of his music. Making remembrance a central theme of his work, Ives later annotated his scores biographically, almost as if he wanted to leave clues so that even if no one understood him in his lifetime, someday a sympathetic scholar could see his life and work whole. Despite his ability to function well as an insurance executive and to compose music for many years, Ives's emotions finally overwhelmed him and cut him off. He suffered greatly from being musically at odds with America: when an audience booed a symphony by one of his friends Ives yelled back at them, "You God damn sissy . . . when you hear strong masculine music like this, get up and use your ears like a man" (p. 325). Sadly, Ives provided an even more fitting subject for a psychological study when in his later years his irritability veered closer to madness.

Feder has listened to Ives's story and his music with a psychiatrist's sensitive ear, as well as with an impressively educated musical ear. Feder has sifted through all of Ives's archival leavings, uncovering new information in army records, so that he could reconstruct minutely Ives's development. No one else has ever seen the connection between Ives's life and art with such a high degree of technical expertise and human insight.

Historians will find many places where Feder could have placed Ives in larger contexts. Ives was, after all, not alone in his obsessive concerns about masculinity:

his diatribes against the "emasculated" music critics who disliked his work used the same gendered language of character assassination which Theodore Roosevelt applied to pacifists and Woodrow Wilson. Ives's irreverent pastiche of musical Americana, layering the vernacular, the personal, and the classical, is also reminiscent of literary experimenters like John Dos Passos. Yet other books have delved into Ives's cultural context well enough, and readers can place Ives in his times by looking at Frank R. Rossiter, *Charles Ives and His America* (1975), Rosalie Sandra Perry, *Charles Ives and the American Mind* (1974), and Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* (1982). Feder did not aim to write a comprehensive cultural history. He set as his task an inner look, not an outer one. Informed by an advanced ego-psychology that stresses relationships and long-term patterns of development, Feder's book is a model of psychologically informed, meticulously researched biography.

KATHLEEN M. DALTON  
Phillips Academy  
Andover, Massachusetts

GREGG MITMAN. *The State of Nature: Ecology, Community, and American Social Thought, 1900-1950*. (Science and Its Conceptual Foundations.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 290. Cloth \$58.00, paper \$23.50.

An ideal topic for a doctoral dissertation and first book would be close to the one Gregg Mitman has chosen. His is a neat, concise research subject that, although limited in scope, still touches on important themes of twentieth-century intellectual history. The main players in this book are ecologists, Alfred Edwards Emerson and Warder Clyde Allee, who left abundant documentation and whose personal papers are conveniently archived in the same repository. Finally, Mitman's study gives him the chance to comment on one of the most widely discussed issues of his own time: the myth of objectivity.

The central question that absorbed Allee, Emerson, and their ecologist colleagues was whether evolution proceeds by means of competition and conflict or by means of cooperation. Charles Darwin had seemed to imply the former. His "struggle for existence" was a virtual war in which stronger organisms prevailed over their siblings, lived to reproduce, and gradually redefined the species. This "natural selection," as Darwin called it in 1859, was driven by competition, and for half a century afterward most Americans accepted competition as both desirable and inevitable. Even human-to-human relationships were understood in terms of Social Darwinism. But World War I brought the winds of fundamental intellectual change. Many concluded after the unsuccessful war to make the world safe for democracy that struggles

among peoples and their nations were counterproductive. But if conflict was as deeply ingrained into biology, including human nature, as Darwin suggested, could there be any hope for a peaceful, cooperative world?

The essence of Mitman's book is an analysis of the work of ecologists active after World War I, whose mission was to reinterpret revolutionary theory away from competition and conflict. Mitman calls these scientists "cooperationists." Liberal pacifists by philosophical disposition, they were determined to use their ecological investigations to show that the real struggle for existence was not among members of the same species but between species and the environment. They believed that communities, not transcendent individuals, powered evolution.

Mitman is well aware that research such as his own contributes to the discrediting of the idea of absolute truth in science and, it follows, of objectivity. Science, he says, is part of culture. It must be understood within a cultural context. Just as taste in, say, dress or music changes from generation to generation, so do the "laws" of science. Truth, as Mitman puts it, becomes "a reflection of what we want to see." And so, he explains, we should not be surprised to see post-1950 ecology change once again to an emphasis on individual competition.

Although this is a solid study, its subtitle promising examination of a half a century of "American Social Thought" is rather pretentious. What we actually have here is an examination of a relatively small number of professors and their graduate students in the interwar years. For the bigger picture it would be well to read Mitman in conjunction with Donald Worster's *Nature's Economy: The Roots of Ecology* (1977) and to remember that important ecologists such as Aldo Leopold, who does not figure at all in Mitman's book, were also contributing to American understanding of the state of nature and human nature during the period of concern here.

RODERICK FRAZIER NASH  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

JAMES E. BRITTAI. *Alexanderson: Pioneer in American Electrical Engineering*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, number 12.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 381.

Creative engineering made American manufacturing corporations great successes during the first half of the twentieth century and, as James E. Brittain's biography rightly claims, engineers such as Ernst F. W. Alexanderson made corporations, among them General Electric (GE), world leaders in innovation. GE invested liberally in Alexanderson in the years prior to World War II, and we learn through this biography just how a creative engineer performs.

One of the major themes of this book is that

Alexanderson used his training in power engineering, the engineering of generators and motors, to investigate questions in high frequency electricity, that is, electronics. The author uses Alexanderson's first professional paper to the Institute of Radio Engineers to illustrate how Alexanderson employed engineering analogy. The paper was on dielectric hysteresis at high frequencies, and we are told that hysteresis "was an effect observed in magnetic or dielectric materials when they were subject to a change in magnetizing or polarizing force" (p. 90). One would need more than a dictionary to understand this account of a highly technical paper.

Brittain does not ask the reader to take his word for the idea of engineering through analogy, but the reader must nonetheless deal with some fairly technical information. Herein lies the dilemma of writing a popular book on a technical subject: simplify the subject and gloss over intricate matters, or complicate the subject with technical terms and lose the non-technical reader.

Alexanderson obtained 344 patents over a professional career of sixty-five years spent mostly working for GE. He is best known for his invention and development of a radio frequency alternator used to transmit signals over distances as great as the Atlantic Ocean. A few in the United States realized that control of Alexanderson's GE patents would give the country an unbeatable advantage in the emerging international competition in wireless communication. It is not too much to claim that the formation of the Radio Corporation of America in 1919 had the intent of keeping control of Alexanderson's patents in the United States. The key to success in international competition in 1919 as in 1992 is creative engineering.

Why was GE so successful in being an innovative leader in many areas of electrical technology? Brittain credits GE's organization of both a GE Research Laboratory specializing in basic scientific research and the GE Consulting Engineering Department. As a member of the Consulting Department, Alexanderson was free to apply his inventiveness to a variety of questions that crossed manufacturing department lines. The only limit to the consulting engineers was that they "be useful to the Company" (p. 74).

In his later years, Alexanderson regretted GE's lack of corporate management sympathetic to creative engineering. He recalled that he was allowed to do research on his radio alternator while his assignment had been the development of improved railroad motors. On one occasion, Alexanderson recalled that GE management built a full-size locomotive to allow him to test some original ideas.

Anyone seriously interested in the best means to success in international competitiveness ought to read this biography, even though the help of an electrical engineer is needed to understand the book.

HAROLD SHARLIN  
Washington, D.C.



THOMAS S. DICKE. *Franchising in America: The Development of a Business Method, 1840–1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. 204. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$12.95.

This attractively produced book proves that the interpretive insights of Alfred Chandler can successfully reach beyond the analysis of big business. According to Thomas S. Dicke, franchising, a variant of forward vertical integration started by large manufacturing firms, created new and beneficial opportunities for small, independently owned retail outlets. Mainly through five case studies, he analyzes how that system evolved. Unfortunately, he focuses too narrowly on the roles of franchisers within the organizational structure of that system. Other relevant innovations in retailing and the franchisees themselves receive too little attention.

Most of the book examines what Dicke calls “product franchising.” Manufacturers of products that needed special handling (complex machines and volatile chemicals, for example) sought to control the marketing process without tying up capital in retail outlets. Franchise contracts with independent retailers provided them with administrative control and opportunities for rapid market penetration. Through those arrangements they also sought to avoid penalties from antitrust and anti-chain store laws or civil negligence and product liability litigation. Of the book’s four case studies of “product franchising,” Sun Oil provides an especially valuable perspective on how the system evolved.

The success of “product franchising,” Dicke says, led to the emergence of a different kind of arrangement, which he calls “business-format franchising.” With that arrangement, the franchiser’s product was the franchise itself, a packaged format of service, including training; and the franchisee was the customer, sometimes a captive market for supplies sold by the franchiser. Offering only one case study, Dicke’s discussion of “business-format franchising” lacks the cogency of his earlier chapters.

Analysis of “business-format franchising” should have considered other significant innovations in the retail business. Dicke might have found models for that development in the relationships, for example, between J. C. Penney and its chain of small stores linked together for several years by individual partnerships, or between Butler Bros., a wholesale firm, and the Ben Franklin chain of independently owned and operated variety stores. In both of those cases, the parent company supplied the retail outlets with not only the merchandise but also personnel training and administrative services. J. C. Penney’s main business, according to its founder, consisted of launching and fostering partners’ stores.

Without pursuing contrary evidence, Dicke says that franchising benefited small business franchisees. According to him, the opportunity to acquire a franchise updated the American Dream by providing

workers with an avenue for upward mobility. Yet the book fails to offer evidence about the previous occupations, economic status, ethnicity, race, and gender of those who invested to become franchisees. It does not consider that some fairly large corporations own and operate networks of franchised outlets, some for different franchisers. Nor does it consider complaints that, despite disclosure laws and rules for fair contracts, unscrupulous franchise promoters abused inexperienced franchisees after enticing them with promises of good incomes while being their own bosses.

The history of franchising could offer important perspectives on small business in the modern era, but this book does not move sufficiently beyond the analysis of organizational structures.

ALAN R. RAUCHER  
Wayne State University

MARILYN D. RHINEHART. *A Way of Work and a Way of Life: Coal Mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888–1926*. (Texas A&M Southwestern Studies, number 9.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 167. \$39.50.

Marilyn D. Rhinehart has written a gem of social history on the coal mines and coal miners of Thurber, Texas. Operating on the safe assumption that the lives of American workers are best understood by studying them locally, she has taken historical possession of this small west Texas coal town and its ethnically mixed—though predominantly Italian—work force and constructed a revealing and sensitively drawn portrait of the making, maintenance, and control of a working class and of the contest between capital and labor for dominance over the process. That contest was an important part of the entire course of industrialization, not because it led in some inexorable way to worker radicalism, but because what men did for a living was, as Rhinehart makes clear for Thurber’s coal miners, a way of life as well as a way of work, and these men were not likely to grant proscriptive rights over either part of the calculus to those who used their labor.

In Thurber, the contest took on an interesting form. Prior to 1903, when the UMW organized the miners, the Texas and Pacific Coal Company ran Thurber like an industrial fiefdom, to the point even of erecting a wire fence around the entire town lest itinerant merchants capture some of the trade that “belonged” to the company stores. The fence, of course, and the stalag-like atmosphere it gave to the place, was equally effective in discouraging labor organizers.

Despite the fence and all it symbolized, however, the working families of Thurber had, in the happy phrase of John Bodnar, “lives of their own.” Saloons, churches, baseball teams, and ethnic festivals all flourished within the compound. The fence was not



missed when it came down in 1903 but, as Rhinehart makes clear, neither was its presence daunting or demoralizing. Global forces dictated that coal be taken out of the ground at Thurber. The miners did not understand those forces—for that matter, neither did capital—but they understood the significance of their role in getting the coal out and were ill-disposed to surrender entirely to the Texas and Pacific officials. Those officials managed the company; they did not manage the lives of those who worked the coal seams.

For their part, the labor policy of the managers ranged from dictatorial to paternal to accommodating. It is, of course, possible that all three were in the interests of maintaining an appropriate degree of power over the work force. That is an important point. But so is the one Rhinehart makes: Thurber's coal miners, pre and post-1903, made the town theirs.

This is an impressive book. It is too short; it does too little with the international developments that both made and destroyed Thurber; it would have benefited from a comparative perspective, particularly with the towns of the southern Colorado coal fields, as Italian as Thurber and marked by class war as surely as Thurber was marked by relative calm. But Rhinehart is an imaginative researcher and a careful writer. She has found an industrial town in an unusual setting and told its story with skill and affection.

DAVID M. EMMONS  
*University of Montana*

PAUL KRAUSE. *The Battle for Homestead, 1880-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel*. (Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 548. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

The workers and residents of Homestead, Pennsylvania, and some 300 Pinkerton detectives in Andrew Carnegie's employ, engaged in dramatic battles on the Monongahela River and in the city's streets in July 1892. The pitched fighting, the surrender of the Pinkertons, and their subsequent abuse at the hands of townsfolk captured national headlines, horrified business and political elites, and prompted the intervention of the Pennsylvania state militia, whose ninety-five-day armed occupation of Homestead effectively ended the townsfolks' resistance. Carnegie's lockout of members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steelworkers, ostensibly over highly complicated and arcane contract provisions, was at bottom an all-out assault on the union. With the battle of Homestead behind him, he had accomplished his goal: the steel workers' association was destroyed, and Homestead would remain union-free for the next four decades.

Homestead, as Paul Krause makes clear, was in some ways a unique community in western Pennsylvania. In neighboring Pittsburgh, the long-desired

"amalgamation" of labor proved ever more elusive, and internecine conflicts within union ranks were rendering solidarity more an aspiration than a reality. But in Homestead, workers managed to forge and maintain a strong labor movement that united highly skilled workers with their less-skilled counterparts. While labor activists in western Pennsylvania denounced the new immigration and engaged in rhetorical nativist attacks on southern and eastern European migrants, Homestead's native-born whites and old immigrants collaborated with newcomers. Elsewhere in the region, steelmakers had succeeded in deploying technology to curtail drastically union control over the shop-floor labor process and reduce labor costs. Not only did Homestead workers withstand a series of Carnegie's assaults over the 1880s but they proved successful in the political arena as well, electing to local public office men from their own ranks at a time when independent labor politics elsewhere in the area had collapsed.

The Homestead story is one of the better-known markers in American labor history. A turning point for the worse for unionism in the 1890s, it has received much scholarly attention. Yet Krause's outstanding study, appearing during the Homestead lockout's centennial, brings to light a wealth of previously unexplored biographical details and new information about the roles played by critical actors, including Republican Party machine politicians, Eastern European immigrants, union leaders, and Carnegie himself. Of particular importance is Krause's skillful grounding of the 1892 lockout in the history of steelmaking, the ideological currents of American working-class activists, and the region's history. Drawing on themes familiar to the new labor history, Krause anchors the anger and determination of Homestead trade unionists in a working-class republicanism, with its critique of the wages system and its advocacy of cooperation. At stake, he argues, was not only their control over the labor process and their economic security but also a way of life that valued a worker's "competence" over unbridled acquisitiveness. To his credit, Krause recognizes that this form of republicanism stood in a tense relationship to its counterpart, an individualistic entrepreneurialism, and that both tendencies could coexist within the same individual (even union leaders). But it is not clear how widely or deeply held these not quite mutually exclusive perspectives were. Krause records and interprets the voices and visions of Homestead labor's leaders, whose testimonies are numerous. But the specific beliefs of the rank and file and the crowd are understandably harder to ascertain. Krause convincingly analyzes their behavior and actions, but the depth of their ideological commitments—not to mention the beliefs of out-of-town men who crossed the picket lines to break the strike—requires further exploration.

Placing the conflict between classes at the center of his narrative, Krause successfully weaves together

political economy, shop-floor struggles, labor and machine politics, and working-class ideology. He draws on and elaborates many of the central tenets of labor history developed over the last two decades. His book represents both a testament to Homestead's defeated workers and a sophisticated summation of the state of the field with regard to the study of labor radicalism and workplace struggles in the late nineteenth century.

ERIC ARNESEN  
University of Illinois,  
Chicago

SHARON HARTMAN STROM. *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class, and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930*. (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 427. \$42.50.

This important book by Sharon Hartman Strom explores the early years of the modern American office, which emerged at the turn of the twentieth century with a work hierarchy based on class, race, and gender. This hierarchy, according to Strom, was characterized by an executive-managerial elite that was largely male, and a subordinate office staff that was primarily female. The segmented office culture contributed to the successful application of new scientific management techniques to the workplace.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part examines gendered office hierarchies and the rise of scientific management in early twentieth-century business that accompanied the growing feminization, mechanization, and rationalization of office systems. Strom suggests that the evolving fields of engineering and business administration were culturally identified as male, but that bookkeeping, accounting, and statistics were viewed as more sexually ambiguous. The new discipline of personnel management, however, was seen as a profession that valued "feminine influence" (p. 96). The latter was an exception to what Strom calls the "executive taboo" (similar to that which journalists today call the "glass ceiling"), which kept all but a few women out of positions of power. Most women instead entered the office world as clerical workers, their job selection as much a matter of lack of options as anything else.

The second part of the book explores the office labor force itself, focusing on the identity and culture of office workers. The role of college, high school, and commercial education for clerical workers is examined, as is the relationship of race and ethnicity to office work. Working-class women came to the office because conditions were better than in factories (or in domestic work) and because training in high school was free; middle-class women came to the office often because of a lack of alternative opportunities. For many African-American women, clerical employment was found not in white-owned busi-

nesses, which were racially exclusive, but within civil service offices and black businesses in the African-American neighborhoods of the 1920s. Although the numbers of black clerical workers were relatively small, Strom suggests that they played important roles in developing the black middle class.

Strom argues that although business elites used scientific management to reinforce stereotypical notions of male dominance, women's experience in the reorganized workplace nevertheless was not all negative. Rather, despite the many barriers to professional advancement (such as the marriage bar, which justified job limitations on the assumption that women might marry and leave the office), women used their jobs to pursue independence, friendship, and education.

The notion that scientific management affected the office is of course not new, but this book's contribution is the extension of that notion: that the application of scientific management to the workplace might not have happened without the new gendered office that produced "the paperwork, bookkeeping, and managerial expertise that propelled the machinery of scientific management and the integration of economic functions" (p. 3). Moreover, the discussion of work culture in the office confirms and augments what is already known about women's work environments in other occupations; the study of men's work culture would be a useful comparison.

This is a richly textured and interesting book, calling not only on historical business literature and census data but also on oral histories, surveys of workers, photographs, and a case study of the Scovill Manufacturing Company of Connecticut. Strom also weaves into the narrative fictional renderings of office life by Sinclair Lewis and by the makers of the recent film *Working Girl*. This book, by exploring the socially constructed roles of both men and women, enriches our understanding of the history of the labor force in general and office work in particular.

LYNN Y. WEINER  
Roosevelt University

CLARENCE E. WUNDERLIN, JR. *Visions of a New Industrial Order: Social Science and Labor Theory in America's Progressive Era*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 230. \$45.00.

This study is concerned with the impact of the social sciences on the making of public policy in the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century. Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr., examines the careers of three influential labor economists: John R. Commons, a familiar figure, and the less well-known Jeremiah Jenks and E. Dana Durand. Through their writings and in their advisory capacities, these men helped to revise notions of the respective rights of capital and labor and contributed to the building of the modern American state.

Commons, Jenks, and Durand shared similar backgrounds. They grew up in small, midwestern towns; their parents were middle-class, reform-minded evangelical Protestants; in the 1880s and 1890s the three received graduate training in historical economics and entered into professional life as scholars and social critics.

Wunderlin traces Jenks's life from his early academic research on business cycles and corporate growth to his appointment by President William McKinley to the United States Industrial Commission, his involvement with the National Civic Federation (NCF), and his leading role on the United States Immigration Commission. Durand, a student of Jenks, served in a similar fashion as a member of the Anthracite Coal Commission and helped to establish labor policy for the NCF through the creation of the Committee on Arbitration and Conciliation.

Commons receives the greatest attention in this book. Wunderlin follows Commons as he moved from appointments on the United States Industrial and Anthracite Coal commissions to working with his extraordinary corp of graduate students compiling documents on American labor history for their classic four-volume study. Later there would be his critical participation on the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and lobbying in Wisconsin for municipal government reform and state systems of labor mediation services and unemployment insurance. Early in his academic career, Commons adopted an institutionalist approach to the study of economics (rejecting mainstream neoclassical theory), and he would develop this perspective particularly with regard to the workings of the labor market. Wunderlin also sees Commons moving from a voluntarist to state corporatist position on the stabilization of economic affairs.

Wunderlin offers Commons, Jenks, and Durand as examples of academics and social scientists who affected changes in political economic thinking and practice during the Progressive Era. His book, however, presents numerous obstacles in assessing their influence. First, Jenks and Durand are treated somewhat tangentially. Second, his subjects held significantly different views on a variety of issues. On the origins of the corporation, for example, Jenks and Durand saw industrial combination as natural and beneficial, Commons as the result of corporate legal and political power. They differed as well as to whether industrial conflict was best mediated directly by labor and capital, by arbitration through intermediary trade associations and civic groups, or by government intervention (Commons came to support the latter). Finally, the recommendations fashioned by the social scientists were not automatically accepted; Commons submitted position papers to various presidential panels that were never entered into final reports. Without also attending to other actors in the story, from trade unionists to corporate leaders and government officials, Wunderlin does not provide the

means to weigh the impact of social scientists on political economic developments in the United States in the period under study.

WALTER LIGHT

*University of Pennsylvania*

PATRICK RENSHAW. *American Labor and Consensus Capitalism, 1935–1990*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1991. Pp. xxi, 237. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$16.95.

The central theme in Patrick Renshaw's survey is that of the rise and fall of America's Keynesian consensus. Invoked both by management and labor, this structure of economic growth and social cohesion underlay the all-too-brief era of mid-century union growth and class accommodation. According to Renshaw, this consensus was first explored in the late 1930s and then fully deployed during the 1940s. By the end of that decade a "corporate consensus" had emerged that both recognized and tightly constrained trade union ambitions. Although hardly uncritical of American unions, Renshaw regrets the passing of this consensus little more than a generation later, for he believes this was just about the best deal the postwar working class could hope to win.

As Renshaw himself asserts, his work "is unashamedly written in the style of the old labor history. It concentrates on unions, strikes, politics, the law and the macroeconomic background" (pp. xx–xxi). Indeed, the institutional and political focus of the old labor history is making a well-deserved comeback as historians and social scientists probe the complex and difficult relationship between labor law, government fiscal policy, industry organization, and trade union strategy. Thus, Renshaw and others see the Wagner Act as a law framed not only to resolve industrial conflict but also, and above all, a Keynesian initiative designed to increase aggregate demand through the unionization of the mass-production industries. And he perceptively recounts the legal and organizational issues involved in the high-stakes battle waged by foremen to join trade unions during the 1940s.

Within little more than a decade capital had accommodated itself to the existence of this new union movement, largely as a by-product of the militarized prosperity and conservative political climate forged during the "crucible of war" and the Cold War that followed. Of course, in the United States the Keynesian consensus never generated the kind of dense welfare state characteristic of Western Europe. Writes Renshaw, "In Britain Keynesian prosperity was used to fund welfare spending; in the United States such prosperity was used as a pretext for not doing so" (p. 175).

Unfortunately, Renshaw's book fails to offer much of an analysis along these lines. His invocation of the idea of a "consensus capitalism" remains a superficial

gloss on an otherwise undistinguished narrative. For the most part, Renshaw merely recapitulates the work of historians like Melvyn Dubofsky, Robert Zieger, Harvey Levenstein, Howell Harris, and myself. Despite its title, his book offers no discussion of managerial ideology or of the class fractions into which capital was divided in the postwar era. Renshaw asserts that "the ambitions of the American working class were essentially pragmatic and mundane" (p. 189) but his work does little to probe the social history of American workers. Thus, Renshaw makes little or no use of the exciting work recently offered by Mike Davis, Kim Moody, Lizabeth Cohen, Rick Fantasia, Michael Goldfield, or Gary Gerstle. Like so many other labor histories, the text focuses almost exclusively on the CIO industrial unions and offers no coherent account of class relations during the years after 1970.

Renshaw's book is also plagued by numerous inaccuracies and misjudgments. Walter Reuther never offered to support George Addes at the UAW convention of 1939; auto executive Charles Wilson did not say, "What is good for General Motors is good for America, and vice versa"; and the United States spent 6 percent, not 12 percent, of its GNP on war-making capacity in the 1980s.

NELSON LICHTENSTEIN  
University of Virginia

JOHN A. SALTmarsh. *Scott Nearing: An Intellectual Biography*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 337. \$39.95.

In this book, John A. Saltmarsh presents a sympathetic study of an important figure in the history of American radicalism, social science, and higher education. Although Scott Nearing lived from 1883 to 1983, this work focuses primarily on the first half of his life, his years as an economist and social activist.

Saltmarsh describes this as a "biography of Scott Nearing's intellectual life" (p. 1). He presents a largely traditional approach to intellectual history, avoiding psychological analysis and the perils of discourse theory even when it might be useful. Nearing's phrase (used by Saltmarsh as a chapter title [chap. 12]) "Every man his own historian" might be a good place to begin. Consideration of the language of Nearing's novel, *Free Born* might also suggest some limitations of his analysis about race and gender, weaknesses shared by most of the Left.

Still, Saltmarsh does well with what he says he is going to do. He provides a thorough and interesting discussion of changing influences on Nearing's thought—from pragmatism and Christianity to Marx and Tolstoy. He also places Nearing's ideas in the context of "republicanism" and within the historical tension between collective action and individualism.

Born to an upper-class family in a coal town in Pennsylvania, Nearing became active in progressive

causes, socialism, and, in the 1920s, the Communist Party. Before World War I Nearing combined religious values with faith in social science and education as instruments to eliminate social injustice. His optimism collided with the realities of power and the Great War. Nearing's critiques of child labor and capitalism led to his dismissal from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania in 1915. Two years later, four days after the United States entered the war, he was dismissed from Toledo University for his antiwar views. The school's boards of trustees, as is frequently the case, had their own views of political correctness.

Turning to alternative institutions, Nearing ran for Congress as a Socialist in 1918 and taught at the Rand School for Social Science in New York. He and the American Socialist Society (ASS) were tried for violating the Espionage Act and the Selective Service Act for publishing an antiwar pamphlet. Nearing was acquitted but the ASS was found guilty. The Red Scare went on.

Nearing turned to more revolutionary ideology, joining first the left wing of the Socialist Party and then apparently briefly the Communist Party. Nearing increasingly saw himself, however, as unsuited to working within institutions. By the early 1930s he turned from collective efforts to change society toward the individualistic tradition of Henry David Thoreau, writing, "Every man his own radical, every man his own thinker" (p. 173). In 1932 Nearing moved to Vermont, spending his next fifty years "living the good life" there and, later, in Maine.

The most effective part of this study is its discussion of Nearing's struggles within higher education to promote intellectual freedom and to defend the use of education and social science to change the social order. "Intellectual biography" as a form, however, is problematic, especially when applied to a radical. Discussion of Nearing's ideas leaves questions unanswered. For example, how could a person so passionate in his beliefs withdraw from politics in the early 1930s, leave the struggle against fascism to others, and move to the farm? Anti-institutional philosophy and opposition to materialism are not sufficient explanations. Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement also rejected capitalist institutions and believed in the virtues of rural life, but they did not choose to live the good life in isolation.

Still, Nearing's life and ideas are provocative, his questions are still pertinent. His criticism of the domination of schools and other cultural institutions by capitalism is worth considering. (It is hard to imagine that he would be hired by the Wharton School today.) His critique of war and military institutions is a useful reminder that it is unreasonable to look to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for democratic reform. Nearing's life was spent fighting, as he chose, the good fight. By bringing that life into view Salt-



marsh has made a substantial contribution to intellectual and political discussion.

EILEEN M. EAGAN  
*University of Southern Maine*

KRISTIE MILLER. *Ruth Hanna McCormick: A Life in Politics, 1880-1944*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 339. \$24.95.

Along with recent studies by Ellen Chesler, Blanche Wiesen Cook, Nancy Cott, and Elizabeth Israels Perry, this biography broadens and deepens our understanding of women's political behavior before and after suffrage. Kristie Miller, journalist and granddaughter of her subject, has used manuscript collections of Ruth Hanna McCormick and other politicians, interviews with family members and associates, and a broad range of secondary works to re-create McCormick's life within the context of women's history and American politics. Although politics occupy center stage, Miller also discusses McCormick's personal life and her careers as a rancher, newspaper publisher, and patron of arts and education.

Like many of her female contemporaries, McCormick gained considerable political experience from Progressive reform and suffrage activism. She did social settlement work, helped found the Women's City Club of Chicago and the women's committee of the National Civic Federation, and was a key organizer and lobbyist for the National American Woman Suffrage Association. After 1920, she belonged to that smaller group of former suffragists who entered the mainstream of party leadership, electoral politics, and public office.

McCormick differed from most women of her time in combining an independent career forged in women's politics with extensive involvement in male politics. As a teenager, she began her political education under her father, Mark Hanna, Republican leader and U.S. Senator from Ohio. Her marriage to Medill McCormick, whose family owned the *Chicago Tribune*, developed into a political partnership: both were deeply absorbed in the Progressive Party, and they collaborated in his elections to and subsequent service in the House and Senate from 1917 to 1925. While assisting her husband's career, McCormick continued her independent work, becoming head of the women's division of the Republican Party.

After her husband's suicide in 1925, with three children under the age of fourteen, she struck out on her own. Using the political organization that she had built through suffrage and party work, a network with important ties to African-American voters, she won a statewide election to become an at-large representative from Illinois in 1928. Within months after her swearing in, she announced her candidacy for the U.S. Senate. She handily defeated the Republican incumbent in the primary, but lost in the Depression-

borne Democratic landslide of 1930. Although her political work lessened after her remarriage and relocation to New Mexico in 1932, she emerged as a national leader again in 1940, achieving another "first" for women by managing Thomas Dewey's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination.

Miller's gracefully written and well-documented biography deals less with issues than with the processes of politics, although it offers extended analyses of McCormick's support for prohibition and her isolationist-oriented approach to foreign affairs. That emphasis in turn rests on McCormick's own inclinations. She was deeply committed to increasing women's presence in politics and government, but in contrast to most female activists, who stressed their commitment to issues and desire to serve others, McCormick was driven by a sheer love for political combat and organization. In presenting the life of a woman who, according to Joseph Alsop, was "uncommon" because she "talked politics, not morals" (p. 2), Miller enriches our understanding of the varieties of American women's political experience.

SUSAN M. HARTMANN  
*Ohio State University,  
Columbus*

INGRID WINTHER SCOBIE. *Center Stage: Helen Gahagan Douglas, A Life*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 369. \$24.95.

In this book, Ingrid Winther Scobie presents a full-scale biography of Helen Gahagan Douglas, a gutsy, remarkable, talented, and complicated woman. She follows Douglas from her formative years, to Barnard College student, to actor in a Pulitzer Prize-winning Broadway play, to outspoken New Dealer, to three-term California congresswoman, to the victim of "Tricky Dick" (a term coined by Douglas) Nixon's smear campaign during the race for the California Senate seat in 1950 (p. 265). Scobie's competent creation of the historical context for the various stages on which Douglas performed during her long life sweeps the reader through the history of Broadway in the 1920s, Hollywood in the 1930s, New Deal concerns, national politics in the 1930s and 1940s, and Cold War fears of the 1950s.

One of a handful of congresswomen, Douglas received attention from the media that exaggerated the rivalry between her and Republican Clare Booth Luce. In analyzing Douglas's congressional years, Scobie highlights how Douglas tried to emphasize her political competence by, in part, deemphasizing being a female in Congress. Years earlier, following her first Broadway play, critic Heywood Brown had acclaimed her performance as the "most sensational debut of the season" and called her "ten of the twelve most beautiful women in the world" (p. 24). Later Douglas sought credibility by consciously playing down her



beauty under conservative garb and a simple hair style. Through these and other observations Scobie emphasizes that Douglas was ever aware of the significance of being seen as a woman in politics. Calling attention to this self-perception and others, as well as recounting details of Douglas's career, Scobie enhances the portrait of Douglas. Scobie consistently weaves Douglas into the historical context, such as when she traces the evolution of Douglas's friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt and points out the interconnections between Douglas and others in the New Deal's informal "women's network." Scobie's sensitive treatment of Douglas conveys both private and public dimensions of her world and adds to our growing knowledge of twentieth-century U.S. women's history.

Accompanying this rich history of the times and the women of these times, Scobie reveals with honesty and clarity the story of Douglas's life. The book is not a quick read. One of its strengths—the painstaking attention to detail—makes the prose a bit slow going at times, but reading this book is worth the effort. Scobie's thoroughly researched biography brings Douglas to life as she moved through several professional quests from acting, to opera singing, to politics. Scobie's use of both archival and oral history research conveys a convincing portrait of the woman who needed to be at the center of whatever the public stage of the moment. Her private life seemed to be a different matter. The reader is drawn to empathize with the vulnerability of the professionally powerful Douglas as she attempted to blend her public life with the private one as wife of the actor Melvyn Douglas and mother of their two children. Another strength of this book is Scobie's skillful interweaving of the public life with the private life of the actress turned politician. The poignant relationship of Helen and Melvyn is intrinsically compelling. Theirs was a struggle to keep a troubled marriage intact despite the tensions of both of their demanding careers, frequent work-related separations, infidelities, and insecurities. The intensely private couple also suffered from the destructive meddling of Hollywood gossip columnists. Adding children to their busy lives did not ease the tenuous balance between public and private. Scobie explores the meaning of the couple's failure to give a name to their first born, Peter, for nine months after his birth. A daughter, Mary Helen, born five years later, also proved a challenge for her egocentric parents. Scobie shares the pathos of the Douglas family life and that of extended family members on whom Helen grew to depend.

Overall, this exhaustively researched biography does what good biography must do; it adds to our knowledge of the life and the times of the subject. Well-chosen photographs increase the richness of the biography, capturing the personality and talent of this star and of some of those close to her. This is a life story of interest to anyone wanting to know more about Helen Gahagan Douglas or Melvyn Douglas, or the worlds of acting, politics, and liberalism in the

twentieth century. The book has value beyond this audience, however, for it contributes insights and cautions for ordinary women and men who search for ways to combine public and private lives and for couples who attempt that problematic quest to create two-career families.

SARA ALPERN  
Texas A&M University

URSULA M. NIEBUHR, editor. *Remembering Reinhold Niebuhr: Letters of Reinhold and Ursula M. Niebuhr*. San Francisco: HarperCollins. 1991. Pp. xv, 432.

There is a story that goes with this book. Ursula M. Niebuhr's purpose, bluntly stated in the first lines of her preface, is to combat "accounts of Reinhold's views, theological and political, and descriptions of his life and character" that have recently come into the world and are "so inaccurate as to be distasteful to our family and also to his friends and former students" (p. ix). Although she speaks of "accounts," in the plural, it is an open secret that she has at least primarily in mind one specific work: Richard Wightman Fox's *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography* (1985).

For his part, Fox has complained on record (most recently in his review of this present book: *Commonweal*, January 31, 1992) about what he sees as her unfair practice toward the Niebuhr scholars. On the one hand, Fox has said, she withheld from biographers—indeed (he claims) she actually denied the very existence of—what are apparently large bundles of letters to and from Reinhold Niebuhr that were not deposited with the Reinhold Niebuhr Papers at the Library of Congress. Now she compounds the original unfairness by presenting portions from these bundles that serve (in her own words) "to show what manner of man Reinhold Niebuhr really was, as teacher and preacher, as husband and father" (p. ix).

There is, I feel bound to say, some truth in this indictment. Fox has noted, as I have, and as I dare say all readers must, conspicuous gaps in the stories that these letters purport to illustrate. For instance, in an exchange of letters between Reinhold and Ursula during the stormy weeks between their engagement and their marriage, one of the correspondents makes references to upsetting thoughts and charges in a letter received from the other; but the original offending letter does not appear. Much the same happens later when Reinhold's attentions to his duties as a father are at issue. Ursula Niebuhr, no doubt, has been heavy-handed in her exercise of her prerogatives as proprietor-cum-editor. She has not satisfied alert readers that all the questions about Reinhold Niebuhr's character are settled by the evidence in this book.

But then, what serious scholar would go to a book like this with such expectations? Consider for a moment what we have a right to expect, and, I think, most students of the life and thought of Reinhold

Niebuhr will be ready to concede a debt of gratitude to Ursula Niebuhr. Where is it written that the loving survivor is obliged to expose to the world the whole of the evidence about the one who was for forty years one's soulmate, one's partner in rearing of children, and one's closest intellectual and scholarly collaborator? And while we are at it, let us pause to consider how rare a thing it is in life for one person to be all that to one other person for forty years. What is written in the code of the guild of historians is that one should never claim to have released the whole of the evidence when one has merely intended to release a part. To her credit, Ursula Niebuhr nowhere makes that claim.

What she has done is to serve up excerpts from correspondence between herself and Reinhold over about a quarter-century (ending in the later 1950s, when the state of his health dictated an end to his travels); and correspondence between Reinhold and/or Ursula and a sampling of their better-known friends, including W. H. Auden, Felix Frankfurter, Hans Christophe von Hase, Lewis Mumford, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and John Strachey. In these letters we find illuminating glimpses at arguments with and about a truly incredible range of figures, including politicians, political activists, poets, scholars, clergymen, bishops, theologians, religious thinkers, and religious activists, in the United States, the United Kingdom, and continental Europe. These documents reveal aspects of Reinhold's life and thought that are nowhere attested in his papers, nor in his books and articles. And, given the unmatched range of his scholarly works, of his practical political and social works, and of his politically significant friendships, they shed much light on the political, intellectual, and religious history of the twentieth century. Fox is right: every one of the previous several scholarly efforts to catch all of this activity and all of this thought would have been improved had this source been available. It rather misses the point, though, to complain now about the unfairness of this.

Notwithstanding the incompleteness of the sample, I feel that Niebuhr has effectively redressed the somewhat mean-spirited verdict that Fox offered on "Reinhold's character," which, for Ursula (no doubt rightly) comes down mainly to the issue of his performance as husband and father. But on the side of his "views," the effect of the book is different. And on this side, what matters is the way in which Niebuhr weighed the relative claims of secular philosophies and Christian dogmatics. This was the point where most of the Niebuhr scholars (including myself) were most inclined to quarrel with Fox's book.

Every Niebuhrian knows that there are hints in his written work to difficulties that stem from taking such matters as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection "literally." But here, in letters back and forth between Reinhold and Ursula, and in the sections of commentary that Ursula provides, we find recurring proof of (to use a Niebuhrian word) nonchalance toward the

dogmas of the Christian faith on the part of this most eminent of the teachers of Protestant theology of his day. It does seem that what Christian Niebuhrians took too easily as discretion or subtlety was often simple lack of confidence in the dogmas of Christian faith.

In the last section, "Postlude: Letters to a Dear but Departed Spouse," Ursula speaks of Christ's promises to His disciples, that they would eat and drink with Him in the Kingdom of God: "Oh dear, how symbolic it is. You and I were—and are—skeptical about many aspects of so-called Christian belief, including the doctrine of resurrection" (p. 410). Elsewhere in the book, Reinhold's letters bear out this impression of sovereign distance from "so-called Christian beliefs" that have the standing of mere doctrines.

There was, as Fox has argued in his book and in subsequent shorter pieces, a double-mindedness in Reinhold Niebuhr the theologian-philosopher, which we earlier Niebuhr scholars were not addressing as boldly as we should have, and which it will be harder to avoid now that we have Ursula Niebuhr's book in hand.

PAUL MERKLEY  
Carleton University

ELIZABETH BRAND MONROE. *The Wheeling Bridge Case: Its Significance in American Law and Technology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 268. \$45.00.

"The release of creative energy" is an expression that describes one aspect of American institutional development in the nineteenth century. The phrase is rightly attributed to James Willard Hurst, whose *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (1956) heralded a new interest in the relativism of American legal philosophy, especially as related to the enablement of the proponents of an advancing material civilization to do what needed to be done, and what previously was widely thought—or, at least, ardently maintained—to be contrary to the principles on which the republic was founded and should continue to operate. Building on the interest generated by Hurst's work, scholars such as Stanley Kutler and Morton J. Horwitz have confirmed the essential facilitative character of American commercial law. Throughout the discussion (and the foregoing omits many others who treated the subject variously both before and after Hurst) the old tension between the interests of profit-seeking businessmen and what came to be called, lamely, the "general public," has waxed and waned as it no doubt will to the end of time.

One of the most fruitful topics for scholars of this general subject has been the maintenance of free and unfettered inland transportation, notably on and across America's rather poor river system, after the perfection of the river steamboat, which reached its

zenith roughly between 1830 and 1870. Elizabeth Brand Monroe has written an exhaustive study of the case of the suspension bridge that the citizens of Wheeling (now West Virginia) struggled to throw across the Ohio River below Pittsburgh. They entertained high hopes that in the still early struggle by western outposts to grow into major emporia of the east-west trade, such a bridge would put Wheeling out in front of Pittsburgh. By the mid-1840s, when the bridge project was undertaken, it was not so much the shallowness of the river north from Wheeling to its origin at the future steel center that made the bridge desirable, nor even the fact that the National Road stretched eastward from Wheeling to the canal at Cumberland, Maryland, and thence to the tidewater, but rather it was the expectation that the railroads from the seaboard, and especially the pioneer line, the Baltimore & Ohio, would clinch the east-west trade for Wheeling. The westward progress of the B.&O. was glacial at best, but that it would arrive within the next decade few doubted.

Opposition from the steamboat lobbyists, who fancied their interests to lie in the unfettered (and unchallenged) use of the river on to Pittsburgh, was the chief human obstacle in the way of the new bridge. Meanwhile, however, Pittsburgh's hope for an eastern connection—the Pennsylvania Mainline system of canals, inclined planes, and a few miles of railroad—was proving to be a dismal failure. The future, citizens of vision believed, belonged to the railroads, and that there would be many alternate routes on the east-west axis of trade could not be doubted in view of the many railroad projects springing up in the Midwest. The steamboat men never had a chance, in retrospect, and they may even have been more aware of this than the builders of the bridge, judging by their arrogant, negative, and even childish efforts to discredit the bridge. In this sense, their opposition was not much different from that which faced the Rock Island Railroad on the Mississippi ten years later, except that that controversy became more famous because it brought forth violence, when the poor old *Effie Afton* was sacrificed to knock down one of the bridge piers, and because Abraham Lincoln won the case for the railroad and, presumably, the cause of no-nonsense facilitative federalism.

Monroe's text is short, and her endnotes are almost as long. Her research is exhaustive, and her care in touching on each boulder or snag that men threw in the way of this project, from state courts to (eventually) the U.S. Supreme Court, will weary all but the most dedicated reader. Eventually it seemed to me that the constant renewal of litigation on the same old theme was much like a phonograph needle stuck in its groove and waiting for someone to nudge it onward. Finally, in 1853, the B.&O. made it to Wheeling (which would not long remain even a major station on the mainline), by which time the right of parties to bridge a river at any point requiring it, so long as they did not truly block navigation, had been enunciated.

It was the resort to an intelligent pragmatism, which said, in effect, that the steamboat men's gambit of lengthening their smokestacks and refusing to lower them on hinges when necessary, could not stand, that provided the nudge. Clearly, another barrier to American economic growth had been crossed. Monroe ends with a summary of the many problems that the rapid multiplication of bridges would bring forth, and she makes it abundantly clear that the problems were considered regulatable, ultimately at the federal level.

This book is an important contribution to a subject that practitioners of American economic and business history will have to master, while other historians continue to disregard such specialized and demanding topics at their peril.

ALBRO MARTIN  
EMERITUS  
Bradley University

MORTON J. HORWITZ. *The Transformation of American Law, 1870–1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 361. \$30.00.

Morton J. Horwitz has produced a brilliant sequel to his *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (1977). Yet although enlightening, thought-provoking, and sometimes downright exciting, this book is also flawed.

Unlike its predecessor, this study is not a history of changes in substantive law during the period discussed. Readers seeking that should consult Kermit Hall's *The Magic Mirror: Law in American History* (1989). Although Horwitz's title intimates broader coverage, the volume is actually a study of the metamorphosis of American legal thought. As he explains, "This book traces the struggle between late-nineteenth-century legal orthodoxy, often called 'Classical Legal Thought,' and 'Progressive Legal Thought'" (p. 3). It is really about the transformation of American jurisprudence rather than the transformation of American law. Horwitz discusses developments in torts, contracts, taxation, business regulation, and constitutional law only to illustrate his conviction that there has always been a close connection "between political and theoretical discourse" and "between social struggle and jurisprudential controversy" (p. 6).

He depicts a victorious assault by those whom he characterizes as Progressive legal thinkers on the notions that law is a science separate from politics and that legal reasoning can be sharply distinguished from moral and political reasoning. According to Horwitz, the culmination of this Progressive challenge to orthodox thought was the Legal Realism of the 1920s and 1930s. He devotes seven of his nine chapters to "a detailed story of the battle of Progressive and Realist thinkers against the orthodoxy of the old order" (p. 6). The eighth chapter connects Real-

ism to the emergence of administrative law during the New Deal and the ninth assesses its fate in the years after World War II.

Because this is a book about the transformation of legal thought, Horwitz bases it mainly on the published writings of legal commentators. He makes some use, often quite effectively, of judicial opinions, but hardly any at all of statutes. His primary research consists of two manuscript collections from the Harvard Law School, and he did not discover the existence of some of this material (letters written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., to Lady Clare Castleton) until his text was completed. Rather than revising what he had already written about the evolution of Holmes's jurisprudence, Horwitz simply appended to the end of his discussion of that subject a note discussing the extent to which this correspondence might require revision of his analysis. He fashioned the chapter on Holmes, and indeed his entire text, mainly from contemporary articles and books.

Although most of these articles and books were written by judges and legal commentators, Horwitz also draws extensively on scholarly literature in other fields. He does a brilliant job of relating the evolution of jurisprudence to developments in American intellectual history as a whole. That is only one of this book's many strengths. Horwitz does a superb job of explaining Realism, making clear that it had far more in common with Sociological Jurisprudence and was far more concerned with values than other scholars, too focused on Karl Llewellyn, have led us to believe. His chapter depicting how Holmes became the first legal thinker to renounce "the belief in a conception of legal thought independent of politics and separate from social reality" (p. 142) is even better. Horwitz provides penetrating insights into changes in the way property was conceptualized and the relationship between the rise of the corporation and the emergence of anti-individualistic objective theories in a variety of areas of the law. He even manages to say new and enlightening things about the tort theories of Judge Benjamin Cardozo and the Supreme Court's endlessly discussed decision in *Lochner v. New York* (1905).

Yet for all its brilliance this is a flawed book. It is less a monograph than a collection of essays. The chapters are not well integrated with one another, and some of them (most notably the last one) are themselves really just collections of astute but discrete essays pasted together under a common title. Despite the attention Horwitz devotes to the destruction of an artificial dichotomy between law and politics, he fails to specify what he means by "politics" and "political." Both words have multiple definitions, which differ significantly from one another, and while what he intends them to denote may be obvious to others in the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement (of which Horwitz is one of the founders), to outsiders their meaning is less clear. Finally, it is not readily apparent

why this book purports to end in 1960. The type of sources Horwitz uses certainly did not require him to stop there, and in fact his penultimate chapter has a good deal to say about things that occurred well after 1960. His own explanation, which is that ending then was "essential if history is not to become simply an extension of current controversies about law" (p. 269), rests on assumptions concerning the possibility of truly objective scholarship that seem inconsistent with both the tenets of CLS and what he has demonstrated in this book. Despite its structural deficiencies and occasional exasperating lapses into inadequate explanation, this is one of the most penetrating and significant works on American legal history published since the appearance of its predecessor in 1977.

MICHAEL R. BELKNAP  
California Western School of Law

ELEANORE BUSHNELL. *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. x, 380. \$39.95.

Eleanore Bushnell's survey of the fourteen federal impeachment trials is a feisty, readable, thoughtful, and just now highly relevant essay. She has read all the legislative records and appropriate secondary works, although not the manuscripts of the chief actors. The latter failing is not so grievous given her purpose: to make sense of the impeachment precedent rather than tell any one of the impeachment stories in depth. Thus, what she has to say about each case introduces little new material and conforms to what is generally known, but the major cases are so well chronicled already that even had she dug deeply into the manuscript sources I doubt she would have found much more than we presently know.

Within the scope of her own design, she has done well. She takes sides, occasionally condemning the respondent for bad conduct or chastising counsel for weak arguments and implausible constructions of evidence. Her opinions are always sensible if not conclusive. Overall, she finds impeachment and trial a useful guardian of republican government and reminds us that the primary purpose of the process is not to police separation of powers but to remove miscreants and malfeasants.

Bushnell, a political scientist, wisely notes that democratic political institutions, particularly elected legislatures, cannot escape their own partisanship, and she traces the party divisions on every major impeachment vote in Congress. In this often heated atmosphere of political competition, impeachment and trial were nevertheless governed by rules that protected the rights of the accused. Trial was never a criminal court proceeding, but Congress deliberately extended many of the guarantees of criminal process to the accused. Bushnell also reminds us that impeachment trials may precede conviction of crime in a regular court of law or follow such convictions, but



demonstrable or suspected criminal activity is not required for impeachment or removal. Trial may take place before the entire Senate or be conducted initially by a special committee that gathers evidence, examines witnesses with the aid of counsel, and reports to the whole body.

This last step, based on Senate Rule 11, which was introduced in 1936 but first used in the trial of federal judge Harry Clairborne in 1986 and three years later was employed in the trials of judges Alcee Hastings and Walter L. Nixon, is the subject of much recent controversy. Judges Nixon and Hastings challenged the investigatory Senate committee in lawsuits. Such claims of unconstitutional conduct by the Senate were dismissed by the U.S. Court of Claims in 1986 and again in 1991 by courts in the federal district, and in 1993 by the United States Supreme Court.

Bushnell's book will tutor all of us in the historical precedents of impeachment trials. In particular, Bushnell demonstrates that the Senate has taken seriously its constitutional charge to be the "sole" trier of impeachment. Its housekeeping rules are its own, and it has set aside much time and shown much care in previous trials. Many of these took weeks to resolve, however, and, during the height of the Great Depression, Senators protested against the time consumed by trials; hence Rule 11. Bushnell's book thus fulfills the first principle of research in policy studies: to improve the mechanisms of governance by fully understanding them.

PETER CHARLES HOFFER  
*University of Georgia*

MERRILL L. BARTLETT. *Lejeune: A Marine's Life, 1867–1942*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 214. \$24.95.

Those spectacular Marine amphibious landings on Tarawa, Iwo Jima, and Saipan would not have surprised John Archer Lejeune, had he lived to hear of them. Merrill L. Bartlett shows us that this thirteenth commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps labored throughout the 1920s to transform "a rather quaint light-infantry constabulary into a modern amphibious force" (p. 192).

By the time he took the Marine helm in the waning days of Woodrow Wilson's administration, this "leatherneck" general from Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana, had seen it all: military cadet at Louisiana State University (1881–84), a cadet at the U.S. Naval Academy (1884–88), and shipboard and Marine barracks duties as the world scene shifted dramatically in the generation after his commissioning. Propelled by service-wide admiration of his star performance at the new Army War College (1909–10), Lejeune rose to brigadier general on the eve of America's entry into World War I. While an observer with the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), he caught the attention of General John J. Pershing, head of the AEF.

Given command of the army's Second Division in late July 1918, Lejeune rose to major general while guiding this unit through the Saint-Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne campaigns closing the "war to end all wars."

In remaking the corps to his image, Lejeune had various obstacles to overcome, not the least of them public indifference. Then there were the corps' "traditionalists," devoted to their vision of the corps as guardian of a developing far-flung "neocolonial" American empire. Against dominant elements in the corps who had graduated from Annapolis stood leathernecks from other walks of life. Militantly championing the traditionalists while condemning the Naval Academy clique was Lejeune's longtime friend, the mercurial if inscrutable Major General Smedley D. Butler, who makes frequent appearances in the moving narrative Bartlett provides.

This biography, which necessarily achieves perspectives Lejeune could not in his autobiographical *Reminiscences of a Marine* (1930), here and there needlessly irritates the careful reader. Besides a few typographical errors, there are such startling editorial gaffes as "Ebin" Swift, Eli "Helmlick," and Governor Harry F. "Bird." Occasionally the reader is introduced to a character whose full name and identification are lurking in later pages. Delightful photographs abound, seventeen in all, but not one of Ellie Harrison Murdaugh, whom Lejeune married in 1895. Considering that Lejeune was a scion of Cajun and Huguenot forebears, readers may wonder how the immediate family bridged that gap. Only when they reach page 50 will the mystery fade, with a revelation that the Protestant Episcopal church was that "bridge."

Notes placed at the end of each chapter are convenient, and the bibliographical essay will delight those concerned with the documentary "infrastructure." The index, however, lacks much of the breadth and depth that would justify its inclusion in this splendid contribution on our military roots.

LESLIE ANDERS  
*Central Missouri State University*

TOWNSEND HOOPES and DOUGLAS BRINKLEY. *Driven Patriot: The Life and Times of James Forrestal*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1992. Pp. xvi, 587. \$30.00.

James V. Forrestal served as under secretary of the navy from 1940 to 1944, secretary of the navy from 1944 to 1947, and as the first secretary of defense from 1947 to 1949. He was a major wartime administrator in the Franklin Roosevelt government and prominent figure in the Harry S. Truman administration. A study of Forrestal can help illuminate how the United States mobilized to fight World War II and became engaged after the war in a confrontation with the Soviet Union. Despite Forrestal's importance, however, there has not been a fresh look since Arnold A. Rogow published his thinly documented



psychobiography in 1963. Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley hope to fill this gap with an ambitious new Forrestal biography.

Hoopes and Brinkley have mined every available archival source and conducted nearly eighty interviews with those who had first-hand contact with or knowledge of Forrestal and his family in an attempt to reveal the character and contribution of what the authors see as the most elusive public figure in American history. He was "a man everybody and nobody knew" (p. 472). The depth of research and extensive interviewing, however, actually deepen the mystery surrounding the secretive and elusive Forrestal. Forrestal's papers and diaries offer intriguing fragments of his public life but provide an incomplete glimpse into his public and private conduct. Other sources are no more satisfying in closing the gaps. The authors have found no conclusive evidence to explain precisely what role Forrestal played in the formulation of a postwar containment policy, covert intelligence operations, economic policy to rebuild shattered European economies, or the control of atomic weapons. Meanwhile, the extensive interviews contain mostly breathless rumors about Forrestal's personal relations and his tumultuous and tortured marriage.

Hoopes and Brinkley are forced to conceptualize their work much as Rogow did thirty years ago around Forrestal's intense personality, driven patriotism, ambition, and obsessive search for postwar national security, all of which seem to lead inexorably to Forrestal's suicide in 1949. Occasionally Hoopes and Brinkley employ the same type of psychohistory used by Rogow to explain Forrestal's conduct as "impelled by some penchant for dark tragedy in his Irish soul" (p. 426). At the same time, the authors conceptualize the origins of the Cold War much as it unfolds in Forrestal's own papers and diaries, as a heroic effort to contain "insidious" Marxist ideology, communist adventurism, and Soviet expansionism (p. 260). Forrestal's views also seem to influence the authors' treatment of those who stood in the way of Forrestal's development of a national security program. Thus, Hoopes and Brinkley portray Truman as myopic, shallow, and simplistic in his understanding of military and diplomatic issues and Stuart Symington and others as small-minded White House loyalists.

The most serious flaw in the authors' conceptualization lies in their treatment of Forrestal's search for a formula to reshape government institutions and organizations to fight the war and to meet postwar international obligations. Hoopes and Brinkley suggest that Forrestal borrowed ideas from a variety of sources that included Wilsonian internationalism, postwar realist thought, and a British cabinet government model. They do not consider the possible influence of an American brand of corporatism that a generation of organizational historians, including Ellis Hawley, Robert D. Cuff, Joan Hoff, and Jordan

Schwarz have described. Corporatism did influence the political-economic world of Forrestal on Wall Street and public-private organization building during the war and postwar period. It may be that the corporatist construct and organizational synthesis will not help us better understand Forrestal, but the authors do not adequately consider the results of extensive research on American corporatists Bernard Baruch, W. Averell Harriman, Ferdinand Eberstadt, Herbert Hoover, and Dwight Eisenhower and their influence on Forrestal's thinking about the reshaping of political-economic and military-diplomatic organizations. It was no coincidence that the intimate group of pallbearers at Forrestal's funeral included Baruch, Hoover, Eisenhower, and Eberstadt.

Despite the conceptual flaws, Hoopes and Brinkley have assembled an impressive amount of information. This is the most thorough work so far on Forrestal and it replaces Rogow's book as the standard Forrestal biography. It does not, however, offer a fresh look or new insight into World War II mobilization or the early Cold War era.

JEFFERY M. DORWART  
Rutgers University,  
Camden

DAVID MCCULLOUGH. *Truman*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1992. Pp. 1117. \$30.00.

David McCullough's book is the first full-scale biography of Harry S. Truman, and it quickly made the best-seller lists. Why not? McCullough is a noted writer and public television personality. His publisher made no mistake in releasing his book with great fanfare, correctly predicting that there would be a large readership and laudatory journalistic reviews for a highly readable biography of an almost legendary American president. In considering this volume, however, the academic reviewer is tempted to paraphrase the old saying about the girl with the curl in the middle of her forehead: When the book is good, it is very, very good, but when it is bad, it is disappointing.

McCullough's work begins with Truman's antecedents and moves straightforwardly through the years to his death. In the course of this, McCullough paints his subject's character by piling up fact after fact to delineate him as a man who was seldom as ordinary as he seemed. Truman thus emerges as a never-say-die optimist who, despite his frequent grouching, recognized the harsh realities of life and surmounted or at least survived them with dogged determination and even courage. McCullough's Truman is the epitome of diligence and reliability, of vitality and earthiness, of practical intelligence and strength of character. In short, Truman is seen in these pages as a patriot, a man of the people, and even a hero.

McCullough sets his story well in exploring Tru-

man's background in Missouri. Here we see his family's closeness, Truman's middle-class rearing, the local, religious, and cultural influences on him, and his family's fluctuating fortunes, which derailed many of his early hopes for the future. Then comes Truman's emergence from World War I military service as a man of parts, tried and true, and his entry into politics in 1922 as a protégé of Jackson County's Pendergast machine. Running through all this are discussions of his prejudices and foibles, his failed entrepreneurial ventures, and his long courtship of Bess Wallace. From here on McCullough's story is even more familiar to the general reader. Thus, we see Truman's successes and frustrations as a county administrator, his path to election to the U.S. Senate in 1934, his career and eventual prominence in the Senate, his nomination and election as vice president in 1944, and his succession to the presidency in April 1945. Also familiar and highly detailed are McCullough's accounts of Truman as president. These include Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan, his recognition of Israel, his upset victory in the 1948 presidential election, the Korean War, and his jousts with such luminaries as Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Senator Joseph McCarthy. Finally, McCullough swings to less familiar ground with substantial coverage of Truman's post-presidential years.

There are no major surprises in this story for the historian. The book is, however, generally fascinating reading, for McCullough has a sure eye for interesting tales and dramatic quotations. One important problem is that this biography is traditional and thus fails to supply a full enough understanding of Truman. Granted, McCullough captures much of his subject's personality, but he does it as a storyteller, not as an analyst. McCullough also gives the strong impression that he became captivated by the stories he gathered from dozens of people who knew and admired Truman. Therefore, this biography smacks of being an ode to Truman. The facts are in the book for the author to have been more searching in explaining Truman, for example, in siphoning off his mother's estate, his often harsh partisanship, his vaunted decisiveness, and his streaks of vulgarity. McCullough, however, generally either explains such things charitably or leaves it to the reader to analyze them.

A bigger problem is that McCullough carries his penchant for the dramatic too far. Usually if something cannot be molded into an engaging story, he slights it. McCullough consequently neglects agriculture; for example, he neither mentions Charles Brannan, Truman's secretary of agriculture, nor interviewed him. The Hoover Commission is ignored; and although McCullough credits Truman with the "restoration of Herbert Hoover to public service and public esteem" (p. 990), he gives no details. Among those things mentioned only in passing are the Council of Economic Advisers, which McCullough incor-

rectly calls the President's Economic Council; Yugoslavia and its leader, Josip Broz Tito, which were vital players in the Cold War; and federal budget matters, despite Truman's abiding concern with them. Add to this that one does not get a satisfactory idea of what Truman's Fair Deal was about and how and why Congress scuttled most of it. McCullough writes that Truman "ranked NATO . . . as one of the proudest achievements of his presidency" (p. 735), but we are told little of why or of his role regarding NATO. The reader also learns little about the results of the Marshall Plan, Truman's civil rights initiatives, and the Point Four Program. McCullough is more concerned with telling the reader about Truman's associates and even about ceremonies than he is in discussing important but less dramatic things concerning Truman, about how things came about instead of what their consequences were. (This may explain the author's reluctance to use statistics.) One would think that in almost a thousand pages of text, McCullough could have found the space adequately to treat such important affairs in Truman's life instead of rattling on about, say, Harry Vaughan's peccadilloes and Margaret Truman's singing career.

This biography was ten years in preparation. It is fair to say that McCullough consulted broadly for his data, and it shows in the immense amount of information contained in this tome. Biography as a scholarly art, though, has passed beyond intense focus on one's subject framed by interesting tales and quotations. The master biographer must also come to grips with all pertinent material, even if it is deemed dull, in order to inform one's readers of the range of history that was affected by one's human subject. Harry Truman deserves such treatment, and so do the readers of any biography of him.

DONALD R. MCCOY  
University of Kansas

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS. *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 301. \$24.95.

From an ample collection of published essays John Lewis Gaddis has selected eleven that examine the status of the Cold War over time. The first three contain a critical overview of the Cold War itself, suggesting that it was never quite what U.S. officials claimed it to be. His introductory essay focuses on three historic characteristics of American foreign relations that often proved to be troublesome: ambivalence toward the use of force, difficulty in defining interests, and the universalization of dangers. Concentrating on the third of these tendencies, he asserts that American officials after mid-century sustained the notion of a communist monolith without good evidence and against the convictions of most Soviet specialists. Despite doubts even within government,

they fought a global Cold War under the supposition that the West faced a Kremlin-based monolith determined to dominate the world. Yet containment, Gaddis stresses in his second essay, was always aimed at coexistence with the Soviet Union. Attitudes differed from administration to administration, but even George Kennan and Paul Nitze, the author observes, differed less on objectives than on the means required for successful coexistence. The many Cold War crises from Korea to Cuba and Vietnam never resulted in direct Soviet-American confrontation because both antagonists recognized their limited interests and displayed an underlying determination to avoid unnecessary disaster. In his third essay Gaddis poses the question of morality in the country's anti-communist crusade at the cost of multiple crises and a massive nuclear arms race. He is especially critical of Washington's effort to sell the necessity of a war in Vietnam. "That this campaign worked at all," he writes, "testifies to what government can accomplish when it takes advantage of public credulity to stretch the truth" (p. 56).

In a well-researched essay Gaddis finds John Foster Dulles more moderate and realistic than his public utterances suggested. He demonstrates that Dulles by 1955 harbored genuine doubts regarding the feasibility of massive retaliation, reminding President Dwight Eisenhower repeatedly that any resort to nuclear weapons would alienate the country's allies and create unconscionable destruction. The author continues his appreciation of Dulles by revealing that the secretary's judgment of international communism was more complex than his public descriptions. This is not strange: the concept of a monolithic enemy had few if any precedents in history. Dulles's objective in publicly stressing Chinese subservience to the Kremlin, Gaddis, like others, explains, was designed to drive China toward reliance on the Soviet Union. This would prove to be disappointing and prompt China in time to leave the Soviet bloc. Nothing in that approach denied the existence of the monolith; Dulles acknowledged that close Sino-Soviet ties might continue for decades. Until the end of the decade Dulles and his State Department colleagues attacked the notion that recognition of the Communist government of China would weaken that regime's ties with Moscow. That supposition lay at the core of the alleged monolithic communism that the author repeatedly deplores as ill-conceived and dangerous. Already the Sino-Soviet rift was breaking into the open, having developed over time from good historical and ideological causes quite divorced from Dulles's scarcely discernable anti-Chinese pressures.

Gaddis's final essays address themes related specifically to the decline of the Cold War. He accounts for the long peace by observing that the United States and the Soviet Union had become predictable to one another, that both recognized their common interests and understood what the other would tolerate. To explain his own failure to predict the end of the Cold

War with any precision, he includes, with commentary on his judgments, an article he published in *The Atlantic* in November 1987. He attributes failures at prediction to the tendency of analysts to expect the future to look like the past, to pay too little attention to internal conditions, to overlook the importance of personalities, and to realize that much is not predictable anyway. In an essay not previously published, Gaddis delineates three trends that brought a declining Cold War to an end, beginning with the shift from military to economic power as the central element in world leadership, diminishing the outreach of both the United States and the Soviet Union. President Ronald Reagan fought this trend with his largely inconsequential displays of force. Far more important in ending the Cold War was the collapse of the Soviet economy and, finally, the decline of brutality and Mikhail Gorbachev's unwillingness to employ naked power to maintain the old Soviet structure. He properly, and at length, credits President Reagan for his recognition of the need and the opportunity to negotiate with Gorbachev. In his final essay, which appeared initially in *Foreign Affairs*, Gaddis analyzes the post-Cold War forces for integration and fragmentation in world politics; he recommends the search for balance between them—not an easy course to follow. Made up of a set of essays written generally on specific themes, this volume is occasionally repetitious. Still it comprises a superb vehicle for contemplating the issues and factors that sustained the Cold War and those that ultimately brought it to an end.

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER  
*University of Virginia*

WILSON D. MISCAMBLE. *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947–1950*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 419. \$35.00.

This is the fourth major study of George F. Kennan to be published in the last five years, and one might well ask what it could possibly add to our knowledge of this extraordinary individual. The answer is quite a bit. Recent biographies by David A. Mayers, Anders Stephanson, and Walter L. Hixson focused on Kennan's ideas throughout his long career. So did numerous earlier analyses, most notably those by John L. Gaddis and Barton Gellman. Wilson C. Miscamble's focus is both different and more limited: Kennan's successes and failures from 1947 to 1950 in obtaining approval for his specific proposals as official policy and in implementing them. He is thus concerned with Kennan as policy maker rather than theorist, and with bureaucratic rather than intellectual history during a brief but critical time period.

Miscamble concludes that Kennan was highly effective as a policy maker. For all its importance, his "containment" article of 1947 did not provide a policy

blueprint that was merely implemented in the ensuing years. Rather, U.S. Cold War policies gradually evolved as a composite of specific, piecemeal responses to individual issues and crises that gave "form and meaning" (p. 347) to the doctrine enunciated in 1947. As head of the Policy Planning Staff, Kennan proved to be adept not only in formulating but also in winning official approval for and implementing many of those responses, most notably the Marshall Plan, specific aid to Italy and Greece, and policies regarding Japan and China. He also played a crucial role in launching the National Security Council and in initiating key intelligence, propaganda, and covert operations. Yet the record was not one of unblemished successes. Covert operations in Albania failed miserably and set dangerous precedents. His proposals for German unification and neutralization as well as Anglo-American-Canadian collaboration, and his opposition to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the hydrogen bomb, did not win the approval of colleagues or superiors. Nevertheless, Kennan's record of successes is remarkable, and it clearly reveals his ability to operate successfully within the State Department and national security bureaucracies.

Such conclusions highlight numerous ironies in Kennan's career. He was indeed the "father" of containment, but more in the realm of winning approval for specific policies than in providing a theoretical blueprint. Although his focus was Europe, some of his greatest successes came in the Far East. And although his reputation today rests largely on the thoughtfulness of his general ideas, his importance for U.S. policies from 1947 to 1950 lay in his specific proposals and bureaucratic abilities. Furthermore, although he clearly preferred to be the maker rather than the scholarly critic of foreign policy that he became after 1950, his personality and inability to accept policies with which he disagreed made his career as a policy maker a brief one.

That brevity makes his achievements all the more remarkable, and Miscamble has done an excellent job of highlighting and analyzing them in this well-researched work. The thirty-four-page bibliography includes more than eighty manuscript collections as well as archival material, oral histories, personal correspondence and interviews, published documents and memoirs, and numerous secondary works. Throughout the topically organized volume he makes excellent use of this material, and in a highly readable and incisive manner Miscamble analyzes Kennan's role in specific policies. The only major weakness, stemming perhaps from the volume's origins as a dissertation, consists of his numerous references to contemporary events and interpretations. These will unfortunately appear dated within a few years. The analysis, however, will not. Miscamble's study is an important and highly recommended addition to our knowledge of the making of U.S. Cold War policies.

MARK A. STOLER  
University of Vermont

DOUGLAS GOMERY. *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States*. Foreword by DAVID BORDWELL. (Wisconsin Studies in Film.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992. Pp. xxii, 381. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.95.

With this book Douglas Gomery has made another important contribution to the study of American film and media culture. Turning from the consideration of the economic and institutional context of studio production that he explored in *The Hollywood Studio System* (1986), Gomery traces the neglected history of film exhibition from the earliest peep shows and traveling exhibitors to the age of cable, home video, and pay-per-view.

This subject matter charts new territory. As David Bordwell points out in an introduction that lucidly puts into perspective thirty years of film study, the role of the exhibition side of the industry has been overlooked in favor of the films themselves and their producers. By employing a socioeconomic approach to the history of exhibition practices, Gomery not only illuminates a previously neglected area but also contributes to the integration of traditional aesthetic and humanistic studies with the current "revisionist" movement toward empirical historical methods. Furthermore, given the current emphasis in cultural studies on audience and reception, Gomery's work provides an important missing piece of the puzzle.

Gomery begins in 1894, demonstrating that decisions about the appropriate and necessary conditions of viewing (and selling) early motion pictures affected the development of film form as much as did the changing conditions of production. Moving on to the expansion of the 1910s and 1920s (and relating the rise of theater chains and movie palaces to the growth of mass marketing in general), Gomery provides case studies of theatrical exhibition in such places as New Orleans, Milwaukee, New York City, and Augusta, Kansas. Vertical integration created the major studios, with assistance from such seemingly ancillary factors as stage shows, popcorn, and air conditioning. Postwar social changes led to the rise of drive-ins and the suburban multiplex; divestiture created new chains. Gomery argues convincingly that theatrical exhibition plays an increasingly important role in the movie business of the 1990s, contrary to previous predictions.

Gomery's chapters on specialized exhibition—newsreel, ethnic, and "art" cinemas, and especially the history of segregated exhibition—are particularly interesting and needed. An analysis of the introduction of sound, color, and wide-screen technologies leads into the present era of movies on television, cable, pay-per-view, and home video. Throughout, Gomery's research is meticulous and thorough. Over thirty black-and-white photographs make history concrete.

Gomery's resolutely nonpolitical orientation helps him avoid theoretical pitfalls but does tiptoe around



certain facets of the exhibition business. The government's role in instigating theatrical divestiture in the 1950s is acknowledged, but the highly political machinations of the FCC, broadcast networks, and movie exhibitors in squashing early versions of subscription TV receive no mention, despite their far-reaching effects on conditions of reception. Oddly, although the epilogue predicts the rise of a "fourth network," the debut of the very real and present Fox network is omitted.

These are minor criticisms. This study stands alone in its focus on exhibition history and will no doubt serve as a reference landmark for years to come. Gomery points the way to many fruitful avenues of exploration for media historians.

MICHELE HILMES  
University of Wisconsin,  
Madison

LYNN SPIGEL. *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. x, 236. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$15.95.

Historians who study television face complex problems. Programming is pictorial and auditory, making traditional textual analysis seem anachronistic. Moreover, TV is so multidimensional that it is hard to know how to approach it. TV can be examined as technology, a piece of furniture, a characteristic setting within homes, a vehicle for promoting commodities, entertainment, and as big business. It is also an agency of socialization, influencing buying habits, social values, leisure time, and even the attention span of ordinary Americans.

Lynn Spigel's book is most useful at placing the television physically within homes between 1945 and 1955. The intrusion required a physical rearrangement of household furnishings, and thereby occasioned a concomitant realignment of domestic social priorities. Physical space shapes social space. Trying to hide the set, in one instance, while making it the center of attention in another, was more than an exercise in interior decoration; it was a design for family living. Spigel attempts to connect the installation of the set with developments ranging from picture windows to seating arrangements to patterns of housework to ranch-style architecture.

For hard data on the effects of television, however, one must look elsewhere. In that respect, the book is more effective as cultural criticism than cultural history. This may reflect the body of evidence on which the author relies: the treatment of television in popular women's periodicals. Unaddressed biases inhere in this data base. It would be difficult to tell from Spigel's analysis that both media are driven, above all, to promote goods. Furthermore, in examining magazine ads and articles to understand TV, the author employs a spatial medium to analyze a temporal

medium: one sells space as the other sells time. It is unsurprising that magazines were preoccupied with spatial dimensions of television.

The book's subtitle, "Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America," is ambitious. The discussion of family relationships does raise important points. Parents had to socialize children to the set while they themselves incorporated it. Programming tried "to colonize the housewife's workday" (p. 77). TV may have attenuated patriarchal authority by providing an alternative in TV itself. It altered decision making; now a new category of choices had to be made, from where to place the set to which shows to watch. Spigel cannot demonstrate, however, whether TV actually altered the structure of decision making, power relationships within the home, or "the family's sexual life" (p. 119).

The concept of "postwar," although invoked in the title and frequently thereafter, means little more than "the years 1945 to 1955" (which incidentally subsumes the Korean conflict). Spigel ultimately fails to make the idea of "postwar culture" operational, to tie phenomena like demobilization, peacetime conversion, repatriation, reintegration of families, or post-traumatic stress disorder to either the era or the medium. Spigel is far more effective when associating television with suburban aspects of life. Although this work is suggestive, we must await the definitive analysis of TV and its impact on ideals of family in postwar America.

VINCENT VINIKAS  
University of Arkansas,  
Little Rock

SIGMUND DIAMOND. *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 371. \$27.95.

In the spring of 1954 Sigmund Diamond was summoned before McGeorge Bundy, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. Diamond, with a newly minted Harvard Ph.D. in American history, held an administrative position at the university. Earlier that year, Bundy had offered him another administrative position, which included some teaching responsibilities. Now, Bundy informed Diamond, the offer was withdrawn. The only way Diamond could save his position at Harvard was by indicating his willingness, if called to do so, to testify before the appropriate "civic authority" (perhaps the FBI or the House Committee on Un-American Activities) about himself and others he had known during a former involvement with the Communist Party. Diamond answered that he "would speak about myself but not about others," which was not good enough for Harvard.

In the late 1970s Diamond filed the first of what turned out to be a great many Freedom of Informa-



tion Act (FOIA) requests with the FBI. The evidence he uncovered of the Bureau's active role in his own case at Harvard led him to undertake a broader investigation of the role of government intelligence agencies in the purging of ideologically suspect professors during the McCarthy era. Focusing on the university, particularly Harvard and Yale, Diamond concludes that the FBI was the master orchestrator of the elaborate repressive machinery of McCarthyism, on campus and off.

This book contains a good deal of new and valuable information about the ways in which the Bureau set out to punish dissent by destroying careers. But the FBI did not act alone. Diamond describes, with a moral indignation informed by his own experience, the self-interested collaboration of university administrators and the intelligence community: "The government . . . has been an invited guest in campuses and quadrangles, and there is precious little evidence that the universities objected to, or even thought much about, the price that was being exacted for the benefits they sought" (p. 275). By throwing some of their own to the FBI wolves, the universities purchased political respectability and continued access to the gravy train of government research grants.

Diamond's study will be valuable for those who have reason to be interested in a detailed description of how some American universities, prodded and abetted by various official as well as self-appointed guardians of national security, sought to clean house ideologically in the 1950s. I was fascinated to learn, for example, of the role of the late Prescott Bush (U.S. Senator, member of the Yale Corporation, and father to George Bush, and who was hailed in a presidential debate from 1992 as a champion of civil liberties) in seeking the dismissal of left-wing professors at Yale.

But this is not a book for the novice, who will likely be mystified by some of its more idiosyncratic twists and turns. (Those seeking an overview of this topic would do better to turn to Ellen Schrecker's *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* [1986].) The book is Ivy League-centered, and Diamond makes little effort to establish whether the pattern of FBI-university collaboration at Harvard and Yale was replicated in other less-prestigious universities and colleges. Diamond's thesis also tends to get lost amid the detailed rehearsal of correspondence between FBI headquarters in Washington and FBI field agents in Boston and New Haven. And he pursues characters he dislikes (including then-professor Henry Kissinger at Harvard, and then-undergraduate William F. Buckley at Yale) at greater lengths and with greater vehemence than their role at the time would seem to justify. That Diamond set off on this project with his own axe to grind does not in itself discredit his historical judgment. It does, however, seem to have played havoc with his editorial judgment.

MAURICE ISSERMAN  
Hamilton College

KIM MCQUAID. *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era*. New York: Basic Books. 1989. Pp. xi, 350. \$19.95.

Despite its subtitle, this is not a general history of the United States from 1968 to 1974. Instead Kim McQuaid has written extended essays on four separate topics: 1968, the Vietnam War, the New Left, and Watergate. Except in his section on Watergate, which comprises half of the book, McQuaid provides relatively few facts, as if assuming that the reader knows them already and is waiting for the author's opinion. Thus, figures are identified sketchily, if at all. Spiro Agnew, for example, is introduced with the words, "of Maryland." Saul Alinsky gets three words—"veteran Chicago activist." Bobby Baker is named as one of an otherwise anonymous group of "favored subordinates."

As with individuals, so with groups. The "foreign policy elite" is described as white, male, over forty, and shaped by World War II and the Cold War. As millions of men fell into this category readers may be forgiven for not knowing what in particular distinguished this elite. Nor will readers' comprehension be advanced by the following description of how "national security managers" avoided having their ideas challenged. "Eyes tended to glaze over when established arguments (and the careers built upon those same established arguments) were not decisively buttressed; outright challenges to 'insiders' liturgies were ignored" (p. 13). There is an endnote here which merely cites several books by I. F. Stone. We never learn, therefore, what these insider liturgies, or "rituals," as they are also called, consisted of. The decisive buttresses also are not identified.

Elsewhere breeziness runs riot. "Male collegians" and others, contemplating the Vietnam War, were solaced, we are told, by the good money earned by college graduates. "And, say, didn't that blonde at the next table have great breasts—and an ass that'd knock your eyes out?" (p. 14) Taken out of context this makes no sense, but, unfortunately, in context it does not either.

Throughout the book "all hell" breaks loose, "hard-ball" is played, an angry public is "pure dynamite," "fault lines" divide people and things, courts are "stonewalled," news is "electrifying," and so on and so on, no cliché or overused turn of speech escaping the author's pen.

If the reader can overcome his or her natural aversion to this kind of writing, and I, for one, could not, what remains are unexceptional judgments about people and events, presented in language that is often impenetrable, and with an absence of information that takes one's breath away. In his discussion of the New Left, as an instance, the author neglects to mention the Port Huron Statement, which is like describing the New Right without reference to Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*. One struggles

to imagine what gap in the literature this book is meant to fill.

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

RICHARD C. THORNTON. *The Carter Years: Toward a New Global Order*. (A Washington Institute Press Book.) New York: Paragon House. 1991. Pp. xvi, 569. \$26.95.

The second book in a planned trilogy on American foreign policy from the administration of Richard Nixon through that of Ronald Reagan, this study rests on a controversial underlying view of the direction of policy inherited from "the Nixon-Kissinger years." Richard C. Thornton carries over the dubious thesis, advanced in an earlier volume, of a fundamental U.S. policy shift from containment to pursuit of a "new global order" based on detente with the Soviet Union and collective security, a strategy he attributes to Henry Kissinger. This volume builds on that uncertain foundation the further thesis that the administration of Jimmy Carter, initially dedicated to carrying forward the Kissinger strategy, was almost immediately forced to reconsider that policy by a major Soviet weapons breakthrough in 1977 that threatened its foundation in parity, strategic arms limitation, and detente. Over the next three years, a battle was waged between those still pursuing the new world order approach (Cyrus Vance and, with hesitation, Carter) and those urging a return to containment and peace through strength (Zbigniew Brzezinski), resulting in vacillation and indecision, at least until Afghanistan. A second and interrelated thesis is that the Soviet leadership made a deliberate choice to pursue competition and confrontation, both in its military programs and Third World involvements, rather than detente. Although this is seen as a consistent and long-standing Soviet policy, a number of Soviet decisions during the Carter years are presented as again choice or revalidation of confrontation, culminating in the invasion of Afghanistan. That decision, Thornton concludes, "represented Moscow's repudiation of any cooperation with Washington in the adjustment of superpower positions and indicated the reassertion of a traditional foreign policy approach based upon raw power" and a zero-sum approach to relations (p. 195).

The author has researched thoroughly and assiduously, and the study is fully documented. It deserves attention. Yet I was unconvinced by the author's thesis and the selective evidence he marshals. First, while the Nixon-Kissinger policy was sometimes articulated in terms of world order, it was by no means an abandonment of containment; the United States, as well as the Soviet Union, "waged detente," mixing cooperation and competition, but never displacing

the latter. President Carter himself, and perhaps some members of his administration, may initially have been unduly optimistic about enlarging the area of cooperation, but they did not believe containment and deterrence could be abandoned, nor that Nixon, Ford, and Kissinger had already embarked on such a course.

Second, the key change that the author attributes to basic American assessment of the balance of power simply never occurred. According to the author, "within ten days of taking office, the administration received military intelligence that the Soviet Union would soon begin testing a greatly improved guidance system for its MIRVed ICBMs. This information threw all of the administration's plans out the window . . . thoroughly compromising long-term foreign policy planning . . . The Soviet breakthrough raised serious questions regarding continued American strategic preeminence, reopening the issue of ground strategy—the new order versus containment—and splitting the top Carter leadership" (p. xv). He attributes the subsequent policy conflicts between Brzezinski and Vance to divergent responses to this alleged Soviet "breakthrough" (p. xv), and also to the ill-fated American SALT proposal in March 1977 for deep reductions (p. 15). Yet I am sure neither Vance nor Brzezinski would agree with this assessment, and the SALT position was decided on other grounds (and rejected by the Soviets on other grounds, too). The author has seized on a relatively minor intelligence report and magnified it far beyond recognition.

Finally, similar imaginative but imaginary interpretations are given to a number of other historical events. To note but one prominent example, in the case of the self-generated pseudo-crisis in 1979 over discovery of a Soviet brigade in Cuba, a development that did indeed undercut U.S.-Soviet relations, the author asserts incorrectly that the brigade was introduced in late 1975, when "Moscow stealthily deployed what later would be described as a 'combat brigade' . . . over and above the several thousand Soviet personnel assigned to Cuba in an advisory status since 1962" as part of a "buildup of Cuba into an island fortress" (pp. 378, 379). In fact, as the U.S. government belatedly (but in 1979) established, the brigade had been there since 1962; there was no buildup of Soviet forces in Cuba at any time in the 1970s. Thus, when the Soviet Union declined to withdraw the brigade in response to an American demand they saw as overbearing, it was hardly Soviet rejection of cooperation in general, a flat stand that "there would be no 'restraint' of Soviet behavior, either strategic or geopolitical. And there would be no detente, either" (p. 406). In all, this is an industrious but misguided study.

RAYMOND L. GARTHOFF  
Brookings Institution

CHARLES R. GEISST. *Entrepôt Capitalism: Foreign Investment and the American Dream in the Twentieth Century*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1992. Pp. xxi, 154. \$39.95.

America has long attracted foreigners in pursuit of wealth, particularly, as Charles R. Geisst illustrates, through investments. Since World War I, foreigners chased the immigrant's "American Dream" of economic opportunities by buying up U.S. bonds and investing in the stock market and manufacturing. Such investment erected an American *entrepôt*, or intermediary financial market, in which nations raised money for their international ventures. Yet this activity caused a mounting public fear that the country was, and is, being bought out by foreigners. Geisst disparages such a notion, and statistics back him up, but his broader effort to connect investment to the quest for the American Dream is lost in the maze of financial intricacies discussed in this book.

Probing the complexities of world finance, the book debunks the myth that rapacious foreigners victimized America. An internationalist who sees U.S. strength in terms of its openness, Geisst shows that the nation actually encouraged and benefited from its *entrepôt* status. Because of its deregulated, accessible capital markets, America became a target for foreign investors, mostly Europeans and Canadians. Although a "eurobond" market competed with U.S. portfolios for investors, a weak dollar since the 1970s spurred foreigners to invest directly in manufacturing subsidiaries. As a result, complaints arose about threats to U.S. economic independence.

But America invited takeovers because of its intermittent high interest rates and easy investment terms. Xenophobes are mistaken; foreigners' U.S. assets grew by 1990 but were minor compared to total ownership in the country. Likewise, Japan-bashers are off the mark. Even though Japan's direct U.S. investments quadrupled in the 1980s, British, Dutch, and Canadian investors still dominated. In any case, crucial to American economic development, foreign investment brought jobs, lowered domestic interest rates, introduced new financial techniques, and provided consumers with cheap, high-quality products. Geisst effectively criticizes those who complain about "foreign influence on one hand and court it on the other" (p. 142).

Although Geisst convincingly proves the gains from America's *entrepôt* status, the book lacks methodological breadth. Readers interested in financial market evolution and operations will find rewards, but those searching for linkages of money to diplomacy, culture, and domestic politics will be disappointed. The relationship of foreign investment to America's power abroad and to globalization within the capitalist system are slighted. The meaning and relevance of the "American Dream" concept remains fuzzy, understood only as some amorphous lure for foreigners. Furthermore, Geisst does not substantiate the fears and misperceptions of xenophobes, who-

ever they may be. Nor does he explode the apparent racism that motivates Americans to castigate Japanese and Arab, but not northern European, investments. Little emerges regarding political debate in elections or in the media. Geisst consulted no archives, and his bibliography excludes most major historical works. In short, Geisst detaches the economics of his subject from society and politics, a serious shortcoming that surfaces because of the book's obvious brevity. As an informative analysis of the rise of foreign investment in the United States, however, the study contributes to an understanding of contemporary, and most likely future, American affairs.

THOMAS W. ZEILER  
University of Colorado,  
Boulder

#### CANADA

ROGER MAGNUSON. *Education in New France*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 223. \$34.95.

Roger Magnuson's study is less a work based on original documentation than an ingathering of much previously published material with an occasional use of primary sources. There are both strengths and weaknesses in such an approach.

France's North American colony owed its origins to a search for a quicker route to East Asia, which was a dismal failure; it then served for many years as no more than a trade colony. In 1615, and to a greater extent after 1625, with the arrival of the Jesuits, a mix of trade in furs and sustained but ineffective missionary endeavors characterize the colony's history. The Jesuits had a double mission: converting the "savages" to Christianity and incorporating the Amerindians into the society of New France. Magnuson ably describes the efforts of these clerics.

As the population of the colony increased, the needs of French inhabitants, men and women, were met with more or less success. Magnuson considers in turn the roles of the male and female religious orders, as well as members of the laity. The minimal amount of interest on the part of metropolitan officials as well as the limited financial means at the disposal of the educational institutions are aptly described in chapters Magnuson devotes to each topic.

That the colony, after 150 years, had a population of only about 60,000 plus the indigenous inhabitants limited the possibilities of educational development. Within their means—financial, demographic, and geographic—those involved in teaching in the colony provided a required, but often marginal, service. Although this study is useful, there are some gaps. The author spends many words identifying the teachers, but fewer to those taught in a nominative sense. To use his word, it behooves him, in the case of the Cugnet family, for example, to indicate if there were some inhabitants who furthered their education in France.

Magnuson's work is useful, but somewhat marred by needless repetition. As well, French words are not always properly accented. Magnuson has added to our knowledge, but much remains to be done.

CAMERON NISH  
Concordia University

PHYLLIS D. AIRHART. *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 8.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 218. \$34.95.

Since 1970, English-Canadian historians concerned with analyzing the relationship between Protestant religion and Canadian society have devoted increasing attention to the decades between 1880 and 1930. Two rival historiographic schools have hotly contested the question of how Victorian evangelicalism balanced its traditions of individualist piety with the insistent demands of social reform. Were the old ways eroded and rendered irrelevant by the vast social and intellectual transformation of the industrial age? Or did the Protestant churches successfully adjust and preserve their traditions and creatively shape the forces of cultural and political change? Despite its trim presentation, Phyllis D. Airhart's study contributes an impressive rethinking of the nature and role of Protestantism during these crucial decades.

The focus of this study is the "official mind" of Canadian Methodism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Airhart examines how, between 1900 and 1910, a nonrevivalist, "progressivist" piety emerged in a denomination hitherto characterized by an emphasis on revivals and the primacy of a definite individual conversion as the standard of religious life. This momentous change, Airhart explains, had less to do with the erosion of faith by evolutionary science, higher criticism of the Bible, and philosophical idealism than with stresses and strains within the evangelical consensus. Between 1880 and 1900, the Methodist understanding of conversion and Christian perfection was assailed by protofundamentalists and "holiness" advocates, while Methodist leaders grew dissatisfied with the application of revival techniques to urban centers. The crucial watershed occurred with the failure of the Twentieth Century Forward Movement between 1898 and 1902 to convert large numbers of new Methodist faithful.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Methodism was propelled on a new path through the efforts of leaders such as Samuel Dwight Chown, William B. Creighton, and Ernest Thomas. Appealing to the notion of experience articulated within the Methodist tradition, these men developed a "progressivist" piety based on the notion of conversion as sacrificial service, rather than simply salvation from sin. By emphasizing the different models of individ-

ual piety promoted by the old revivalism and the new progressivism, Airhart avoids the simple dichotomy of individual regeneration versus social redemption that has bedeviled much of the current historical debate. Indeed, as the author persuasively demonstrates, it was precisely because this new model of piety altered prescriptions for personal and public behavior and the ritual expressions of denominational life that "liberal" theology and a commitment to the social gospel were so easily accepted by church leaders and congregations. Although linked to the revivalist tradition, the progressive emphasis on service, Airhart concludes, "provided a new model for the religious life which would become just as characteristic of mainstream Protestantism as revivalistic piety had been of nineteenth-century evangelicalism" (p. 141).

This book reminds us that we must not rest content with the portrait of the early twentieth century as an era of religious decline. By exploring the delicate nuances of the language of progressivist piety, Airhart has convincingly shown that the period was more than a mere way station between religious orthodoxy and a culture of secularism.

MICHAEL GAUVREAU  
McMaster University

ROSEMARY R. GAGAN. *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 9.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 281. \$39.95.

In contrast to the American literature, Canadian women's historians have only recently begun to examine systematically the career opportunities provided to women by the nineteenth-century missionary movement. Lacking the Civil War as a mobilizing factor and able to form voluntary associations on a national scale only after Confederation in 1867, Protestant women in Canada were somewhat slower than their American sisters in entering the field. By the 1870s and 1880s, however, denominational women's organizations to promote missionary ventures and fund raising had become a prominent expression of evangelical zeal. Rosemary R. Gagan offers a careful and informed analysis of one such organization, the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Methodist church in Canada, which employed over 300 single women as its representatives between 1882 and 1925 in the home field and Japan, and after 1893 in Szechwan, West China.

Drawing primarily on documentation provided by the missionaries in the field and by the responses of the administrators of the WMS, Gagan is careful to point out that, regrettably, such an approach offers "in many ways . . . a one-sided account of the missionary experience" (p. x). Although limited in its per-



spective, the approach is multifaceted and balances an analysis of such factors as age, social background, education, previous work experience, and years of service with an informed reading of the women's own accounts in correspondence, magazine contributions, and autobiographies. The quantitative evidence (which surprisingly is nowhere laid out in detailed form) confirms many of the findings of similar studies by, for example, Jane Hunter, Patricia Hill, and Ruth Compton Brouwer: the majority of women who served in missions were middle class, of rural or small-town background, and distinguished in their educational accomplishments and ties to the parsonage. What is unique is the comparison Gagan offers between the women selected for overseas work and home missions; in education and in years of service those who were engaged in teaching in Japan and in medical work in China considerably surpassed the women sent to work with Canada's immigrants and aboriginal peoples. This same gap was mirrored by a growing reallocation of WMS funds from the Canadian front to the more dramatic and visibly rewarding work in the Orient.

While historians of religion will be intrigued by this two-tiered approach to evangelization, they will also appreciate Gagan's serious efforts to explore the role of religious faith in motivating women to volunteer for missions and in validating their work in the field. Within the context of women's history and changing gender roles, as well, this book makes an important contribution as it analyzes the lives of single middle-class women whose "characterizations of self were not 'maternal'" (p. 8), but "for whom a lifelong career had become an essential and rewarding alternative to marriage, home, and family" (p. 212).

In its approach to both religion and gender, however, this study remains within the framework of a history that assumes patriarchy and class to be the contexts within which nineteenth and twentieth-century women defined their experience. Thus, while it explores in detail the career opportunities offered by missionary work, it fails to tease from its sources a women's culture, the "female world of love and ritual," so evocatively reconstructed by scholars such as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg. Nor, despite its emphasis on Methodist spirituality, evangelism, and the Social Gospel, does it take its cue from "the new religious history" and draw on gender to reinterpret the conventional understanding of these categories. For scholars pursuing such lines of inquiry, and for anyone with an interest in women and in missions, this study will nevertheless provide much valuable information and analysis.

MARGUERITE VAN DIE  
Queen's University  
Kingston, Ontario

OREST T. MARTYNOWYCH. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: Canadian

Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. 1991. Pp. xxix, 562.

Orest T. Martynowych's book, prepared to commemorate the centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, is a scholarly and comprehensive account of the formative period of Ukrainian-Canadian history. Although literature on the Ukrainians in Canada is fairly broad, Martynowych's history is more analytical and all-inclusive than previous studies. His work explains rather than describes. It pays attention to urban immigrants and frontier laborers in mining, railway, and lumber camps as well as to the more numerous prairie homesteaders who have until now received most of the attention. He places the Ukrainian experience within the context of Canadian history.

The book is divided into five parts. The first surveys the European background that formed the outlook of the young immigrants who became leaders in Canada and describes how the early Ukrainian immigrants from eastern Galicia and northern Bukovina (then part of Austria-Hungary) adapted their old-world experiences and institutions to Canadian conditions of the time. Unlike the earlier Ukrainian immigration to the United States, which was concentrated in the populous industrial and mining towns of the northeast where its impact on American society was limited, the Ukrainian immigration to Canada was centered in the unpopulated western prairie lands of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, where their presence became a factor in Canada's national development. Between 1890 and 1914, Martynowych points out, with the help of cheap labor from Eastern Europe in railway, lumbering, and mining industries, the Canadian prairies were transformed from fur-trade outposts into major grain-producing regions. Many of the Ukrainians lived in isolated Ukrainian enclaves and marked prairie society with a cultural pluralism that distinguished it from other parts of Canada.

The second part details the difficult and harsh life of the early Ukrainian immigrants. In part 3, the most important section in my opinion, the emphasis is on the three-cornered struggle for immigrant support between the Anglo-Protestants and the French-Catholic efforts to "Canadianize" the "inferior" Slavs in their own image, and the efforts of the Ukrainian "intelligentsia" (young thinkers influenced by the radically secular ideas of the Ukrainian national movement) to transform the immigrant masses into a "new people" in the new world (p. 172). Although an overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada prior to World War I were Catholics of the Eastern rite (Byzantine), because of the virtual absence of Ukrainian Catholic priests before 1912, leadership in the early Ukrainian community passed to the anticlerical Ukrainian intelligentsia, which splintered into Protestants, nationalists, and socialists. Parts 4 and 5 deal with the intensified hostility toward



natives of Austria-Hungary during World War I and the worsening of the divisions among educated Ukrainian immigrants in Canada after the war.

Utilizing his master's thesis (completed in 1978) as a framework, Martynowych has produced an impressive study. It is not a work of filiopietism. The author's factual depiction of economic exploitation, abusive interpersonal relations, and the sense of hopelessness among the early settlers which characterize the second part of the book, however, left me somewhat depressed, as did the descriptions of factional conflicts in the Ukrainian community that color the last two parts of the work. Because of the detailed socioeconomic accounts of the harsh and difficult everyday lives of ordinary immigrants, the book will most likely have greater appeal to the specialist than to the general reader. The work is enhanced by an excellent bibliographical survey, extensive endnotes, maps, tables, and numerous illustrations. In all probability it will become the standard work on Ukrainian Canadians in the English language.

BOHDAN P. PROCKO  
EMERITUS  
Villanova University

MARELENE F. RAYNER-CANHAM and GEOFFREY W. RAYNER-CANHAM. *Harriet Brooks: Pioneer Nuclear Scientist*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 168. \$29.95.

Harriet Brooks (1876–1933) made modest contributions to physics in 1898–1906, starting as a graduate student at McGill University in the years when Ernest Rutherford was on its faculty and doing the pioneering work on radioactivity that later won him a Nobel Prize. After teaching for a year at the then-new Royal Victoria College in Montreal, Brooks continued her studies for a year at the Bryn Mawr Graduate School and another at J. J. Thomson's Cavendish Laboratory in England. She then taught for two years at Barnard College but resigned in 1906 after a broken engagement to a graduate student at Columbia. (A few months earlier a dean from Barnard College had told her that she must resign her faculty position if she married.) After a summer in the Adirondacks with the radicals Prestonia Martin and John Martin, she accompanied the Russian Maksim Gorky and his party to Europe, whereupon she spent a few months in Madame Curie's laboratory in the months just after Pierre Curie had died. Brooks thus managed to be in many of the important places in physics (and a few in politics) at the turn of the century. Yet most of this ended with her marriage in 1907 to Frank Pitcher, a Canadian engineer, which brought her back to Montreal to an affluent life devoted to childrearing and gardening, marred, however, by the deaths of two sons and the disappearance and possible suicide of a daughter in 1929. Brooks is therefore interesting for both what she did do and what more she might have

done, had she completed her degrees, kept on with her research, and not married, or had Barnard College had a different dean at the time. But even if Barnard had kept her on, her career would probably have followed that of the other overburdened women faculty at the pre–World War II women's colleges such as Margaret Maltby of Barnard, her department chair; Grace Langford, Maltby's successor; and fellow Canadian Rebecca Laird of Mount Holyoke. Thus, it is not clear that, despite her promising beginning, the loss to physics research or Canadian science was substantial. Many women scientists with promising beginnings led long careers of quiet usefulness in the backwaters of their field. Brooks might have made some significant impact, however, on her students, who in World War II and after would have had greater opportunities than she.

With the help of Brooks's family and archivists in four countries, Marelene F. Rayner-Canham and Geoffrey W. Rayner-Canham have tracked down enough material to piece together this short biography of Brooks, about whom little more than her married name was previously known. She has been ignored chiefly because the history of science, especially that of physics, still largely concentrates on the great men, particularly the Nobel laureates, and their work. (Even Curie, with two Nobel Prizes herself, often gets short shrift.) In these renderings, the co-workers, assistants, and students remain shadowy while the spotlight shines on the central figure and his theories or experiments. When these persons publish in their own name, as Brooks did in a few articles on radioactive decay emissions, "their" work and contributions get subsumed into "his." In addition, since most professional recognition is cumulative and comes late in scientific careers, those who die young or withdraw early tend to be overlooked by compilers of biographical dictionaries and thus to drop out of sight (a phenomenon affecting women scientists more often than men). In time, however, more biographies of the lesser figures, like Brooks, may help to recast the "internal" history of science into a broader social mode, more like that of labor history or the history of work, that would have more room for the diversity that we are learning was there well before the 1890s.

MARGARET W. ROSSITER  
Cornell University

#### LATIN AMERICA

ROBERT A. PACKENHAM. *The Dependency Movement: Scholarship and Politics in Development Studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 362. \$42.50.

Dependency theory, although now out of vogue, not only shook the foundations of Latin American social research but also found a major following among U.S. scholars. Dependency characterized capitalism as a center-periphery relationship between the indus-

trial West and the agricultural Third World; it offered a system-wide historical approach, rejecting dualism and modernization theory; it hypothesized unequal exchange and asymmetrical power relations between center and periphery; and it denied that full capitalist development was possible in Latin America.

Although acknowledging that dependency generated several tenable propositions, Robert A. Packenham argues that the "movement" (partly so termed because of its political agenda) had a net negative effect on research. He is principally concerned with "holistic" dependency, a form distinguished by the presumption that dependency, domination, underdevelopment, and exploitation hang together. This variety assumes that scholarship is part of a broader political struggle, writes Packenham, and tends to compare real capitalism with idealized socialism. Furthermore, it is "nonfalsificationist," in the epistemology of Karl Popper, who held that genuine scientific method must specify the hypothetical conditions and outcomes by which theories can be proven false. By assuming that its premises and basic propositions are true and ignoring or rejecting contrary evidence as irrelevant or specious, holistic dependency renders itself nonfalsifiable, says Packenham. Its defenders can further deflect unwelcome data by adjusting the propositions to save the general hypothesis; thus, if dependency in the latter 1960s predicted nondevelopment and yet Brazil grew rapidly between 1968 and 1973, emphasis could be shifted to deepening economic dependency, growing social inequities, and repression.

The leading exponents of holistic dependency for Packenham were Andre Gunder Frank and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Viewing Frank as discredited, Packenham attacks Cardoso in a close textual analysis of a few well-known works, especially *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1979). Whereas Cardoso has denied there is a "theory" of dependency, seeing it rather as a region of Marxism and a method for analyzing "concrete situations," Packenham shows the Brazilian sociologist did make broad generalizations. Furthermore, Cardoso's notion of "reciprocal determination" tends to rule out testable causal approaches based on temporal sequences, contrary to falsificationist standards.

Although *dependentistas* examine the failures of capitalism in the concrete, they do not apply their method to socialism, so Packenham does it for them, arguing in case studies of capitalist Brazil and socialist Cuba that the former was less dependent on its great power ally after the 1964 coup, and the latter more so after *fidelismo*. Packenham focuses on the period studied by Cardoso (including the "miracle" years) rather than the 1980s, and in so doing makes a plausible case that Brazilian dependency diminished. Packenham establishes Cuba's enormous dependency on the former Soviet Union, but does not mention a counter-example: Panama, which has undergone a military invasion and occupation.

Packenham devotes most of three chapters to dependency in the United States, charging it with politicizing research. He notes that Cardoso's U.S. admirers assume his endorsement for partial approaches that Cardoso explicitly, if not consistently, rejected (pp. 260–62). Packenham's indictment of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is sweeping, and some of it is justified. One might argue, however, that repeated U.S. military action in the Caribbean basin had more to do with the politicization of LASA than dependency, which was one of several competing analytical frameworks.

Packenham agrees with Cardoso that dependency is grounded in Marxism, but this is not true for all versions, notably those of Celso Furtado, Osvaldo Sunkel, and Raúl Prebisch in his last years. The genesis of dependency in the 1960s owed more to these and other Latin American structuralists (for example, theses on power asymmetries and unequal exchange) than it did to Marxism, despite Cardoso's subsequent claims to a Marxist descent.

Packenham devotes little attention to the economic propositions of dependency, ignoring such potentially fruitful approaches as Dieter Senghaas's "selective delinking." Despite such reservations, I believe this is an important book containing some disagreeable truths for most Latin Americanists.

JOSEPH L. LOVE  
University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign

RONALD BRUCE ST JOHN. *The Foreign Policy of Peru*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 1992. Pp. xiii, 269. \$40.00.

More diplomatic historians would dub this sort of book "useful." And so it is. For one thing, despite its nonhistorical title, this book truly is an in-depth historical survey of Peruvian diplomacy since independence in 1821. Ronald Bruce St John expends as much ink on early republican definitions of national policy as he does on the trendier international roles Peru embraced, for instance, under the Juan Velasco and Alan García regimes after 1968. Most of the book's judgments of external policies and events are judicious, clearly and intelligently presented, and informed by a wide sampling of literature on Peru, even by the latest in social and economic histories.

The question is, for whom is this book useful? It offers no new knowledge nor innovative perspectives, in what is basically a traditional—virtually encyclopedic—summary of familiar themes. Authorial claims aside, this is surely no "case study" in broad issues of "Third World" foreign policy, nor does it go far in assessing the methodological "overlap" between domestic and external sources of policy. Most of its descriptions of negotiations, policies, and conflicts are already available to (Spanish) readers even in such works as Jorge Basadre's general *Historia de la Repúb-*

*lica del Peru*, although not even Basadre insisted on recalling the full and precise date of every action in every Andean border dispute. For English speakers, the book mainly serves to bring to light the large number of U.S. dissertations on obscure aspects of Peruvian diplomacy. St John's analytic framework reduces, in the end, to a couple of sentences on the "wide variety" of factors influencing foreign affairs (so unlike its bogeyman, "dependency" theory) and to Peru's painful dilemmas between the demands of national sovereignty and international solidarity. We knew this already.

Such a tedious approach waters down what could have been an interesting saga in Latin American foreign policy. For a country of very limited means, influence, and internal cohesion, Peru has traditionally projected itself quite visibly on the world stage: from Ramón Castilla's continental solidarity movements of the 1860s to the "non-aligned" movements of the 1960s—even with the peculiar fact of having a graduate of Lima's prestigious diplomatic academy (Javier Pérez de Cúellar) crisscrossing the globe as United Nations Secretary General in the 1980s. For different and known reasons, only Argentina, Mexico, and Cuba have forged such a presence beyond the region. Could Peru's activist stance indeed have something to do with its truly passive place in the international economy and society of nations? Even St John's interminable border disputes verge on compelling questions: what might they reveal about post-colonial definitions of territorial states and bounded national cultures? And if much of the text focuses on troublesome borders, the publisher ought, at least, to have afforded an illuminating map or two.

PAUL GOOTENBERG  
State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

LESLIE BETHELL, editor. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Volume 8, *Latin America since 1930: Spanish South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 919. \$89.50.

The Great Depression of the 1930s ushers in the period covered by this volume, and the "lost decade" of the 1980s closes it, framing an era dominated by World War II, the Cold War, and the struggle between revolution, reform, and counter-revolution. It is an epoch of import substitution, industrialization, internal migration, and the contest between democracy and dictatorship, one in which the United States exercised a regional ascendancy challenged by Latin American nationalists.

These larger themes form a backdrop to the country histories that comprise this volume. At least one chapter is devoted to the contemporary history of each of the nine republics of Spanish South America, with Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Peru meriting two. The chapters share a common structure: they

begin with an overview of the period, devote most of their space to a chronological survey of the era, and end with a reflection on the problems present at the epoch's close. Several of the best chapters, such as Paul Drake's contribution on Chile between 1930 and 1958, begin with portraits of the changing societies they study. Some of the boldest, such as Julio Cotler's incisive chapter on Peru since 1960, end with trenchant analyses of the past's problematic legacies for the future. All are narrative political and economic country histories viewed from a national perspective. Together they constitute the most comprehensive and authoritative one-volume contemporary history of Spanish South America in print.

All the authors are recognized experts and most of them rank among the world's leading scholars on the countries about which they have written. Although some variation in quality and style is inevitable in an edited volume of this scope, what is striking is its generally high level of scholarship, analysis, and writing, a reflection both on its authors and its editors, Leslie Bethell and James Dunkerley.

Also striking is the number of non-historians asked to write these chapters on the recent past and the influence of the social sciences on their approaches and interpretations, with the impact of the literature on authoritarian regimes particularly strong. Yet even the chapters by economists and political scientists embrace the chronological narratives of history, while those written by historians also reflect the concepts and findings of social science. Political historian David Rock writes skillfully about the Argentine economy during the Depression and World War II, while economist Henry Finch provides a nuanced account of Uruguayan politics. Within the contemporary history of Spanish South America, the marriage of disciplines is both clear and fruitful.

The contributors to this volume have faced the difficult task of writing from scratch a history that has just been completed, often without the benefit of the historical monographs that contributors to earlier volumes could draw on. In general, they have acquitted themselves well, with the efforts of Paul Lewis and Enrique Ayala Mora to construct contemporary histories of Paraguay and Ecuador particularly laudable. Objectivity is difficult where past history is still present politics, but the authors have sought to rise above partisanship even when dealing with controversial issues, as in Alan Angell's excellent overview of Chile during the Eduardo Frei, Salvador Allende, and Augusto Pinochet years. The impact of current concerns is seen in the stress on the roots and legacies of military regimes, with the thoughtful chapter on Argentina since 1946 by Juan Carlos Torre and Liliana de Riz a good example.

In general, the interpretations offered follow current conventional wisdoms, but there are exceptions. Rock's rehabilitation of Gen. José Uriburu as a "Catholic scholastic" will raise some eyebrows, as may Laurence Whitehead's acquittal of Daniel Salamanca

of the charge of taking Bolivia into the Chaco War to distract attention from his domestic difficulties. Yet Whitehead's chapter is among the most analytic and eloquent in the book.

A volume such as this one is also an expression of the state of the field. From that perspective, the news is good for so recent a history and so uneven a historiography. This volume demonstrates that it is possible to write convincing contemporary histories of Spanish South America. At the same time, it underscores that even such defining events as Colombia's *La Violencia* remain largely unresearched, as Christopher Abel stresses in his balanced account.

In general, the contributors to this volume subscribe to the view that social forces, not just individuals, shape history. There is a tension between structure and human agency in many chapters, with authors embracing different mixes of historical explanation. But no chapter reduces the history it chronicles to economic dependency or class conflict and none focuses solely on the role of leaders.

Yet even in a volume of this scope, there are limitations. With rare exception, social, intellectual, and cultural history have been confined to the general essays of an earlier volume. Regional history is mostly given short shrift here, with Geoffrey Bertram's wide-ranging account of Peru between 1930 and 1960 a notable exception. Women and indigenous peoples are also largely absent from the pages of this volume, along with the social movements they formed, even in countries where they have played important political roles—as have Chile's women's movements or Ecuador's indigenous organizations. Judith Ewell does try to integrate women's history into her illuminating chapter on Venezuela, and the role of national political leaders such as Colombia's Maria Cristina Rojas or Argentina's Eva Perón are discussed, but these are exceptions that prove the rule. Labor fares better, although mainly as a national political actor. Peasants also get their share of attention, but primarily as agrarian reform beneficiaries or political clients. A further weakness is the lack of a summary chapter comparing the histories of the nine republics of Spanish America, one that would underscore both the commonalities and differences in their contemporary experience and bring this ambitious and useful volume to a fitting conclusion.

PETER WINN  
Tufts University

DONNA J. GUY. *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. (Engendering Latin America, number 1.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 260. \$35.00.

This book is a provocative and imaginative social and intellectual history of prostitution in Argentina from 1875, the year the world's oldest profession was legalized in that country, through decades of ambiv-

alent regulation, to the abolition of government-supervised bordellos in 1936. Donna J. Guy's well-organized study of a vast array of social, political, and cultural currents will be of interest to scholars of comparative women's studies and to historians who are engaged in the complicated task of integrating the study of gender relations into economic, political, and social history. Guy's central focus is on the ways in which ideas about the nature of women's character and views about the role of women in the home, the workplace, and the bordello shaped the debate about what stance the Argentine people should take with regard to the national and international commerce in women.

Prostitution was seen as inevitable and as a necessary evil by most Argentines, including influential members of the Catholic church hierarchy. For the defenders of regulated prostitution, the bawdy house separated the good women from the bad women and served to protect the virginity of young girls and the moral purity of married women from the innate promiscuity of men. They claimed that the bordellos provided the municipal governments with needed revenues and helped to preserve the family structure by providing men of all classes with the services they would seek whether prostitution was legal or not.

The debates about prostitution had little to do with the welfare of thousands of poor immigrant and native-born women who sold their bodies illegally on the streets or in the government-supervised brothels. The debate had much to do with exposing what Nicolas Shumway called the "ideologies of exclusion"—the sinister arguments the powerful ruling classes of Argentina have always used to justify the repression of groups who directly threaten or appear to threaten the social controls imposed on them (*The Invention of Argentina* [1991]). The nationalist xenophobia of the 1920s and 1930s was exacerbated by the government's open immigration policy that permitted more than five million people to emigrate from Europe to Argentina between 1859 and 1932.

Guy explores the class anxiety and misogynistic paranoia of priests, scientists, and physicians who displayed their deep-seated hatred and fear of prostitutes and all women who were either free and economically independent or had the potential to be so. She believes that hostility toward prostitutes was a metaphor for upper and middle-class fear of working-class immigrants who stood ready to challenge the economic and political hegemony of the ruling elites by promoting social revolution, women's civil and political rights, and other radical proposals.

The author's analysis of the debate about prostitution is fascinating. From the far left to the far right of the political spectrum everybody had something to say about topics such as the infamous white slave trade and Jews who were involved as traffickers and prostitutes, abolition versus regulation, and venereal disease and other health problems. These and many other issues are examined in the context of a national



debate about gender relations and the future course of the Argentine nation. Regardless of political or religious motivation, the arguments about prostitution came down to a typically contentious, Argentine debate about family values and national identity.

The Argentine people have a long history of resorting to authoritarian solutions to social and political problems. Governments have scapegoated their enemies, carefully building a litany of excuses to justify every form of repressive legislation. Prostitution was no different. After the government decided to permit the state licensing of bordellos, local officials proceeded to subject these women to intrusive monitoring and obligatory medical examinations.

Guy uses the work of Michel Foucault (*Madness and Civilization*) to show how repression took on a juridical-disciplinary function in Argentina. Foucault is also the guide for her thesis that it is through the study of marginals that we can understand the nature and effect of government structures on everyday power relations. At the end of the book Guy makes a perceptive and, I believe, accurate statement about the underlying reasons for repressive contemporary governments in Latin America. She says, "The history of legalized prostitution suggests that the roots of authoritarian behavior are found in gendered structures within democratic societies, not just within the overtly anti-democratic military" (p. 208).

I have some minor criticisms of Guy's work. She is too critical of the Socialist feminists who believed in the total abolition of prostitution but supported the medical supervision of working-class women. Several of the leaders of the feminist movement were public health doctors who experienced first-hand the terrible effects of venereal disease on poor people. The feminists wanted to rescue women from a life they believed was always degrading, so with the moral reformers' typical missionary zeal they campaigned for sex education and medical testing. They may have gone along with government policies that were, according to Guy, authoritarian in practice, but the feminists were not willing to sit by while members of the ruling class were satisfied to watch the poorest members of the population die from sexually transmitted diseases.

Although the book's subject is the debate over prostitution, I would like to have learned more about the prostitutes themselves. Only in her chapter on the tango and politics do we get a glimpse of the women who were the subjects of the entire controversy. Guy focuses on the economic motivation behind the choice of prostitution, but this explanation is too simple. Beyond the desire for money and adventure there are a myriad of psychological reasons for women to sell their bodies, not the least of them being the outlet that life provided for acting out repressed traumas such as child abuse and the need to inflict as well as to be the recipient of humiliation. Studies of prostitution should take these factors into account.

These criticisms are not meant to detract in any way

from the significance of Guy's outstanding book. It is a major contribution by a sophisticated scholar on a difficult and too often neglected subject.

MARIFRAN CARLSON  
Chicago, Illinois

TODD A. DIACON. *Millenarian Vision, Capitalist Reality: Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, 1912-1916*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 199. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$16.95.

This book by Todd A. Diacon, which is a reassessment, depends on new evidence as well as on reinterpretation of vintage studies, especially Maurício Vinhas de Queiroz's *Messianismo e conflito social* (1966), Duglas Teixeira Monteiro's *Os errantes do novo século* (1974), and Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz's "La 'Guerre Sainte' au Brésil: Le mouvement messianique du Contestado," (*Sociologia* [1956]). Diacon contends that the Contestado rebellion deserves interpretation precisely as a millenarian movement. That is, he declines to see it in terms of those "who focus mainly on class relations" (p. 8), having in mind the well-known interpretations of Noel Nascimento ("Canudos, Contestado e fanatismo religioso," *Revista Brasileira* 44 [Nov.-Dec. 1961], 62-67) and Rui Facó (*Cangaceiros e fanáticos* [1963]). In rejecting the view that the Contestado movement was "a political rebellion in which the peasantry rose up to destroy the landlord class" (p. 128), Diacon seems also to believe that a class-based analysis cannot take millenarian belief as a genuine phenomenon in its own terms. He attempts to explain not only why the Contestado rebellion erupted but also why it emerged as a millenarian rebellion. Diacon argues that the Contestado movement is best viewed as a response to a dual crisis, material and spiritual (or cultural).

Analysis of the material crisis of the Contestado's subsistence population represents a considerable contribution, superseding efforts by Diacon's predecessors. The author's detailed examination of how land law fundamentally changed in the new republic—by virtue of federalism—stands as a singular contribution. Two chapters that depend exclusively on his careful probing of local land records in *cartórios* and the state archives of Santa Catarina and Paraná extend the work of Warren Dean, Emilia Viotti da Costa, and Nancy Naro into the Old Republic. They throw new light and provide greater specificity on the speed, geographical sweep, and terrible extent of the dispossession or eviction of the Contestado's subsistence peasantry in the wake of "national modernization." Diacon's reconstruction of Percival Farquhar's railroad and lumber empire, undertaken from archives in Brazil and the United States, finally affords a detailed account of how the "last titan" condemned a thriving subsistence economy to oblivion. Diacon delineates how federal and state governments sponsored foreign immigration to the Contestado, leaving



*posseiros* to confront legally privileged agricultural colonies of Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, and Italians, not to mention a rag-tag invasion of *nordestino* and *carioca* workers. Finally, he documents the role landlords played in breaking up the region's subsistence economy, first through the sale of their own land, and then in exchange for new roles as labor bosses.

Patron-client ties lie at the heart of this interpretation, for a spiritual crisis crystallised around their breakdown. Drawing inspiration from Patricia Pessar's important argument about the sacralization of elite responsibilities, Diacon argues that as landlords ceased to provide protection to their tenants, and as morally imbued bonds dissolved, a millenarian ethos steadily gained adherents. Surprisingly, however, he concludes that millenarian revolt did not open horizontal cleavage between landlords and tenants. A political rebellion did not emerge (p. 143). As key evidence, he points to a small number of important landowners among the Contestado's "*fanáticos*." But many readers will not find an elite presence in a Brazilian peasant movement remarkable. And the qualifier that "all *patrões* who joined the movement rose to leadership positions" (p. 137) is not of much help.

Diacon explicitly rejects the notion put forward by Vinhas de Queiroz that elite manipulation of *fanático* followers by their millenarian leaders (former *patrões*) occurred. His repeated assurances that sincerity of religious belief characterized millenarian leaders, as well as followers, is unconvincing, however true. That accent draws on new evidence, oral history that Diacon collected in the region, especially twenty interviews videotaped in 1985 with the rebellion's last aged survivors. It must be pointed out that, like Diacon, Douglas Teixeira and Vinhas de Queiroz cited oral informants (much younger in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1972) or used eyewitness accounts recorded between 1914 and 1916 to argue for a degree of elite "manipulation."

Despite his insistence that "this was truly a millenarian movement" (p. 127), Diacon declines to explore in depth what Carole Myscowski (*When Men Walk Dry* [1988]) reminds us is a Brazilian tradition of millenarianism. Readers still must turn to Douglas Teixeira (citing Laís Mourão Sá's unpublished 1971 thesis) and Vinhas de Queiroz in order to understand profoundly that pattern in the Contestado. And, although Diacon deserves high praise for attempting analysis "from the ground up," more than the sacrality of patron-client bonds is implied in addressing clientage. His highly constricted context dismisses the protracted territorial dispute between the two states that shared the Contestado region. Why "protection" cannot be construed on a wider factional plane than that of *compadrio* relations, following Bernard Siegel's valuable leads, at least deserves exploration.

Overall, Diacon's book reads too much like an unrevised dissertation; the sequencing of events is disjunctive. Editorial input is not in great evidence—as the blooper on "natural" childbirth as "dirty" makes painfully clear. And the value of pioneering works is often unacknowledged. Because accounting for a millenarian identity is not quite the same thing as characterizing the nature of a movement or rebellion, many will find that Diacon's approach falls short of what he has led them to expect. The conclusion comes as a shock: "While not a revolutionary movement, the actions of the Contestado rebels nevertheless demonstrate a class-based agenda with class-specific demands" (p. 128). That point should have been developed throughout the book. This is unfortunate, given that the author's appeal for more research in local archives outside Brazil's big cities—and his ability to deliver so well in that coin—sounds a welcome note.

LINDA LEWIN  
University of California,  
Berkeley

---

## Collected Essays

---

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### GENERAL

DOROTHY O. HELLY and SUSAN M. REVERBY, editors. *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History*. (Essays from the Seventh Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, 1987.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 349. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$13.95.

NANNERL O. KEOHANE, Preface. SUSAN M. REVERBY and DOROTHY O. HELLY, Introduction: Converging on History. PENELOPE D. JOHNSON, The Cloistering of Medieval Nuns: Release or Repression, Reality or Fantasy? LESLIE P. PEIRCE, Beyond Harem Walls: Ottoman Royal Women and the Exercise of Power. LONDA SCHIEBINGER, Maria Winkelmann at the Berlin Academy: The Clash between Craft Traditions and Professional Science. BARBARA SICHERMAN, Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late Victorian America. JANET KAHN and PATRICIA A. GOZEMBA, In and Around the Lighthouse: Working-Class Lesbian Bar Culture in the 1950s and 1960s. PATRICIA CLINE COHEN, Safety and Danger: Women on American Public Transport, 1750–1850. ANN-LOUISE SHAPIRO, Disordered Bodies/Disorderly Acts: Medical Discourse and the Female Criminal in Nineteenth-Century Paris. GAY L. GULLICKSON, The Unruly Woman of the Paris Commune. BARBARA BAIR, True Women, Real Men: Gender, Ideology, and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement. DOLORES JANIEWSKI, Learning to Live "Just Like White Folks": Gender, Ethnicity, and the State in the Inland Northwest. DIANE WILLEN, Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor. ELLEN ROSS, Good and Bad Mothers: Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives before World War I. MOLLY LADD-TAYLOR, Federal Help for Mothers: The Rise and Fall of the Sheppard-Towner Act in the 1920s. LINDA GORDON, A Right Not to Be Beaten: The Agency of Battered Women, 1880–1960. JESSIE M. RODRIQUE, The Black Community and the Birth Control Movement. ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS, The Just Price, the Free Market, and the Value of Women. AVA BARON, The Masculinization of Production: The Gendering of Work and Skill in U.S. Newspaper Printing, 1850–1920. LAURA LEE DOWNS, Between Taylorism and *Dénatalité*: Women Welfare Supervisors and the Boundaries of Difference in French Metalworking Factories, 1917–1930. LAURA ANKER, Family, Work, and Community: Southern

and Eastern European Immigrant Women Speak from the Connecticut Federal Writers' Project. JUDITH STACEY, Sexism by a Subtler Name? Postindustrial Conditions and Postfeminist Consciousness in the Silicon Valley.

DIETRICH HARTH and JAN ASSMANN, editors. *Revolution und Mythos*. (Fischer Wissenschaft.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1992. Pp. 349. DM 29.80.

DIETRICH HARTH, Revolution und Mythos: Sieben Thesen zur Genesis und Geltung zweier Grundbegriffe historischen Denkens. JAN ASSMANN, Frühe Formen politischer Mythomotorik: Fundierende, kontrapräsentische und revolutionäre Mythen. GERD THEISSEN, Mythos und Wertrevolution im Urchristentum. DIETER SCHULZ, Die amerikanische Revolution als Familienkrach. HORST MELLER, Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité: Revolutionäre und Konterrevolutionäre Dreifaltigkeiten. GERHARD KURZ, Mythisierung und Entmythisierung der Revolution: Die Französische Revolution als Schauspiel der Geschichte. KLAUS VON BEYME, Die Oktoberrevolution und ihre Mythen in Ideologie und Kunst. ROLF PETER SIEFERLE, Die Konservative Revolution und das "Dritte Reich." KLAUS VONDUNG, Revolution als Ritual: Der Mythos des Nationalsozialismus. DETLEV CLAUSSEN, Chiffre 68. ROLF KLOEPFER, Die Entwürfe der "mexikanischen Revolution" in Wandbild und Roman: Formen der Verweigerung von Geschichte. FRAUKE GEWECKE, Mythen als Begründungs- und Beglaubigungsrede: Das Beispiel der Kubanischen Revolution. HENNING KRAUSS, Revolutionsmythen im Algerienkrieg. RUDOLF G. WAGNER, Kronfrontation im *Imaginaire*: Institutionelle Struktur und Modernisierung in der Volksrepublik China.

CHARLES E. ROSENBERG and JANET GOLDEN, editors. *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History*. (Health and Medicine in American Society.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xxvi, 326. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$16.00.

CHARLES E. ROSENBERG, Introduction: Framing Disease; Illness, Society, and History. STEVEN J. PEITZMAN, From Bright's Disease to End-Stage Renal Disease. PETER C. ENGLISH, Emergence of Rheumatic Fever in the Nineteenth Century. JOHN FARLEY, Parasites and the Germ Theory of Disease. CHRISTOPHER LAWRENCE, "Definite and Material": Coronary Thrombosis and Cardiologists in the 1920s. MICHAEL MACDONALD, The Medicalization of Suicide in England: Laymen, Physicians, and Cultural Change, 1500–1870. BERT HANSEN, American Physicians' "Discovery" of

Homosexuals, 1880–1900: A New Diagnosis in a Changing Society. JOAN JACOBS BRUMBERG, From Psychiatric Syndrome to “Communicable” Disease: The Case of Anorexia Nervosa. ROBERT A. ARONOWITZ, From Myalgic Encephalitis to Yuppie Flu: A History of Chronic Fatigue Syndromes. GERALD MARKOWITZ and DAVID ROSNER, The Illusion of Medical Certainty: Silicosis and the Politics of Industrial Disability, 1930–1960. JANET A. TIGHE, The Legal Art of Psychiatric Diagnosis: Searching for Reliability. BARBARA BATES, Quid pro Quo in Chronic Illness: Tuberculosis in Pennsylvania, 1876–1926. ELLEN DWYER, Stories of Epilepsy, 1880–1930. JOHN M. EYLER, The Sick Poor and the State: Arthur Newsholme on Poverty, Disease, and Responsibility. ELIZABETH FEE, Henry E. Sigerist: His Interpretation of the History of Disease and the Future of Medicine.

NUPUR CHAUDHURI and MARGARET STROBEL, editors. *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. vi, 276. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

SUSAN L. BLAKE, A Woman's Trek: What Difference Does Gender Make? MERVAT HATEM, Through Each Other's Eyes: The Impact on the Colonial Encounter of the Images of Egyptian, Levantine-Egyptian, and European Women, 1862–1920. JULIA CLANCY-SMITH, The “Passionate Nomad” Reconsidered: A European Woman in *L'Algérie française* (Isabelle Eberhardt, 1877–1904). HELEN CALLAWAY and DOROTHY O. HELLY, Crusader for Empire: Flora Shaw/Lady Lugard. MRINALINI SINHA, “Chatham, Pitts, and Gladstones in Petticoats”: The Politics of Gender and Race in the Ilbert Bill Controversy, 1883–1884. BARBARA N. RAMUSACK, Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865–1945. ANTOINETTE M. BURTON, The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and “The Indian Woman,” 1865–1915. NANCY L. PAXTON, Complicity and Resistance in the Writings of Flora Annie Steel and Annie Besant. DEA BIRKETT, The “White Woman's Burden” in the “White Man's Grave”: The Introduction of British Nurses in Colonial West Africa. LESLIE A. FLEMMING, A New Humanity: American Missionaries' Ideals for Women in North India, 1870–1930. SYLVIA M. JACOBS, Give a Thought to Africa: Black Women Missionaries in Southern Africa. NUPUR CHAUDHURI, Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain. KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN, White Women in a Changing World: Employment, Voluntary Work, and Sex in Post-World War II Northern Rhodesia.

RONALD G. ASCH and ADOLF M. BIRKE, editors. *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*. (Studies of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the German Historical Institute, London. 1991. Pp. xii, 507. \$95.00.

RONALD G. ASCH, Introduction: Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries. RALPH A. GRIFFITHS, The King's Court during the Wars of the Roses: Continuities in an Age of Discontinuities. WERNER PARAVICINI, The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe? PETER MORAW, The Court of the German King and of the Emperor at the End of the Middle Ages, 1440–1519. PAUL-JOACHIM HEINIG, How Large Was the Court of Emperor Frederick III? DIETER STIEVERMANN, Southern Ger-

man Courts around 1500. DAVID STARKEY, Court, Council, and Nobility in Tudor England. M. J. RODRÍGUEZ-SALGADO, The Court of Philip II of Spain. ELLERY SCHALK, The Court as “Civilizer” of the Nobility: Noble Attitudes and the Court in France in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. SIMON ADAMS, Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court. VOLKER PRESS, The Imperial Court of the Habsburgs: From Maximilian I to Ferdinand III, 1493–1657. ANTONI MAĆZAK, From Aristocratic Household to Princely Court: Restructuring Patronage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. WOLFGANG REINHARD, Papal Power and Family Strategy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. RONALD G. ASCH, The Revival of Monopolies: Court and Patronage during the Personal Rule of Charles I, 1629–1640. CAROLINE M. HIBBARD, The Role of a Queen Consort: The Household and Court of Henrietta Maria, 1625–1642. KLAUS MALETTKE, The Crown, *Ministériat*, and Nobility at the Court of Louis XIII. HEINZ SCHILLING, The Orange Court: The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic. OLAF MÖRKE, Sovereignty and Authority: The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century. R. J. W. EVANS, The Court: A Protean Institution and an Elusive Subject.

KENNETH J. ANDRIEN and ROLENA ADORNO, editors. *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 295. \$45.00.

KENNETH J. ANDRIEN and ROLENA ADORNO, Introduction. WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR., and CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS, Spain in the Fifteenth Century. JOHN F. GUILLMARTIN, JR., The Cutting Edge: An Analysis of the Spanish Invasion and Overthrow of the Inca Empire, 1532–1539. JOHN V. MURRA, “Nos Hazen Mucha Ventaja”: The Early European Perception of Andean Achievement. JAMES LOCKHART, Trunk Lines and Feeder Lines: The Spanish Reaction to American Resources. KENNETH J. ANDRIEN, Spaniards, Andeans, and the Early Colonial State in Peru. R. TOM ZUIDEMA, Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress. THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS, We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial *Kurakakuna*. ROLENA ADORNO, Images of *Indios Ladinos* in Early Colonial Peru.

R. BRIAN FERGUSON and NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, editors. *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*. (School of American Research, Advanced Seminar Series.) Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research Press; distributed by University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1992. Pp. xiv, 303. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.95.

R. BRIAN FERGUSON and NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, Preface. R. BRIAN FERGUSON and NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, The Violent Edge of Empire. D. J. MATTINGLY, War and Peace in Roman North Africa: Observations and Models of State-Tribe Interaction. R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA, Conquest and Resistance: Pre-State and State Expansionism in Early Sri Lankan History. ROSS HASSIG, Aztec and Spanish Conquest in Mesoamerica. ROBIN LAW, Warfare on the West African Slave Coast, 1650–1850. NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, Tribes Make States and States Make Tribes: Warfare and the Creation of Colonial Tribes and States in Northeast South America. THOMAS S. ABLER, Beavers and Muskets: Iroquois Military

Fortunes in the Face of European Colonization. MICHAEL F. BROWN and EDUARDO FERNANDEZ, *Tribe and State in a Frontier Mosaic: The Asháninka of Eastern Peru*. R. BRIAN FERGUSON, *A Savage Encounter: Western Contact and the Yanomami War Complex*. ANDREW STRATHERN, *Let the Bow Go Down*. R. BRIAN FERGUSON and NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, Appendix: Provisional Diagrams from the Advanced Seminar.

FRANK MCGLYNN and SEYMOUR DRESCHER, editors. *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 333. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$17.95.

SEYMOUR DRESCHER and FRANK MCGLYNN, Introduction. PIETER C. EMMER, *The Price of Freedom: The Constraints of Change in Postemancipation America*. STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, *The Economic Response to Emancipation and Some Economic Aspects of the Meaning of Freedom*. JAY R. MANDLE, *Black Economic Entrapment after Emancipation in the United States*. GAVIN WRIGHT, *The Economics and Politics of Slavery and Freedom in the U.S. South*. O. NIGEL BOLLAND, *The Politics of Freedom in the British Caribbean*. MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT, *The Inconvenience of Freedom: Free People of Color and the Political Aftermath of Slavery in Dominica and Saint-Domingue/Haiti*. JEAN BESSON, *Freedom and Community: The British West Indies*. DIANE J. AUSTIN-BROOS, *Redefining the Moral Order: Interpretations of Christianity in Postemancipation Jamaica*. SIDNEY W. MINTZ, *Panglosses and Pollyannas; or, Whose Reality Are We Talking About?* RAYMOND T. SMITH, *Race, Class, and Gender in the Transition of Freedom*. PETER KOLCHIN, *The Tragic Era? Interpreting Southern Reconstruction in Comparative Perspective*.

IRA BERLIN and PHILIP D. MORGAN, editors. *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*. Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass. 1991. Pp. 213. \$29.50.

IRA BERLIN and PHILIP D. MORGAN, Introduction. HILARY McD. BECKLES, *An Economic Life of Their Own: Slaves as Commodity Producers and Distributors in Barbados*. WOODVILLE K. MARSHALL, *Provision Ground and Plantation Labour in Four Windward Islands: Competition for Resources during Slavery*. DALE TOMICH, *Une Petite Guinée: Provision Ground and Plantation in Martinique, 1830–1848*. MARY TURNER, *Slave Workers, Subsistence and Labour Bargaining: Amity Hall, Jamaica, 1805–1832*. RICHARD PRICE, *Subsistence on the Plantation Periphery: Crops, Cooking and Labour among Eighteenth-Century Suriname Maroons*. JOHN CAMPBELL, *As "A Kind of Freeman"? Slaves' Market-Related Activities in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1800–1860*. JOHN T. SCHLOTTERBECK, *The Internal Economy of Slavery in Rural Piedmont Virginia*. RODERICK A. McDONALD, *Independent Economic Production by Slaves on Antebellum Louisiana Sugar Plantations*.

ALLEN G. NOBLE, editor. *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 455. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

ALLEN G. NOBLE, *Migration to North America: Before, during, and after the Nineteenth Century*. PETER ENNALS,

*Acadians in Maritime Canada*. BRIAN COFFEY, *The Irish, English, and Scots in Ontario*. HUBERT G. H. WILHELM, *Germans in Ohio*. MICHAEL T. STRUBLE and HUBERT G. H. WILHELM, *The Welsh in Ohio*. JOHN B. REHDER, *The Scotch-Irish and English in Appalachia*. FRANK W. PORTER, III, *American Indians in the Eastern United States*. PHILIPPE OSZUSCIK, *French Creoles on the Gulf Coast*. PHILIPPE OSZUSCIK, *African-Americans in the American South*. MALCOLM L. COMEAUX, *Cajuns in Louisiana*. WILLIAM G. LAATSCH and CHARLES F. CALKINS, *Belgians in Wisconsin*. SIGNE T. NIELSEN BETSINGER, *Danes in Iowa and Minnesota*. WILLIAM H. TISHLER, *Norwegians in Wisconsin*. MATTI ENN KAUPS, *Finns in the Lake Superior Region*. ALLEN G. NOBLE, *German-Russian Mennonites in Manitoba*. JOHN E. RAU, *Czechs in South Dakota*. JOHN C. LEHR, *Ukrainians in Western Canada*. STEPHEN C. JETT, *The Navajo in the American Southwest*. ALVAR W. CARLSON, *Spanish Americans in New Mexico's Río Arriba*. GERLINDE LEIDING, *Germans in Texas*. WILLIAM A. DOUGLASS, *Basques in the American West*. ALLEN G. NOBLE, *The Immigrant Experience in the Nineteenth Century and Afterwards*.

RALPH GIBSON and MARTIN BLINKHORN, editors. *Landownership and Power in Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. v, 264. \$79.50.

RALPH GIBSON and MARTIN BLINKHORN, Introduction. DONALD SUTHERLAND, *Land and Power in the West of France, 1750–1914*. PIERRE LÉVÊQUE, *Large Landed Property and Its Influence in Nineteenth-Century Burgundy*. RALPH GIBSON, *The Périgord: Landownership, Power and Illusion*. HANNA SCHISLER, *The Social and Political Power of the Prussian Junkers*. GREGORY W. PEDLOW, *The Landed Elite of Hesse-Cassel in the Nineteenth Century*. JONATHAN OSMOND, *Peasants and Rural Notables in the Bavarian Palatinate, 1816–1933*. ERIC J. EVANS, *Landownership and the Exercise of Power in an Industrializing Society: Lancashire and Cheshire in the Nineteenth Century*. K. THEODORE HOPPEN, *Landownership and Power in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The Decline of an Elite*. ANTHONY L. CARDOZA, *Commercial Agriculture and the Crisis of Landed Power: Bologna, 1880–1930*. FRANK M. SNOWDEN, *The City of the Sun: Red Cerignola, 1900–15*. MARTIN BLINKHORN, *Land and Power in Arcadia: Navarre in the Early Twentieth Century*. TIM REES, *Agrarian Power and Crisis in Southern Spain: The Province of Badajoz, 1875–1936*.

PETER MATHIAS and JOHN A. DAVIS, editors. *The First Industrial Revolutions*. (The Nature of Industrialization.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1990. Pp. viii, 175. \$48.95.

PETER MATHIAS, *The Industrial Revolution: Concept and Reality*. N. F. R. CRAFTS, *The New Economic History and the Industrial Revolution*. JOHN A. DAVIS, *Industrialization in Britain and Europe before 1850: New Perspectives and Old Problems*. PETER MATHIAS, *Financing the Industrial Revolution*. T. C. BARKER, *Transport: The Survival of the Old beside the New*. PETER MATHIAS, *Agriculture and Industrialization*. ROBERT WOODS, *Population Growth and Economic Change in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. KRISTINE BRULAND, *The Transformation of Work in European Industrialization*.



COLIN G. POOLEY and IAN D. WHYTE, editors. *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. xiv, 231. \$69.95.

COLIN G. POOLEY and IAN D. WHYTE, Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Migration and Social Change. ERIC RICHARDS, Voices of British and Irish Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Australia. DEIRDRE M. MAGEEAN, From Irish Countryside to American City: The Settlement and Mobility of Ulster Migrants in Philadelphia. STEPHEN CONSTANTINE, Empire Migration and Social Reform 1880–1950. IAN D. WHYTE, Migration in Early-Modern Scotland and England: A Comparative Perspective. KEVEN SCHURER, The Role of the Family in the Process of Migration. COLIN G. POOLEY and JOHN C. DOHERTY, The Longitudinal Study of Migration: Welsh Migration to English Towns in the Nineteenth Century. KATE BARTHOLOMEW, Women Migrants in Mind: Leaving Wales in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. COLIN HOLMES, Historians and Immigration.

LAWRENCE KAPLAN, editor. *Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$10.95.

LAWRENCE KAPLAN, Introduction. MARTIN E. MARTY, Fundamentals of Fundamentalism. LEO P. RIBUFFO, American Fundamentalism to the 1950s: A Guide for New Yorkers. STEVE BRUCE, Revelations: The Future of the New Christian Right. JOHN A. COLEMAN, S.J., Catholic Integralism as a Fundamentalism. EMMANUEL SIVAN, The Islamic Resurgence: Civil Society Strikes Back. ERVAND ABRAHAMIAN, Khomeini: A Fundamentalist? VALENTINE M. MOGHADAM, Fundamentalism and the Woman Question in Afghanistan. ARTHUR HERTZBERG, Jewish Fundamentalism. MENACHEM FRIEDMAN, Jewish Zealots: Conservative versus Innovative.

MOSHE DAVIS and YEHOASHUA BEN-ARIEH, editors. *With Eyes toward Zion*. Volume 3, *Western Societies and the Holy Land*. New York: Praeger. 1991. Pp. xiv, 275. \$55.00.

MOSHE DAVIS, Introduction: From America–Holy Land Studies to Western Societies and the Holy Land. YEHOASHUA BEN-ARIEH, Holy Land Views in Nineteenth-Century Western Travel Literature. ROBERT T. HANDY, The America–Holy Land Studies Project: A Personal Statement. DEBORAH DASH MOORE, Studying America and the Holy Land: Prospects, Pitfalls, and Perspectives. GERSHON GREENBERG, America–Holy Land and Religious Studies: On Expressing a Sacred Reality. DAVID KLATZKER, American Christian Travelers to the Holy Land, 1821–1939. MICHAEL BROWN, Canada and the Holy Land: Some North American Similarities and Differences. ABRAHAM J. KARP, Comment. LEONARDO SENKMAN, The Concept of the Holy Land in Iberoamerica. CATHERINE NICAULT, France–Holy Land Studies: Teaching and Research. RAN AARONSOHN, French Archives as a Source for the Study of France–Holy Land Relations. SOPHIE KESSLER-MESGUICH, France and the Holy Land: Introducing the Subject in French Universities. ANDRÉ KASPI, Comment. ERICH GELDBACH, The German Protestant Network in the Holy Land. HAIM GOREN, Sources for Germany–Holy Land Studies in the Late Ottoman Period: German Libraries and

Archives. YOSHI BEN-ARTZI, Germany–Holy Land Studies: A Conceptual Framework. ALEX CARMEL, Research into German Christian Contributions to the Rebuilding of Eretz Israel: A Personal Record. FRANKLIN H. LITTELL, Comment. VIVIAN D. LIPMAN, Britain and the Holy Land: 1830–1914. RUPERT L. CHAPMAN, British–Holy Land Archaeology: Nineteenth-Century Sources. ISRAEL FINESTEIN, British Opinion and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century: Personalities and Further Themes. AUBREY NEWMAN, Comment. LLOYD P. GARTNER, Some Reflections on the Present State of Holy Land Studies.

RONALD DOTTERER *et al.*, editors. *Jewish Settlement and Community in the Modern Western World*. (Susquehanna University Studies.) Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1991. Pp. 218. \$29.50.

STEVEN M. COHEN and DEBORAH DASH MOORE, Preface. PAULA E. HYMAN, Village Jews and Jewish Modernity: The Case of Alsace in the Nineteenth Century. SHULAMIT S. MAGNUS, From *Judenrein* to Jewish Community: Origins and Growth of Jewish Settlement in Cologne, 1798–1814. MARSHA L. ROZENBLIT, Social Mobility and Ethnic Assimilation in the Jewish Neighborhoods of Vienna, 1867–1914. SAMUEL D. KASSOW, Communal and Social Change in the Polish Shtetl: 1900–1939. DAVID M. FELDMAN, Englishmen, Jews, and Immigrants in London, 1865–1914: Modernization, Social Control, and the Paths to Englishness. HARRIET PASS FREIDENREICH, Natives and Foreigners: Geographic Origins and Jewish Communal Politics in Interwar Vienna. VIVIAN Z. KLAFF, Models of Urban Ecology and Their Application to Jewish Settlement in Western Cities. EGON MAYER, The Perpetuation and Growth of Sectarian Pluralism: The Case of the Jewish Communities of Boro Park, Brooklyn. SAMUEL GOLDEN, annotated by DEBORAH DASH MOORE, Some Days Are More Important: A Memoir of Immigrant New York, 1903–1913. SAMUEL C. HEILMAN, Passover in the Mea Shearim and Geula Neighborhoods of Jerusalem. DEBORAH DASH MOORE, Glossary.

SELWYN ILAN TROEN and BENJAMIN PINKUS, editors. *Organizing Rescue: National Jewish Solidarity in the Modern Period*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass, with the cooperation of the Ben-Gurion Research Centre, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. 1992. Pp. xi, 424.

SELWYN ILAN TROEN, Organizing the Rescue of Jews in the Modern Period. YA'AKOV BLIDSTEIN, The Redemption of Captives in Halakhic Tradition: Problems and Policy. JONATHAN FRANKEL, The Crisis as a Factor in Modern Jewish Politics, 1840 and 1881–1882. PHYLLIS COHEN ALBERT, Ethnicity and Jewish Solidarity in Nineteenth-Century France. SIMON SCHWARZFUCHS, The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and French Jewish Leadership vis-à-vis North African Jewry, 1860–1914. ISRAEL OPPENHEIM, The Kovno Circle of Rabbi Yitzhak Elhanan Spektor: Organizing Western Public Opinion over Pogroms in the 1880s. MOSHE ZIMMERMANN, German Jews and the Jewish Emigration from Russia. MONTY N. PENKOWER, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and the Policy of International Jewish Organization. HENRY L. FEINGOLD, Rescue and the Secular Perception: American Jewry and the Holocaust. JEHUDA REINHARZ, German Jewish Refugees in Pales-



tine: The Early Years, 1932–1939. TUVIA FRILING, The Emotional Elements in Ben-Gurion's Relation to the Diaspora during the Holocaust. DAPHNE TSIMHONI, Activity of the Yishuv on Behalf of Iraqi Jewry, 1914–1948. YOSEF LITVAK, The American Joint Distribution Committee and Polish Jewry 1944–1949. ALLON GAL, Jewish Solidarity and "Refuge Zionism": The Case of B'nai B'rith. AVI BEKER, Diplomacy without Sovereignty: The World Jewish Congress Rescue Activities. DORIS BENSIMON, Jewish Solidarity in the Integration of North African Jews in France. BENJAMIN PINKUS, Israeli Activity on Behalf of Soviet Jewry. EPHRAIM ISAAC, Jewish Solidarity and the Jews of Ethiopia.

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI, editor. *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*. Assisted by ANDRII KRAWCHUK. Foreword by JAROSLAV PELIKAN. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 485.

JAROSLAV PELIKAN, Introduction: The Church between East and West; The Context of Sheptyts'kyi's Thought. WOLFDIETER BIHL, Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian Government. JOHN-PAUL HIMKA, Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914. BOHDAN BUDUROWYCZ, Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914. RYSZARD TORZECKI, Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society. BOHDAN R. BOCIURKI, Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under Soviet Occupation, 1939–1941. HANSJAKOB STEHLE, Sheptyts'kyi and the German Regime. SHIMON REDLICH, Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews. PETRO B. T. BILANIUK, Sheptyts'kyi's Theological Thought. LUBOMYR HUSAR, Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism. VICTOR J. POSPISHIL, Sheptyts'kyi and Liturgical Reform. BRIAN R. KELEHER, Sheptyts'kyi and Three Converts from the West. ANDRII KRAWCHUK, Sheptyts'kyi and the Ethics of Christian Social Action. ANN SLUSARCZUK SIRKA, Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy. MYROSLAVA M. MUDRAK, Sheptyts'kyi as Patron of the Arts. IVAN MUZYCZKA, Sheptyts'kyi in the Russian Empire. BOHDAN KAZYMYRA, Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in Canada. BOHDAN P. PROCKO, Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in the United States. ATHANASIOS B. PEKAR, Sheptyts'kyi and the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States. ANDRZEJ ZIĘBA, Sheptyts'kyi in Polish Public Opinion. ROMAN WASCHUK, The Symbol of Sheptyts'kyi in Soviet Ideology. MICHAEL HRYNCHYSHYN, Western Historiography and Future Research.

RONDO CAMERON and V. I. BOVYKIN, editors. *International Banking 1870–1914*. Assisted by BORIS ANAN'ICH et al. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 655. \$80.00.

RONDO CAMERON, Introduction. P. L. COTTRELL, Great Britain. VINCENT P. CAROSSO and RICHARD SYLLA, U.S. Banks in International Finance. HUBERT BONIN, The Case of the French Banks. RICHARD TILLY, International Aspects of the Development of German Banking. HERMAN VAN DER WEE and MARTINE GOOSSENS, Belgium. V. I. BOVYKIN and B. V. ANAN'ICH, The Role of International Factors in the Formation of the Banking System in Russia. HANS CHRISTIAN JOHANSEN, Banking and Finance in the Danish Economy. RAGNHILD LUNDSTRÖM, Sweden. IAN M. DRUMMOND, Banks and Banking in Canada and Australia. KANJI ISHII, Japan. MIRA WILKINS, Foreign Banks and Foreign Investment in

the United States. B. V. ANAN'ICH and V. I. BOVYKIN, Foreign Banks and Foreign Investment in Russia. RUTH AMENDE ROOSA, Banking and Financial Relations between Russia and the United States. GYÖRGY KÖVER, The Austro-Hungarian Banking System. PETER HERTNER, Foreign Capital in the Italian Banking Sector. MARIA BÁRBARA LEVY, The Banking System and Foreign Capital in Brazil. FRANK H. H. KING, Extra-Regional Banks and Investments in China. JACQUES THOBIE, European Banks in the Middle East. A. A. FURSENKO, The Oil Industry. ALBERT BRODER, Banking and the Electrotechnical Industry in Western Europe. ULRICH WENGEHROTH, Iron and Steel. FRED V. CARSTENSEN, International Harvester and Its Competitors. V. I. BOVYKIN, Conclusion. RONDO CAMERON, Conclusion.

JÜRGEN ELVERT and MICHAEL SALEWSKI, editors. *Staatenbildung in Übersee: Die Staatenwelt Lateinamerikas und Asiens*. (Historische Mitteilungen, Beihefte, number 2.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1992. Pp. 248. DM 88.

INGE BUISSON, Probleme der Staatenbildung im spanischen Südamerika (1810–1830). WALTHER L. BERNECKER, Das Verhältnis Europa-Lateinamerika im 19. Jahrhundert: Handels-offensiven und Wirtschaftsinteressen. GÜNTER KAHLE, El papel de las doctrinas políticas en las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y América Latina, 1823–1933. HERMANN KULKE, Präkoloniale Staatenbildung in Südostasien. BERNHARD DAHM, Postkoloniale Staatenbildung in Südostasien. RODERICH PRAK, Das chinesische Seefahrtssystem und der Estado da Índia: Ein Vergleich. OM PRAKASH, From an Equal to an Unequal Relationship: Euro-Indian Economic Contacts between the Sixteenth and the Twentieth Centuries. JÜRGEN LÜTT, Zwischen "Ausbeutung" und "Good Government": Zum Charakter der britischen Herrschaft in Indien. DIETMAR RÖTHERMUND, Staat und Gesellschaft in Indien (1950–1990). RICHARD BURGHART, Wahlkampf in Nepal: Ernstes Spiel—Staatliches Ritual—Kennzeichen der Moderne. PETER NITSCHKE, Der Bau einer Grossmacht: Russische Kolonisation in Ostasien. RUDOLF G. WAGNER, China in der geographie imaginaire der Erweckungsbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts. GUDULA LINCK, Mao über dem Platz des Himmlischen Friedens: Symbole staatlicher Grösse in China. BERND MARTIN, Die Öffnung Japans durch den Westen: Annahme und Abwehr der westlichen Herausforderung (1853–1890). HOLMER STAHNCKE, Japan: Traditionelle Elemente in einer modernen Industriegesellschaft; Zum Verhältnis von Tradition und Moderne.

MAIRI MACLEAN and JOLYON HOWORTH, editors. *Europeans on Europe: Transnational Visions of a New Continent*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xix, 226. \$69.95.

EDGARD PISANI, Foreword. MAIRI MACLEAN and JOLYON HOWORTH, Introduction: The Old Continent in Turmoil, a New One in the Making. MAIRI MACLEAN, The Unfinished Chrysalis: Market Forces and Protectionist Reflexes in France. JUTTA HELM, Germany: The Ambivalent Insider. MAURICE BASLÉ, Britain: Financial Sophistication and Industrial Wastelands. JOLYON HOWORTH, France and the Defence of Europe: Redefining Continental Security. ANDRÉ BRIGOT, German Foreign and Security Policy and the European Regional System in the 1990s. CHRISTOPH BLUTH, British

Security Policy: Between the Special Relationship with the United States and the Commitment to European Security Cooperation. RAINER RIEMENSCHNEIDER, The Two Souls of Marianne: National Sovereignty versus Supranationality in Europe. EVA KOLINSKY, The Euro-Germans: National Identity and European Integration in Germany. ALAN BUTT PHILIP, Westminster versus Brussels: The Last Crusade.

PETER GALISON and BRUCE HEVLY, editors. *Big Science: The Growth of Large-Scale Research*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 392. \$45.00.

PETER GALISON, Introduction: The Many Faces of Big Science. ROBERT SEIDEL, The Origins of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory. PETER GALISON *et al.*, Controlling the Monster: Stanford and the Growth of Physics Research, 1935–1962. DOMINIQUE PESTRE and JOHN KRIGE, Some Thoughts on the Early History of CERN. SHARON TRAWEEK, Big Science and Colonialist Discourse: Building High-Energy Physics in Japan. W. K. H. PANOFKY, SLAC and Big Science: Stanford University. S. S. SCHWEBER, Big Science in Context: Cornell and MIT. ROBERT W. SMITH, The Biggest Kind of Big Science: Astronomers and the Space Telescope. C. W. F. EVERITT, Background to History: The Transition from Little Physics to Big Physics in the Gravity Probe B Relativity Gyroscope Program. DAVID A. HOUNSHELL, Du Pont and the Management of Large-Scale Research and Development. LILLIAN HODDESON, Mission Change in the Large Laboratory: The Los Alamos Implosion Program, 1943–1945. ALAN A. NEEDELL, From Military Research to Big Science: Lloyd Berkner and Science-Statesmanship in the Postwar Era. DANIEL J. KEVLES,  $K_1S_2$ : Korea, Science, and the State. ROBERT KARGON *et al.*, Far beyond Big Science: Science Regions and the Organization of Research and Development. BRUCE HEVLY, Afterword: Reflections on Big Science and Big History.

## ANCIENT

JOHN BOARDMAN, *et al.*, editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 3, part 2, *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 906. \$125.00.

J. A. BRINKMAN, Babylonia in the Shadow of Assyria (747–626 B.C.). A. K. GRAYSON, Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.). A. K. GRAYSON, Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704–669 B.C.). A. K. GRAYSON, Assyria 668–635 B.C.: The Reign of Ashurbanipal. JOAN OATES, The Fall of Assyria (635–609 B.C.). A. K. GRAYSON, Assyrian Civilization. D. J. WISEMAN, Babylonia 605–539 B.C. M. A. DANDAMAEV, Neo-Babylonian Society and Economy. ASGER AABOE, Babylonian Mathematics, Astrology, and Astronomy. ERICA REINER, First-Millennium Babylonian Literature. T. C. MITCHELL, Israel and Judah from the Coming of Assyrian Domination until the Fall of Samaria, and the Struggle for Independence in Judah (c. 750–700 B.C.). T. C. MITCHELL, Judah until the Fall of Jerusalem (c. 700–586 B.C.). T. C. MITCHELL, The Babylonian Exile and the Restoration of the Jews in Palestine (586–c. 500 B.C.). W. CULICAN, Phoenicia and Phoenician Colonization. T. SULIMIRSKI and T. TAYLOR, The Scythians. G. MIHAILOV, Thrace before the Persian Entry into Europe. M. MELLINK, The

Native Kingdoms of Anatolia. O. MASSON, Anatolian Languages. T. G. H. JAMES, Egypt: The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

D. M. LEWIS, *et al.*, editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 5, *The Fifth Century B.C.* 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 603. \$95.00.

D. M. LEWIS, Sources, Chronology, Method. J. K. DAVIES, Greece after the Persian Wars. P. J. RHODES, The Delian League to 449 B.C. P. J. RHODES, The Athenian Revolution. D. M. LEWIS, Mainland Greece, 479–451 B.C. D. M. LEWIS, The Thirty Years' Peace. D. ASHERI, Sicily, 478–431 B.C. J. J. POLLITT, Art: Archaic to Classical. R. E. WYCHERLEY, Classical Cities and Sanctuaries. R. E. WYCHERLEY, Rebuilding in Athens and Attica. N. J. RICHARDSON, Panhellenic Cults and Panhellenic Poets. WALTER BURKERT, Athenian Cults and Festivals. B. M. W. KNOX, Athenian Religion and Literature. J. K. DAVIES, Society and Economy. M. OSTWALD, Athens as a Cultural Centre. D. M. LEWIS, The Archidamian War. A. ANDREWES, The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition. A. ANDREWES, The Spartan Resurgence.

JUDITH LIEU, *et al.*, editors. *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xvii, 198. \$39.95.

JUDITH LIEU *et al.*, Introduction. TESSA RAJAK, The Jewish Community and Its Boundaries. MARTIN HENGEL, The Pre-Christian Paul. MARTIN GOODMAN, Jewish Proselytizing in the First Century. JUDITH LIEU, History and Theology in Christian Views of Judaism. FERGUS MILLAR, The Jews of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora between Paganism and Christianity, A.D. 312–438. HAN DRIJVERS, Syrian Christianity and Judaism. MICHAEL WEITZMAN, From Judaism to Christianity: The Syriac Version of the Hebrew Bible. JOHN NORTH, The Development of Religious Pluralism.

## MEDIEVAL

SALVATORE PRICOCO *et al.*, editors. *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo*. (Atti del Convegno di Studi, Catania, 1989.) Catania, Italy: Rubbettino. 1991. Pp. 429. L. 40,000.

FRIEDRICH PRINZ, Papa Gregorio Magno, il monachesimo siciliano e dell'Italia meridionale e gli inizi della vita monastica presso gli anglosassoni. CONRAD LEYSER, St. Benedict and Gregory the Great: Another Dialogue. GIORGIO OTRANTO, Linee per la ricostruzione delle origini cristiane e della formazione delle diocesi nell'Italia Meridionale. LETIZIA PANI ERMINI, Il cristianesimo in Sardegna attraverso le testimonianze archeologiche. STEFANO CARUSO, La Sicilia nelle fonti storiografiche bizantine. ENRICO MORINI, Sicilia, Roma e Italia suburbicaria nelle tradizioni del sinassario costantinopolitano. MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, Le contexte politique de la Vie de Pancrace de Tauromenium. MARCELLA FORLIN PATRUCCO, Santi orientali nell'Italia tardoantica. AUGUSTA ACCONCIA LONGO, La vita di S. Leone di Catania. FRANCESCO SCORZA BARCELLONA, La passione di San Pellegrino di Agrigento. FRANCESCA RIZZO NERVO, Tradizione narrativa e mutamenti semantici nella letteratura agiografica

siciliana. FRANCESCO ERASMO SCIUTO, La "Éthésis" dell'imperatore Eraclio quale simbolo del conflitto teologico-politico tra Roma e Costantinopoli nel VII secolo. CLAUDIO MORESCHINI, Neoplatonismo e cristianesimo: "Partecipare a Dio" secondo Boezio e Agostino. ANTONIO V. NAZZARO, Giuliano d'Eclano polemista negli *ad Turbantium libri IV*. PAOLA SANTORELLI, L'epigramma a Proietta di Damaso (51 F.). TERESA SARDELLA, Agli inizi dell'ascetismo femminile: Sicilia e Italia Suburbicaria. CESARE PASINI, Chiesa di Milano e Sicilia: Punti di contatto dal IV all'VIII secolo. ILONA OPELT, Sizilien und Italien bei einigen arabischen Geographen und Historikern.

CALVIN B. KENDALL and PETER S. WELLS, editors. *Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*. (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, number 5.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 222.

CALVIN B. KENDALL and PETER S. WELLS, Introduction: Sutton Hoo and Early Medieval Northern Europe. ALAN M. STAHL, The Nature of the Sutton Hoo Coin Parcel. EDWARD SCHOENFELD and JANA SCHULMAN, Sutton Hoo: An Economic Assessment. GLORIA POLIZZOTTI GREIS and MICHAEL N. GESELOWITZ, Sutton Hoo Art: Two Millennia of History. ROBERTA FRANK, *Beowulf* and Sutton Hoo: The Odd Couple. ROBERT PAYSON CREED, Sutton Hoo and the Recording of *Beowulf*. JAMES CAMPBELL, The Impact of the Sutton Hoo Discovery on the Study of Anglo-Saxon History. SIMON KEYNES, Rædwald the Bretwalda. WESLEY M. STEVENS, Sideral Time in Anglo-Saxon England. ELSE ROESDAHL, Princely Burial in Scandinavia at the Time of the Conversion. HENRIK M. JANSEN, The Archaeology of Danish Commercial Centers. MARTIN CARVER, Conclusion: The Future of Sutton Hoo.

DAVID ABULAFIA *et al.*, editors. *Church and City, 1000–1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 354. \$79.95.

MARJORIE CHIBNALL *et al.*, Christopher Brooke at Cambridge, Liverpool and London. MIRI RUBIN, Religious Culture in Town and Country: Reflections on a Great Divide. ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA, Theology and the Commercial Revolution: Guibert of Nogent, St. Anselm and the Jews of Northern France. DAVID LUSCOMBE, City and Politics before the Coming of the *Politics*: Some Illustrations. ELISABETH VAN HOUTS, Nuns and Goldsmiths: The Foundation and Early Benefactors of St. Radegund's Priory at Cambridge. PETER LINEHAN, A Tale of Two Cities: Capitular Burgos and Mendicant Burgos in the Thirteenth Century. DAVID ABULAFIA, From Privilege to Persecution: Crown, Church and Synagogue in the City of Majorca, 1229–1343. HENRY MAYRHARTING, The Church of Magdeburg: Its Trade and Its Town in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries. GILES CONSTABLE, The Abbot and Townsmen of Cluny in the Twelfth Century. MICHAEL FRANKLIN, The Cathedral as Parish Church: The Case of Southern England. BRENDA BOLTON, "Except the Lord Keep the City": Towns in the Papal States at the Turn of the Twelfth Century. J. A. WATT, The Medieval Chapter of Armagh Cathedral. PAUL BINSKI, The Murals in the Nave of St. Albans Abbey. MARTIN BRETT, The Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton. BARRIE DOBSON, Citizens and Chantry in Late Medieval York.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

W. M. GORDON and T. D. FERGUS, editors. *Legal History in the Making*. (Proceedings of the Ninth British Legal History Conference, 1989.) Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambleton. 1991. Pp. 216.

THOMAS GLYN WATKIN, Saints, Seaways and Dispute Settlements. TIMOTHY S. HASKETT, The Presentation of Cases in Medieval Chancery Bills. HENRY SUMMERSON, The Early Development of the Laws of the Anglo-Scottish Marches, 1249–1448. W. DAVID H. SELLAR, Forethought Felony, Malice Aforethought and the Classification of Homicide. DAVID J. SEIPP, The Structure of English Common Law in the Seventeenth Century. A. H. MANCHESTER, An Introduction to Iconographical Studies of Legal History: England and Wales. M. A. BECKER-MOELANDS, An Introduction to Iconographical Studies of Legal History: The Netherlands. PAUL NÈVE, Disputations of Scots Students Attending Universities in the Northern Netherlands. RICHARD S. TOMPSON, James Greenshields and the House of Lords: A Reappraisal. STEPHEN C. YEAZELL, Default and Modern Process. K. J. M. SMITH, Macaulay's "Utilitarian" Indian Penal Code: An Illustration of the Accidental Function of Time, Place and Personalities in Law Making. INGER DÜBECK, The Development of Danish Joint Stock Company Rules during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. ROGER GREGORY and FRANK SHARMAN, The Influence of Butch Cassidy on the Development of English Company Law. JOHN P. S. McLAREN, The Burdens of Empire and the Legalization of White Supremacy in Canada, 1860–1910. ROGER CHADWICK, Sir Augustus Stephenson and the Prosecution of Offences Act of 1884. V. G. GRAFSKY, Paul Vinogradoff as Legal Historian.

RICHARD KROLL *et al.*, editors. *Philosophy, Science, and Religion in England, 1640–1700*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 287. \$59.95.

RICHARD KROLL, Introduction. ALLISON P. COUDERT, Henry More, the Kabbalah, and the Quakers. SARAH HUTTON, Edward Stillingfleet, Henry More, and the Decline of *Moses Atticus*: A Note on Seventeenth-Century Anglican Apologetics. JOSEPH M. LEVINE, Latitudinarians, Neoplatonists, and the Ancient Wisdom. ALAN GABBEY, Cudworth, More, and the Mechanical Analogy. PEREZ ZAGORIN, Cudworth and Hobbes on Is and Ought. RICHARD ASHCRAFT, Latitudinarianism and Toleration: Historical Myth versus Political History. MARGARET J. OSLER, The Intellectual Sources of Robert Boyle's Philosophy of Nature: Gassendi's Voluntarism, and Boyle's Physicotheological Project. MICHAEL HUNTER, Latitudinarianism and the "Ideology" of the Early Royal Society: Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) Reconsidered. G. A. J. ROGERS, Locke and the Latitude-Men: Ignorance as a Ground of Toleration. JOHN MARSHALL, John Locke and Latitudinarianism.

ISOBEL GRUNDY and SUSAN WISEMAN, editors. *Women, Writing, History: 1640–1740*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. 239. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$18.00.

ELAINE HOBBY, "Discourse so Unsavoury": Women's Published Writings of the 1650s. JESLYN MEDOFF, The Daughters

of Behn and the Problem of Reputation. CAROL BARASH, "The Native Liberty . . . of the Subject": Configurations of Gender and Authority in the Works of Mary Chudleigh, Sarah Fyge Egerton, and Mary Astell. KATE LILLEY, True State Within: Women's Elegy, 1640–1740. ROS BALLASTER, Seizing the Means of Seduction: Fiction and Feminine Identity in Aphra Behn and Delarivier Manley. CATHERINE SHARROCK, De-ciphering Women and De-scribing Authority: The Writings of Mary Astell. ISOBEL GRUNDY, Women's History? Writings by English Nuns. DIANE PURKISS, Producing the Voice, Consuming the Body: Women Prophets of the Seventeenth Century. SUSAN WISEMAN, Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. VALERIE RUMBOLD, The Jacobite Vision of Mary Caesar.

LOIS G. SCHWOERER, editor. *The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxii, 288. \$59.95.

K. H. D. HALEY, The Dutch, the Invasion of England, and the Alliance of 1689. JOHN C. RULE, France Caught between Two Balances: The Dilemma of 1688. J. G. A. POCKOCK, The Fourth English Civil War: Dissolution, Desertion, and Alternative Histories in the Glorious Revolution. RACHEL J. WEIL, The Politics of Legitimacy: Women and the Warming-Pan Scandal. HOWARD NENNER, Pretense and Pragmatism: The Response to Uncertainty in the Succession Crisis of 1689. STEPHEN B. BAXTER, William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture. LOIS G. SCHWOERER, The Coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689. W. A. SPECK, William—and Mary? GORDON J. SCHOCHET, John Locke and Religious Toleration. STEVEN N. ZWICKER, Representing the Revolution: Politics and High Culture in 1689. LOIS POTTER, Politics and Popular Culture: The Theatrical Response to the Revolution. GARY S. DE KREY, *Revolution redivivus*: 1688–1689 and the Radical Tradition in Seventeenth-Century London Politics. J. M. BEATTIE, The Cabinet and the Management of Death at Tyburn after the Revolution of 1688–1689. KARL S. BOTTIGHEIMER, The Glorious Revolution and Ireland. BRUCE P. LENMAN, The Poverty of Political Theory in the Scottish Revolution of 1688–1690. JACK P. GREENE, The Glorious Revolution and the British Empire, 1688–1783.

OLE PETER GRELL *et al.*, editors. *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 443. \$69.00.

NICHOLAS TYACKE, The "Rise of Puritanism" and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571–1719. PATRICK COLLINSON, The Cohabitation of the Faithful with the Unfaithful. ANDREW PETTEGREE, The French and Walloon Communities in London, 1550–1688. OLE PETER GRELL, From Persecution to Integration: The Decline of the Anglo-Dutch Communities in England, 1648–1702. JONATHAN I. ISRAEL, William III and Toleration. JOHN DUNN, The Claim to Freedom of Conscience: Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Thought, Freedom of Worship? RICHARD H. POPKIN, The Deist Challenge. DAVID S. KATZ, The Jews of England and 1688. ROBIN D. GWYNN, Disorder and Innovation: The Reshaping of the French Churches of London after the Glorious Revolution. G. C. GIBBS, The Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, 1680–1690. B. R. WHITE, The

Twilight of Puritanism in the Years before and after 1688. MARK GOLDIE, The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England. JOHN BOSSY, English Catholics after 1688. HUGH TREVOR-ROPER, Toleration and Religion after 1688.

D. G. C. ALLAN and JOHN L. ABBOTT, editors. *"The Virtuoso Tribe of Arts and Sciences": Studies in the Eighteenth-Century Work and Membership of the London Society of Arts*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. xxvi, 447. \$65.00.

JOHN L. ABBOTT, Dr. Johnson and the Society. D. G. C. ALLAN and JOHN L. ABBOTT, "Compassion and Horror in Every Humane Mind": Samuel Johnson, the Society of Arts, and Eighteenth-Century Prostitution. JOHN L. ABBOTT, Thomas Hollis and the Society, 1756–1774. J. V. G. MALLETT, Nicholas Crisp, Founding Member of the Society of Arts. D. G. C. ALLAN, Caleb Whitefoord, FRS, FSA, 1734–1810: Committee Chairman and Vice President of the Society. D. G. C. ALLAN, Artists and the Society in the Eighteenth Century. GERTRUD SEIDMANN, "A Very Ancient, Useful and Curious Art": The Society and the Revival of Gem-Engraving in Eighteenth-Century England. LEO J. DE FREITAS, The Society and Wood Engraving in the Eighteenth Century. J. B. HARLEY, The Society and the Surveys of English Counties, 1759–1809. WALTER M. STERN, The Society and the Improvement of Whaling. JOHN SUNDERLAND, Samuel Johnson and History Painting. ROBERT LEROY HILLDRUP, A Campaign to Promote the Prosperity of Colonial Virginia. D. G. C. ALLAN, "The Present Unhappy Disputes": The Society and the Loss of the American Colonies, 1774–1783. HANS-JOACHIM BRAUN, Some Notes on the Germanic Associations of the Society in the Eighteenth Century. GEORGE TRUETT HOLLIS, Count Francesco Algarotti and the Society. A. G. CROSS, Early Contacts of the Society with Russia. JAMES E. TIERNEY, Robert Dodsley: The First Printer and Stationer to the Society. D. G. C. ALLAN, The Contest for the Secretaryship, 1769–1770. G. E. MERCER, "Mr. More of the Adelphi": Notes on the Life and Works of Samuel More, Secretary of the Society, 1770–1799. D. G. C. ALLAN, The Chronology of James Barry's Work for the Society's Great Room.

JOHN BELCHEM, editor. *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History 1790–1940*. (Liverpool Historical Studies, number 8.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 257. £11.75.

JOHN BELCHEM, Introduction: The Peculiarities of Liverpool. M. J. POWER, The Growth of Liverpool. KEVIN MOORE, "This Whig and Tory Ridden Town": Popular Politics in Liverpool in the Chartist Era. JOHN BELCHEM, Liverpool in the Year of Revolution: The Political and Associational Culture of the Irish Immigrant Community in 1848. ANNE BRYSON, Riotous Liverpool, 1815–1860. ERIC TAPLIN, False Dawn of New Unionism? Labour Unrest in Liverpool, 1871–1873. NORMAN H. MURDOCH, From Militancy to Social Mission: The Salvation Army and Street Disturbances in Liverpool, 1879–1887. JOHN BOHSTEDT, More than One Working Class: Protestant and Catholic Riots in Edwardian Liverpool. SAM DAVIES, Class, Religion and Gender: Liverpool Labour Party and Women, 1918–1939. ALAN LITTLE, Appendix: Liverpool Chartists, Subscribers to the National Land Company, 1847–1848.



BRIAN BOND, editor. *The First World War and British Military History*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 330. \$72.00.

KEITH GRIEVES, Early Historical Responses to the Great War: Fortescue, Conan Doyle, and Buchan. HEW STRACHAN, "The Real War": Liddell Hart, Crutwell, and Falls. DAVID FRENCH, Sir James Edmonds and the Official History: France and Belgium. IAN BECKETT, Frocks and Brasshats. RICHARD HOLMES, Sir John French and Lord Kitchener. KEITH SIMPSON, The Reputation of Sir Douglas Haig. EDWARD SPIERS, Gallipoli. JONATHAN NEWELL, Allenby and the Palestine Campaign. BRIAN HOLDEN REID, T. E. Lawrence and His Biographers. ALEX DANCHEV, "Bunking" and Debunking: The Controversies of the 1960s. PETER SIMKINS, Everyman at War: Recent Interpretations of the Front Line Experience.

GEOFFREY JONES and M. W. KIRBY, editors. *Competitiveness and the State: Government and Business in Twentieth-Century Britain*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. x, 203. \$59.95.

GEOFFREY JONES and MAURICE KIRBY, Competitiveness and the State in International Perspective. MAURICE KIRBY and MARY B. ROSE, Productivity and Competitive Failure: British Government Policy and Industry, 1914–19. JIM TOMLINSON, A Missed Opportunity? Labour and the Productivity Problem, 1945–51. MARTIN CHICK, Competition, Competitiveness and Nationalisation, 1945–51. HELEN MERCER, The Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission, 1949–56: A Study in Regulatory Failure. WYN GRANT, Government and Manufacturing Industry since 1900. GEOFFREY JONES, Competition and Competitiveness in British Banking, 1918–71. OLIVER M. WESTALL, The Assumptions of Regulation in British General Insurance. T. A. B. CORLEY, Oil Companies and the Role of Government: The Case of Britain, 1900–75. JONATHAN BROWN, The State and Agriculture, 1914–72.

T. M. DEVINE, editor. *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar, 1989–90.) Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1991. Pp. xi, 141. \$65.00.

THOMAS M. DEVINE, Introduction. BRENDA COLLINS, The Origins of Irish Immigration to Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. TOM GALLAGHER, The Catholic Irish in Scotland: In Search of Identity. GRAHAM WALKER, The Protestant Irish in Scotland. WILLIAM SLOAN, Religious Affiliation and the Immigrant Experience: Catholic Irish and Protestant Highlanders in Glasgow, 1830–50. BERNARD ASPINWALL, The Catholic Irish and Wealth in Glasgow. JOHN F. McCAFFREY, Irish Issues in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century: Radicalism in a Scottish Context.

## FRANCE

JAMES A. W. HEFFERNAN, editor. *Representing the French Revolution: Literature, Historiography, and Art*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1992. Pp. xv, 286. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

STEVEN BLAKEMORE, Revolution in Language: Burke's Representation of Linguistic Terror. WILLIAM KEACH, Blake,

Violence, and Visionary Politics. JAMES A. W. HEFFERNAN, History and Autobiography: The French Revolution in Wordsworth's *Prelude*. MARK CUMMING, "Such a Figure DREW Priam's Curtains!" Carlyle's Epic History of the Revolution. LIONEL GOSSMAN, Michelet and the French Revolution. ANN RIGNEY, Icon and Symbol: The Historical Figure Called Maximilien Robespierre. CAROL BLUM, Representing the Body Politic: Fictions of the State. MARIE-HÉLÈNE HUET, Performing Arts: Theatricality and the Terror. MADELYN GUTWIRTH, The Rights and Wrongs of Woman: The Defeat of Feminist Rhetoric by Revolutionary Allegory. DONNA M. HUNTER, Swordplay: Jacques-Louis David's Painting of Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau on His Deathbed. JAMES CUNO, Obscene Humor in French Revolutionary Caricature: Jacques-Louis David's *The Army of Jugs* and *The English Government*. SUSANNE ZANTOP, Crossing the Border: The French Revolution in the German Literary Imagination. VÈVE A. CLARK, Haiti's Tragic Overture: (Mis)Representations of the Haitian Revolution in World Drama (1796–1975). BEATRIZ PASTOR, Carpentier's Enlightened Revolution, Goya's Sleep of Reason.

FRANÇOIS FURET and MONA OZOUF, editors. *La Gironde et les Girondins*. (Librairie du Bicentenaire de la Révolution Française.) Paris: Payot. 1991. Pp. 468. 190 fr.

FRANÇOIS FURET and MONA OZOUF, Préface. ALAN FORREST, Bordeaux au temps de la Gironde. BRONISLAW BACZKO, Les Girondins en Thermidor. PAUL VIALLANEIX, Michelet et les Girondins: Révision d'un procès. PIERRE BOURETZ, Jaurès et la Gironde. ANTOINE DE BAECQUE, La Gironde et la Sorbonne, les Girondins dans l'historiographie universitaire (1886–1989). RAN HALÉVI, Les Girondins avant la Gironde: Esquisse d'une éducation politique. MICHAEL S. LEWIS-BECK *et al.*, Y a-t-il eu un groupe girondin à la Convention nationale (1792–1793)? FRANÇOIS FURET, Les Girondins et la guerre: Les débuts de l'Assemblée législative. ANNE-MARIE COCULA, Les représentants de la Convention à Bordeaux en juin 1793: Une mission impossible? JEAN-LOUIS ORNIÈRES, La Gironde et la Vendée. LADAN BOROUMAND, Les Girondins et l'idée de République. LAURENCE CORNU, "Fédéralistes! Et pourquoi?" PHILIPPE RAYNAUD, Y a-t-il une philosophie girondine? MONA OZOUF, Madame Roland. RITA HERMON-BELOT, L'abbé Fauchet. ROBERT BADINTER, Condorcet et les Girondins. JEAN-DENIS BREDIN, Vergniaud ou le génie de la parole. JEAN BOUTIER, Élie Guadet. BERTRAND FAVREAU, Gensonné ou la fatalité de la Gironde. PATRICE GUENIFFEY, Brissot.

SERGE BERSTEIN and ODILE RUDELLE, editors. *Le modèle républicain*. (Politique d'aujourd'hui.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1992. Pp. 431. 175 fr.

HENRI VAN EFFENTERRE, La cité grecque, modèle de la République des Républicains. CLAUDE NICOLET, Citoyenneté française et citoyenneté romaine: Essai de mise en perspective. LUCIEN JAUME, Les Jacobins et l'opinion publique. RAYMOND HUARD, L'organisation du suffrage universel sous la Seconde République. ODILE RUDELLE, De Jules Ferry à Raymond Poincaré, ou l'échec du constitutionnalisme républicain. ALAIN BERGOUNIOUX, Socialisme et République avant 1914. MICHEL WINOCK, Le mythe fondateur: L'affaire Drey-



fus. SERGE BERSTEIN, Les institutions républicaines au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. SERGE BERSTEIN, La culture républicaine dans la première moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. FRANÇOIS EWALD, La politique sociale des opportunistes, 1879–1885. SERGE BERSTEIN, La politique sociale des Républicains. PIERRE MILZA, Le modèle républicain français dans la culture politique de l'antifascisme italien. LUCIEN JAUME, Condorcet: Des progrès de la raison aux progrès de la société. JEAN-FRANÇOIS SIRINELLI, Des boursiers conquérants? École et "promotion républicaine" sous la III<sup>e</sup> République. NONNA MAYER, L'atelier et la boutique: Deux filières de mobilité sociale. JEAN-LUC BODIGUEL, Une voie de la promotion sociale: La fonction publique? ODILE RUDELLE, "Promotion républicaine" et "promotion sociale" de la III<sup>e</sup> à la V<sup>e</sup> République. NICOLAS ROUSSELLIER, La contestation du modèle républicain dans les années 30: La réforme de l'État. JEAN-PIERRE AZÉMA, Vichy face au modèle républicain. SERGE BERSTEIN, La IV<sup>e</sup> République: République nouvelle ou restauration du modèle de la III<sup>e</sup> République. ODILE RUDELLE, De Gaulle et la République. SERGE BERSTEIN, La V<sup>e</sup> République: Un nouveau modèle républicain?

ROBERT TOMBS, editor. *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889–1918*. New York: HarperCollins. 1991. Pp. xv, 286. \$69.95.

ROBERT TOMBS, Sentiment and Ideology: Introduction. EUGEN WEBER, Gauls versus Franks: Conflict and Nationalism. ZEEV STERNHELL, The Political Culture of Nationalism. CHRISTIAN AMALVI, Nationalist Responses to the Revolution. MICHAEL BURNS, Families and Fatherlands: The Lost Provinces and the Case of Captain Dreyfus. GERD KRUMEICH, Joan of Arc between Right and Left. PIERRE SORLIN, Words and Images of Nationhood. STÉPHANE AUDOIN-ROUZEAU, The National Sentiment of Soldiers during the Great War. ALBERT VAIGIULENAS, Nationalism and Politics: Introduction. WILLIAM D. IRVINE, Royalists and the Politics of Nationalism. WILLIAM SERMAN, The Nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 1888–1912. BERNARD MÉNAGER, Nationalists and Bonapartists. BERTRAND JOLY, The Jeunesse Antisémitique et Nationaliste, 1894–1904. LENARD R. BERLANSTEIN, Parisian White-Collar Employees and Nationalism in the *belle époque*. JUDITH F. STONE, *La république et la patrie*: The Radicals' Nationalism under Attack. PIERRE ARNAUD, Dividing and Uniting: Sports Societies and Nationalism, 1870–1914. KAREN OFFEN, Exploring the Sexual Politics of Republican Nationalism. PHILIP NORD, Social Defence and Conservative Regeneration: The National Revival, 1900–14. DAVID STEVENSON, Policy in the Era of Nationalism: Introduction. JEAN-CHARLES JAUFFRET, The Army and the *appel au soldat*, 1874–89. GÉRARD CANINI, The School Battalions in the East, 1882–92: Reasons for Failure. JOHN KEIGER, Patriotism, Politics and Policy in the Foreign Ministry, 1880–1914. JEAN-CLAUDE ALLAIN, Strategic Independence and Security of Communications: The Undersea Telegraph Cables.

JOHN S. AMBLER, editor. *The French Welfare State: Surviving Social and Ideological Change*. New York: New York University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 273. \$40.00.

JOHN S. AMBLER, Ideas, Interests, and the French Welfare State. DOUGLAS E. ASHFORD, Advantages of Complexity: Social Insurance in France. DAVID R. CAMERON, Continuity and Change in French Social Policy: The Welfare State under Gaullism, Liberalism, and Socialism. DAVID WILSFORD,

The Continuity of Crisis: Patterns of Health Care Policymaking in France, 1978–1988. RÉMI LENOIR, Family Policy in France since 1938. NATHAN H. SCHWARTZ, French Housing Policies in the Eighties: Complexity, Continuity, and Ideology. BRUNO JOBERT, Democracy and Social Policies: The Example of France.

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

ANNE J. CRUZ and MARY ELIZABETH PERRY, editors. *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*. (Hispanic Issues, number 7.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 267.

ANNE J. CRUZ and MARY ELIZABETH PERRY, Introduction: Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain. JEAN PIERRE DEDIEU, "Christianization" in New Castile: Catechism, Communion, Mass, and Confirmation in the Toledo Archbishopric, 1540–1650. SARA T. NALLE, A Saint for All Seasons: The Cult of San Julián. GWENDOLYN BARNES-KAROL, Religious Oratory in a Culture of Control. BERNARD VINCENT, The *Moriscos* and Circumcision. JAIME CONTRERAS, Aldermen and Judaizers: Cryptojudaism, Counter-Reformation, and Local Power. MARY ELIZABETH PERRY, Magdalens and Jezebels in Counter-Reformation Spain. ANNE J. CRUZ, *La bella marmaridada*: Lessons for the Good Wife. ALISON WEBER, Saint Teresa, Demonologist. MARÍA HELENA SÁNCHEZ ORTEGA, Woman as Source of "Evil" in Counter-Reformation Spain. JOHN R. BEVERLEY, On the Concept of the Spanish Literary Baroque. ANTHONY J. CASCARDI, Afterword: The Subject of Control.

## LOW COUNTRIES

DAVID FREEDBERG and JAN DE VRIES, editors. *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*. (Issues and Debates.) Los Angeles: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities; distributed by University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. 444. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$29.95.

JAN DE VRIES, Introduction. GARY SCHWARTZ, Art in History. J. W. SMIT, History in Art. LINDA STONE-FERRIER, Market Scenes as Viewed by an Art Historian. WILLEM A. BRANDENBURG, Market Scenes as Viewed by a Plant Biologist. RICHARD W. UNGER, Marine Paintings and the History of Shipbuilding. JOHN WALSH, Skies and Reality in Dutch Landscape. E. DE JONGH, Some Notes on Interpretation. JOCHEN BECKER, Are These Girls Really So Neat? On Kitchen Scenes and Method. ERIC J. SLUIJTER, Didactic and Disguised Meanings? Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Northern Dutch Paintings of this Period. LYCKLE DE VRIES, The Changing Face of Realism. JAN DE VRIES, Art History. AD VAN DER WOUDE, The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic. JOHN MICHAEL MONTIAS, Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions. DAVID FREEDBERG, Conclusion: Science, Commerce, and Art; Neglected Topics at the Junction of History and Art History.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

ANDREW C. FIX and SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN, editors. *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 18.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 274. \$35.00.

HANS J. HILLERBRAND, The Antichrist in the Early German Reformation: Reflections on Theology and Propaganda. HEIKO A. OBERMAN, Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination against the Jews: The *Veritas Hebraica* as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation. ANDREW C. FIX, Radical Religion and the Age of Reason. MIRIAM USHER CHRISTMAN, Haug Marschalck: Lay Supporter of the Reform. MARK U. EDWARDS, JR., First Impressions in the Strasbourg Press. HEINZ SCHILLING, Alternatives to the Lutheran Reformation and the Rise of Lutheran Identity. SUSAN KARANT-NUNN, *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius. HANS-CHRISTOPH RUBLACK, Success and Failure of the Reformation: Popular "Apologies" from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. R. PO-CHIA HSIA, Between State and Community: Religious and Ethnic Minorities in Early Modern Germany. MERRY E. WIESNER, Ideology Meets the Empire: Reformed Convents and the Reformation. THOMAS A. BRADY, JR., Some Peculiarities of German Histories in the Early Modern Era. H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT, Curious Georgics: The German Nobility and Their Crisis of Legitimacy in the Late Sixteenth Century. RICHARD L. GAWTHROP, The Social Role of Seventeenth-Century German Territorial States.

MANFRED P. FLEISCHER, editor. *The Harvest of Humanism in Central Europe: Essays in Honor of Lewis W. Spitz*. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia. 1992. Pp. 389. \$19.95.

MANFRED P. FLEISCHER, Introduction, *seu pro capto lectoris quod fatum hic libellus habuit*. MANFRED P. FLEISCHER, Humanism and Reformation in Silesia: Imprints of Italy—Celtis, Erasmus, Luther and Melancthon. ROBERT ROSIN, Replanting Eden: The Elizabethanum as God's Garden. JAMES M. KITTELSON, Humanism in the Theological Faculties of Lutheran Universities during the Late Reformation. ROBERT KOLB, Phillip's Foes, but Followers Nonetheless: Late Humanism among the Gnesio-Lutherans. KASPAR VON GREYERZ, Lazarus von Schwendi (1522–1583) and Late Humanism in Basel. ARLENE MILLER GUINSBURG, Late German Humanism and Hermeticism: A Reassessment of the Continuity. JOSEPH S. FREEDMAN, Aristotelianism and Humanism in Late Reformation German Philosophy: The Case of Clemens Timpler. ABRAHAM FRIESEN, Humanism and Anabaptism: A Study in Paradigmatic Similarities. JAMES A. PARENTE, JR., Empowering Readers: Humanism, Politics, and Money in Early Modern German Drama. DERK VISSER, Faith and Love: The Iconography of Mary Magdalene, 1450–1650. FRANK BARON, The Precarious Legacy of Renaissance Humanism in the Faust Legend. JEANNINE E. OLSON, Jean Crespin, Humanist Printer among the Reformation Martyrologists. JAMES MICHAEL WEISS, The Harvest of German Humanism: Melchior Adam's Collective Biographies as Cultural History.

BERND MARTIN, editor. *Deutschland in Europa: Ein historischer Rückblick*. Munich: Deutsches Taschenbuch. 1992. Pp. 291. DM 14.80.

JOCHEN MARTIN, Universalmonarchie und partikulare Gewalten: Die Germanen in und nach dem Imperium Romanum.

HUBERT MORDEK, Karl der Grosse: Barbarischer Eroberer oder Baumeister Europas? THOMAS ZOTZ, Das "Erste Reich": Imperium Romanum und regnum Teutonicum in ottonisch-salischer Zeit. MICHAEL BORGOLTE, Vom Sacrum Imperium zum Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation: Mittelalterliche Reichsgeschichte und deutsche Wiedervereinigung. VOLKER REINHARDT, Der Primat der Innerlichkeit und die Probleme des Reiches: Zum deutschen Nationalgefühl der frühen Neuzeit. ERNST SCHULIN, Weltbürgertum und deutscher Volksgeist: Die romantische Nationalisierung im frühen neunzehnten Jahrhundert. HEINZ HOLECZEK, Die gescheiterte Reichsgründung 1848/49. HUGO OTT, "Eisen und Blut": Bismarcks Reichsgründung. GERD KRUMEICH, Das "Zweite Reich": Das Wilhelminische Deutschland, von seinen Nachbarn aus gesehen. BERND MARTIN, Das Reich als Republik: Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Größe. HANS FENSKE, Das "Dritte Reich": Die Perversion der Reichsidee. HANS-ERICH VOLKMAN, Das Reich in den Konzeptionen der Siegermächte des Zweiten Weltkrieges und im politisch-rechtlichen Verständnis der Bundesrepublik. ULRICH KLUGE, Westintegration—Ostintegration—Wirtschafts"nation": Das geteilte Deutschland 1945–1989. GOTTFRIED SCHRAMM, Deutschland in Europa: Rückblick und Ausblick.

## ITALY

*L'Inquisizione romana in Italia nell'età moderna: Archivi, problemi di metodo e nuove ricerche*. (Atti del seminario internazionale; pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato: Saggi, number 19.) Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali. 1991. Pp. 404.

ADRIANO PROSPERI, Bilancio e prospettive della storia dell'Inquisizione. SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI, Proposta per una documentazione e inventariazione unitaria degli archivi italiani dell'Inquisizione. JEAN-PIERRE DEDIEU, Pour une coordination des recherches en histoire de la justice: Réflexions sur quelques catégories classificatoires. JAIME CONTRERAS, Los criterios por un estudio sistemático de un tribunal regional. GUSTAV HENNINGSEN, Hacia un banco de datos de la legislación española: Las cartas acordadas. ROBERT ROWLAND, L'esperienza di informatizzazione dei registri dell'Inquisizione portoghese: Presentazione e valutazione critica. FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT, Les sources de l'Inquisition portugaise: Évaluation critique et méthodes de recherche. ANDREA DEL COL, Problemi per la catalogazione e repertorizzazione unificata degli atti processuali dell'Inquisizione romana. JOHN MARTIN, Alcuni aspetti di analisi quantitativa dell'Inquisizione veneziana: Primi risultati e metodi. NICHOLAS DAVIDSON, L'Inquisizione veneziana come istituzione: Linee per una ricerca. ANNE JACOBSON SCHUTTE, Questioni su processi veneziani del Seicento. GIOVANNA PAOLIN, Modificazioni strutturali dei processi veneziani e udinesi nel Seicento. PIER CESARE IOLY ZORATTINI, Gli archivi del Sant'Ufficio come fonti per la storia della mentalità e della cultura delle minoranze etnico-religiose. STEFANIA MALAVASI, L'archivio del Sant'Ufficio di Rovigo. LUIGI DE BASIO, L'archivio del Sant'Ufficio di Udine. MARIANGELA SARRA DI BERT, Elaborazione statistica dei dati dell'Inquisizione friulana. ALBANO BIONDI, L'archivio dell'Inquisizione di Modena: Storia di casi e storia seriale. SUSANNA PEYRONEL RAMBALDI, Processi contro podestà del contado estense nel tardo secolo XVI: Per una storia dei rapporti tra potere laico ed ecclesiastico. GRAZIA BIONDI, Per una registrazione delle lettere

della Congregazione del Sant'Ufficio all'Inquisizione di Modena. SIMONETTA ADORNI-BRACCESI, *La Repubblica di Lucca e l'Inquisizione*. LUCIANO OSBAT, *Le carte processuali dell'Inquisizione di Napoli: Da una storia dell'istituzione ad una storia sociale*. JOHN TEDESCHI, *Fonti per lo studio dell'Inquisizione in Italia*. CARLO GINZBURG, *Su alcune implicazioni metodologiche delle fonti inquisitoriali*.

EUGENIO GUCCIONE, editor. *Gioacchino Ventura e il pensiero politico d'ispirazione cristiana dell'Ottocento*. In two volumes. (Biblioteca dell'Archivio Storico Italiano, number 27.) Florence, Italy: Leo S. Olschki. 1991. Pp. xii, 826.

ANGELO CAPITUMMINO, Introduzione. MARIO D'ADDIO, *Geoacchino Ventura: Dalla restaurazione alla rivoluzione*. EMILE POULAT, *Le P. Ventura et la culture catholique*. FRANCESCO BRANCATO, *Ventura nella critica storica*. HEINRICH M. SCHMIDINGER, *Ventura und die neuscholastische Philosophie*. GIORGIO CAMPANINI, *Cristianesimo e civiltà in Ventura*. ENZO SCIACCA, *Costituzionalismo e liberalismo in Ventura*. MANLIO CORSELLI, *Legittimismo e tradizionalismo in Ventura*. UMBERTO MURATORE, *Libertà e religione nei rapporti Ventura-Rosmini*. HERMAN H. SCHWEDT, *Religione e libertà: Un motto di Ventura nei conflitti del cattolicesimo tedesco*. MICHELE PENNISI, *Ventura e Luigi Sturzo*. PAOLO PASTORI, *Ventura lettore di Bonald*. MARIO TESINI, *Il mito di O'Connell tra Lacordaire e Ventura*. FRANCESCO RENDA, *Ventura e la questione siciliana*. JOSÉ ANDRÉS-GALLEGO, *Ventura, Donoso, Balmes*. ROBERTO SALVO, *Emirico Amari ed il gruppo del "Giornale di statistica": Motivi d'ispirazione cristiana nel pensiero liberale in Sicilia prima del 1848*. PASQUALE HAMEL, *Chiesa, unità nazionale e autonomia nel pensiero politico di Ventura*. FRANCESCO MICHELE STABILE, *La corrispondenza diplomatica con la Segreteria di Stato*. FRANCESCA RICCOBONO, *Il problema siciliano del 1848 nella prospettiva politica europea: Il giudizio di G. Ventura*. M. SOFIA MESSANA VIRGA, *Il problema istituzionale in Sicilia*. FAUSTA PUCCIO, *Ventura "commissario della Sicilia a Roma"*. JEAN MARIE MAYEUR, *Ventura et Lamennais*. JACQUES PRÉVOTAT, *Le séjour de G. Ventura à Paris*. ANNA MORELLI, *Cattolici liberali belgi e gli ideali mennaissiani*. EUGENIO GUCCIONE, *Il concetto di democrazia in G. Ventura*. STEFAN DELUREANU, *Lamennais nella cultura politica e letteraria romana dell'età risorgimentale*. FRANCESCO ANDREU, *Un aspetto inedito nel rapporto Ventura-Lamennais*. BERNARD A. COOK, *Ventura and the United States*. JESUS MARTIN TEJEDOR, *Ventura en el catolicismo liberal español*. SALVATORE GIRGENTI, *Concezione della donna in Ventura*. GIUSEPPE MONSAGRATI, *Polemiche inedite dell'ultimo Ventura*. GABRIELLA GENTILE PORTALONE, *Cenni sulla libertà di commercio in Sicilia*. ROSANNA MARSALA, *Gioacchino Ventura: Bibliografia*.

STEFANIA MAGLIANI and ROMANO UGOLINI, editors. *Il modello Umbro tra realtà nazionale e specificità regionale*. Perugia, Italy: Endas Umbria. 1991. Pp. 312.

EDOARDO MARINELLI, Presentazione. ROMANO UGOLINI, Introduzione. STEFANIA MAGLIANI, Premessa. FRANCO DELLA PERUTA, *Democrazia risorgimentale, rivoluzione francese e giancabinismo*. ANGELO VARNI, *All'interno del mutualismo italiano: Appunti per una teoria del movimento "operaio" mazziniano*. VINCENZO G. PACIFICI, *Movimento democratico*

e rappresentanza parlamentare. FRANCESCA TADDEI, *Movimento democratico e questione operaia*. ROBERTO BALZANI, *Il problema dell'istruzione nel movimento democratico*. ALESSANDRO MARABOTTINI, *Qualche considerazione sugli artisti democratici in Italia dalla Restaurazione ai primi decenni dell'Unità nazionale*. ROMANO UGOLINI, *Caratteristiche del movimento democratico in Umbria nel periodo preunitario*. VINCENZO PIRRO, *Perugia giacobina (1797-1799)*. GIAN BIAGIO FURIOZZI, *Luigi PIANCIANI e la democrazia umbra dal 1861 al 1870*. MARIO TOSTI, *L'inserimento dell'Umbria nello stato unitario*. STEFANIA MAGLIANI, *Trasformazioni urbanistiche a Perugia dopo l'Unità*. RAFFAELE ROSSI, *La società regionale tra Ottocento e Novecento*. ROMANO UGOLINI, *L'età giolittiana: Apoteosi e crisi della maggioranza liberale*. GIAN BIAGIO FURIOZZI, *Le sinistre tra opposizione e integrazione nell'età giolittiana*. FRANCESCO MALGERI, *La trasformazione del movimento cattolico*. VINCENZO G. PACIFICI, *Dopo il primo conflitto mondiale: La crisi del partito tradizionale e l'ascesa del partito nazionale fascista*. ZEFFIRO CIUFFOLETTI, *Il fascismo e la distruzione dei partiti d'opposizione*. CARLO CARINI, *Crisi del fascismo e ricostruzione dei partiti*. RAFFAELE ROSSI, *L'età giolittiana in Umbria: I partiti*. MARIO TOSTI, *L'età giolittiana in Umbria: La società*. FABRIZIO BRACCO, *Il primo dopoguerra in Umbria e l'origine del fascismo*. STEFANIA MAGLIANI, *Il fascismo in Umbria: trasformazioni urbanistiche: L'esempio di Perugia*. GIANCARLO PELLEGRINI, *Il fascismo in Umbria tra consenso e dissenso*. M. CRISTINA GIUNTELLA, *La società umbra durante il fascismo*.

ROMANO UGOLINI and VINCENZO PIRRO, editors. *Giuseppe Petroni: Dallo Stato Pontificio all'Italia unita*. (Studi e ricerche dell'Istituto di Storia della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Perugia, number 6.) Naples: Scientifiche Italiane. 1991. Pp. 156. L. 22,000.

ROMANO UGOLINI, Petroni e Garibaldi. ANGELO VARNI, *Giuseppe Petroni a Bologna*. ANNA MARIA ISASTIA, *Anticlericalismo e massoneria in Giuseppe Petroni*. FRANCESCA TADDEI, *Giuseppe Petroni e il movimento operaio*. LAURA G. MARCANTONI, *Processo del 15 agosto: Note di diritto*. ROBERTO BALZANI, *Profilo di Raffaele Petroni*. FRANCO DELLA PERUTA, *Petroni e Mazzini*. VINCENZO PIRRO, *L'avvocato Giuseppe Petroni tra cronaca cittadina e cronaca giudiziaria*. TELESFORO NANNI, *Il ricordo di Giuseppe Petroni*. ALDO A. MOLA, *Premessa al dibattito su Petroni*.

## EASTERN EUROPE

JOSEPH HELD, editor. *The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. lxi, 435. \$29.95.

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century: "Old Wine in New Bottles"*. NICHOLAS C. PANO, *Albania*. MARIN PUNDEFF, *Bulgaria*. SHARON L. WOLCHIK, *Czechoslovakia*. PÉTER HANÁK and JOSEPH HELD, *Hungary on a Fixed Course: An Outline of Hungarian History*. ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI, *Poland: 1918-1990*. TROND GILBERG, *The Multiple Legacies of History: Romania in the Year 1990*. DIMITRIJE DJORDJEVIC, *The Yugoslav Phenomenon*. MELVIN CROAN, *Germany and Eastern Europe*. IVÁN VÖLGYES, *By Way of a Conclusion: Controlled and Uncontrolled Change in Eastern Europe*.

## NEAR EAST

RICHARD T. ANTOUN and DONALD QUATAERT, editors. *Syria: Society, Culture, and Polity*. (SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 165.

DONALD QUATAERT, Preface. RICHARD T. ANTOUN, Introduction: Ethnicity, Clientship, and Class; Their Changing Meaning. PHILIP S. KHOURY, Syrian Political Culture: A Historical Perspective. RAYMOND A. HINNEBUSCH, Class and State in Ba'thist Syria. FUAD I. KHURI, The Alawis of Syria: Religious Ideology and Organization. SULAYMAN N. KHALAF, Land Reform and Class Structure in Rural Syria. SALIH J. ALTOMA, The Emancipation of Women in Contemporary Syrian Literature. PATRICK SEALE, Asad: Between Institutions and Autocracy. HELENA COBBAN, The Nature of the Soviet-Syrian Link under Asad and under Gorbachev.

## AFRICA

J. F. ADE AJAYI and J. D. Y. PEEL, editors. *People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder*. New York: Longman. 1992. Pp. xxv, 254.

BAWURO M. BARKINDO, The Royal Pilgrimage Tradition of the Saifawa of Kanem and Borno. LOUIS BRENNER, The Jihad Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse in Nigeria. MURRAY LAST, "Injustice" and Legitimacy in the Early Sokoto Caliphate. ELDRED D. JONES, Shakespeare's *The Tempest*: A Preview of Colonial Rule. AMANDA SACKUR, The French Revolution and Race Relations in Senegal, 1780–1810. MAVIS C. CAMPBELL, Early Resistance to Colonialism: Montague James and the Maroons in Jamaica, Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone. AKINTOLA J. G. WYSE, The Place of Sierra Leone in African Diaspora Studies. TOYIN FALOLA, The Lebanese in Colonial West Africa. AUGUSTUS CASELY-HAYFORD and RICHARD RATHBONE, Politics, Families and Freemasonry in the Colonial Gold Coast. PAUL RICHARDS, Landscapes of Dissent: Ikale and Ilaje Country 1870–1950. B. T. MOKOPAKGOSI, Conflict and Collaboration in South-Eastern Namibia: Missionaries, Concessionaires and the Nama's War against German Imperialism, 1880–1908. NEIL PARSONS, Colonel Rey and the Colonial Rulers of Botswana: Mercenary and Missionary Traditions in Administration, 1884–1955. LA RAY DENZER, Gender and Decolonization: A Study of Three Women in West African Public Life.

*Congo 1955–1960: Recueil d'études/Verzameling studies: Congo 1955–1960*. Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer/Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen. 1992. Pp. 599. \$98.00.

J.-J. SYMOENS, Avant-Propos. J. STENGERS, Introduction. A. BEYENS, L'histoire du statut des villes. W. BLONDEEL, "Tokende": Een missie-beeld voor Expo '58. P. BOUVIER, Le rôle des enseignements universitaire et supérieur dans le processus de la décolonisation congolaise. P. BOUVIER and L. FIERLAFYN, Le discours nationaliste. J. BRASSINNE, Les "conseillers" des délégations congolaises à la Conférence de la Table Ronde (20 janvier–20 février 1960). M.-B. DEMBOUR, La physionomie du service territorial du Congo belge et du

Ruanda-Urundi dans les années 1950 à travers quelques chiffres. R. DE SCHRYVER, Conversation avec Auguste-E. De Schryver, ancien Ministre du Congo belge, sur les années 1955–1960. F. DE VOGHEL, La Table Ronde économique 1960. V. FOUTRY, De Rooms-Katholieke Kerk: Dekoloniseren om te overleven; Een impressie. A. HUYBRECHTS and M. ZIMMER, L'économie congolaise au cours de la période 1955–1960. KABEMBA ASSAN and P. SALMON, Chansons congolaises à la Table Ronde (20 janvier–20 février 1960). A. LEDERER, L'approche de l'indépendance du Congo vécue à l'administration centrale de l'Otraco. P. LEROY, Journal de la Province Orientale, 1959–1960. W. MACGAFFEY, Kimbanguism in the Independence Process. A. RUBBENS, L'incubation de la fièvre sécessionniste du Katanga. P. SALMON, Un prélude à janvier 1959? A. STENMANS, Le multicéphalisme à Léopoldville. C. TANCRE-VAN LEEUW, Les territoriaux et la décolonisation. J. TEMMERMAN, Le Congo, réduit national belge. A. A. J. VAN BILSEN, Een dekolonisatievoorstel. J. VANDERLINDEN, Janvier 1959: Parlementaires et territoriaux. L. F. VANDERSTRAETEN, La Force Publique et le maintien de la "pax belgica," 1944–janvier 1959. A. VAN OSTADE, Le manifeste de "Conscience Africaine": Les origines et les implications immédiates. B. VERHAEGEN, Histoire de l'Abako.

## ASIA

GRANT K. GOODMAN, editor. *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. x, 223. \$39.95.

GRANT K. GOODMAN, Introduction. KENICHI GOTO, "Bright Legacy" or "Abortive Flower": Indonesian Students in Japan during World War 2. AIKO KURASAWA, Films as Propaganda Media on Java under the Japanese, 1942–45. E. BRUCE REYNOLDS, Imperial Japan's Cultural Program in Thailand. YOJI AKASHI, Japanese Cultural Policy in Malaya and Singapore, 1942–45. MOTOE TERAMI-WADA, The Japanese Propaganda Corps in the Philippines: Laying the Foundation.

DOUGLAS HAYNES and GYAN PRAKASH, editors. *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. x, 310. \$40.00.

DOUGLAS HAYNES and GYAN PRAKASH, Introduction: The Entanglement of Power. VEENA TALWAR OLDENBURG, Life-style as Resistance: The Case of the Courtesans of Lucknow. ROSALIND O'HANLON, Issues of Widowhood: Gender and Resistance in Colonial Western India. RAJNARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR, Workers' Resistance and the Rationalization of Work in Bombay between the Wars. GYAN PRAKASH, Becoming a Bhuinya: Oral Traditions and Contested Domination in Eastern India. JOHN D. ROGERS, Cultural and Social Resistance: Gambling in Colonial Sri Lanka. NICHOLAS B. DIRKS, Ritual and Resistance: Subversion as a Social Fact. DOUGLAS HAYNES, From Avoidance to Confrontation? A Contestatory History of Merchant-State Relations in Surat, 1600–1924. MICHAEL ADAS, South Asian Resistance in Comparative Perspective.

GÉRARD HEUZÉ, editor. *The Context of Work in India/Travailler en Inde*. (Collection Puruṣārtha.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1992. Pp. 361. 190 fr.

GÉRARD HEUZÉ, Introduction. PIERRE LACHAÏER, Employers-Employees Relationships in Pune Engineering Industry.



MONIQUE SÉLIM, *Ayurvedic Medicines Firms: Process of Social Distances*. VÉRONIQUE DUPONT, *Labour on the Move: Itineraries of Workers of Small Scale Textile Industry in West India*. GUY PORTEVIN and HEMA RAIRKAR, *Social, Cultural and Spatial Context of Work: The Case of Women Porters in Pune*. ALICE THORNER, *Work in the Lives of Women of Working-Class Quarters in Bombay*. CHITRA JOSHI, *The Formation of Work Culture: Industrial Labour in a North Indian City (1890s–1940s)*. RAJ CHANDAVARKAR, *Workers' Resistance to Rationalization in the Bombay Cotton Mills between the Two World Wars*. GÉRARD HEUZÉ, *Religion Rituals, Work and Workers: Extent and Limits*. CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT, *Note on a Hindu Nationalist Trade Union: Labour and Workers as Seen in the Ideology and Strategies of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh*. ILINA SEN, *Women Workers in the Mines of Chhattisgarh*. GEETA MENON, *Ecological Transitions and the Changing Context of Women's Work in Tribal India*. NITA KUMAR, *Changing Education and the Stubborn Work Concept in the Banaras Silk Industry (1880s–1930s)*. GÉRARD HEUZÉ and MONIQUE SÉLIM, *A Few Land Marks for Bibliography*.

### UNITED STATES

LUTHER S. LUEDTKE, editor. *Making America: The Society and Culture of the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 554. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$16.95.

LUTHER S. LUEDTKE, Introduction: The Search for American Character. PEIRCE LEWIS, *America's Natural Landscapes*. ARTHUR MANN, *From Immigration to Acculturation*. LILLIAN SCHLISSEL, *The Frontier Family: Dislocation and the American Experience*. RICHARD LINGEMAN, *A Consonance of Towns*. CARL ABBOTT, *Urban America*. RAYMOND D. GASTIL, *Cultural Regions of America*. NEIL HARRIS, *American Manners*. DICKRAN TASHJIAN, *The Artlessness of American Culture*. LELAND M. ROTH, *A New Architecture, Yet Old*. NINA BAYM, *Creating a National Literature*. RICHARD LEHAN, *Literature and Values: The American Crusoe and the Idea of the West*. NORMAN CORWIN, *Entertainment and the Mass Media*. RICHARD G. POWERS, *Sports and American Culture*. NATHAN GLAZER, *Individualism and Equality in the United States*. TAMARA K. HAREVEN, *Continuity and Change in American Family Life*. WILLIAM H. CHAFE, *Women and American Society*. WALDO MARTIN, *The Making of Black America*. EDWARD PESSEN, *Status and Social Class in America*. JOHN B. ORR, *The American System of Education*. MARTIN E. MARTY, *Religion in America*. WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN, *Exploration and the Culture of Science: The Long Good-bye of the Twentieth Century*. MURRAY G. MURPHEY, *American Philosophy*. JOHN P. DIGGINS, *Civil Disobedience in American Political Thought*. JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *The Courts and the Law*. JANE SHERRON DE HART and LINDA K. KERBER, *Gender and Equality in the American Experience*. ROBERT H. WALKER, *Reform and Social Change*.

JOHN D. BUENKER and LORMAN A. RATNER, editors. *Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Acculturation and Ethnicity*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. vi, 271. \$55.00.

LORMAN A. RATNER and JOHN D. BUENKER, Introduction. CYNTHIA GREGGS FLEMING, *African-Americans*. VINE DELO-

RIA, JR., *American Indians*. JAMES M. BERGQUIST, *German-Americans*. DENNIS CLARK, *Irish-Americans*. JOHN ROBERT CHRISTIANSON, *Scandinavian-Americans*. EDWARD R. KANTOWICZ, *Polish-Americans*. EDWARD SHAPIRO, *Jewish-Americans*. DOMINIC CANDELORO, *Italian-Americans*. BERNARD WONG, *Chinese-Americans*. LOUISE ANO NUEVO KERR, *Mexican-Americans*. JOHN D. BUENKER and LORMAN A. RATNER, *Bibliographical Essay*.

MAEVA MARCUS, editor. *Origins of the Federal Judiciary: Essays on the Judiciary Act of 1789*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. vi, 312. \$39.95.

MAEVA MARCUS and NATALIE WEXLER, *The Judiciary Act of 1789: Political Compromise or Constitutional Interpretation?* AKHIL REED AMAR, *Jurisdiction Stripping and the Judiciary Act of 1789*. G. EDWARD WHITE, *Recovering Co-terminous Power Theory: The Lost Dimension of Marshall Court Sovereignty Cases*. JOHN D. GORDAN III, *United States v. Joseph Ravara: "Presumptuous Evidence," "Too Many Lawyers," and a Federal Common Law Crime*. KATHRYN PREYER, *United States v. Callender: Judge and Jury in a Republican Society*. MARK TUSHNET, *Dual Office Holding and the Constitution: A View from Hayburn's Case*. WILLIAM M. WIECEK, *Murdoch v. Memphis: Section 25 of the 1789 Judiciary Act and Judicial Federalism*. MICHAEL KAMMEN, *Temples of Justice: The Iconography of Judgment and American Culture*. GERHARD CASPER, *The Judiciary Act of 1789 and Judicial Independence*.

ROBERT WEIBLE, editor. *The Continuing Revolution: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts*. Lowell, Mass.: Lowell Historical Society. 1991. Pp. xii, 430. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

ROBERT WEIBLE, "More of a Place than Represented to Have Been": East Chelmsford, 1775–1821. ROBERT F. DALZELL, JR., *The Boston Associates and the Rise of the Waltham-Lowell System: A Study in Entrepreneurial Motivation*. THOMAS DUBLIN, *Women, Work, and Protest in the Early Lowell Mills: "The Oppressing Hand of Avarice Would Enslave Us."* HELENA WRIGHT, Sarah G. Bagley: A Biographical Note. BRIAN C. MITCHELL, *Good Citizens at the Least Cost Per Pound: The History of the Development of Public Education in Antebellum Lowell, 1825–1855*. PATRICK M. MALONE, *Canals and Industry: Engineering in Lowell, 1821–1880*. CHARLES F. CARROLL and PAULINE A. CARROLL, *The Transition from Empirical to Scientific Technology at Lowell, 1839–1859*. BETSY BAHR PETERSON, *Industrial Architecture from the Inside: Textile Mill Design and the Factory Workplace, 1860–1920*. SALLIE A. MARSTON, *Contested Territory: An Ethnic Parade as Symbolic Resistance*. FRANCES H. EARLY, *The French-Canadian Family Economy and Standard-of-Living in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1870*. PETER RICHARDS, *A Study in Community Power: Lowell, 1912*. LAURENCE F. GROSS, *The Game is Played Out: The Closing Decades of the Boot Mill*. MARC S. MILLER, *Who Won the War?* MARTHA K. NORKUNAS, *The Ethnic Enclave as Cultural Space: Women's Oral Histories of Life and Work in Lowell*. ELEANOR E. GLAESSEL-BROWN, *A Time of Transition: Colombian Textile Workers in Lowell in the 1970s*. LORETTA A. RYAN, *The Remaking of Lowell and Its Histories*. LAWRENCE D. GALL, *The Heritage Factor in Lowell's Revitalization*. JAMES HIGGINS and PAUL MARION, *Images of the New Lowell*.



SANFORD M. JACOBY, editor. *Masters to Managers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on American Employers*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991. Pp. ix, 249. \$35.00.

SANFORD M. JACOBY, *Masters to Managers: An Introduction*. JENS CHRISTIANSEN and PETER PHILIPS, *The Transition from Outwork to Factory Production in the Boot and Shoe Industry, 1830–1880*. WALTER LICHT, *Studying Work: Personnel Policies in Philadelphia Firms, 1850–1950*. DANIEL NELSON, *Scientific Management and the Workplace, 1920–1935*. DANIEL M. G. RAFF, *Ford Welfare Capitalism in Its Economic Context*. HOWELL JOHN HARRIS, *Getting It Together: The Metal Manufacturers Association of Philadelphia, c. 1900–1930*. DANIEL R. ERNST, *The Closed Shop, the Proprietary Capitalist, and the Law, 1897–1915*. GERALD FRIEDMAN, *The Decline of Paternalism and the Making of the Employer Class: France, 1870–1914*. SANFORD M. JACOBY, *American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Importance of Management*.

CLAUDIA GOLDIN and HUGH ROCKOFF, editors. *Strategic Factors in Nineteenth Century American Economic History: A Volume to Honor Robert W. Fogel*. (A National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Report.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 491. \$60.00.

CLAUDIA GOLDIN and HUGH ROCKOFF, Introduction. STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, Robert William Fogel: An Appreciation by a Coauthor and Colleague. DONALD N. MCCLOSKEY, Robert William Fogel: An Appreciation by an Adopted Student. KENNETH L. SOKOLOFF and GEORGIA C. VILLAFLO, The Market for Manufacturing Workers during Early Industrialization: The American Northeast, 1820 to 1860. CLAUDIA GOLDIN and ROBERT A. MARGO, Wages, Prices, and Labor Markets before the Civil War. WINIFRED B. ROTHENBERG, Structural Change in the Farm Labor Force: Contract Labor in Massachusetts Agriculture, 1750–1865. DONGHYU YANG, Farm Tenancy in the Antebellum North. HOWARD BODENHORN and HUGH ROCKOFF, Regional Interest Rates in Antebellum America. MICHAEL D. BORDO *et al.*, Money versus Credit Rationing: Evidence for the National Banking Era, 1880–1914. DAVID W. GALENSON and CLAYNE L. POPE, Precedence and Wealth: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Utah. ALICE HANSON JONES, The Wealth of Women, 1774. CLAYNE L. POPE, Adult Mortality in America before 1900: A View from Family Histories. JOHN KOMLOS, Toward an Anthropometric History of African-Americans: The Case of the Free Blacks in Antebellum Maryland. STEPHEN CRAWFORD, The Slave Family: A View from the Slave Narratives. RICHARD H. STECKEL, The Fertility Transition in the United States: Tests of Alternative Hypotheses. JENNY BOURNE WAHL, Trading Quantity for Quality: Explaining the Decline in American Fertility in the Nineteenth Century. ANN M. CARLOS and FRANK LEWIS, The Profitability of Early Canadian Railroads: Evidence from the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railway Companies. JOSEPH D. REID, JR. and MICHAEL M. KURTH, The Rise and Fall of Urban Political Patronage Machines. GERALD FRIEDMAN, Dividing Labor: Urban Politics and Big-City Construction in Late-Nineteenth-Century America.

GABOR S. BORITT, editor. *Why the Confederacy Lost*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 209. \$19.95.

GABOR S. BORITT, Introduction. JAMES M. MCPHERSON, *American Victory, American Defeat*. ARCHER JONES, *Military Means, Political Ends: Strategy*. GARY W. GALLAGHER, "Upon Their Success Hang Momentous Interests": Generals. REID MITCHELL, *The Perseverance of the Soldiers*. JOSEPH T. GLATTHAAR, *Black Glory: The African-American Role in Union Victory*.

ARMSTEAD L. ROBINSON and PATRICIA SULLIVAN, editors. *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series in Black Studies.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1991. Pp. vi, 238.

JULIAN BOND, *The Politics of Civil Rights History*. VINCENT HARDING, *Community as a Liberating Theme in Civil Rights History*. JAMES FARMER, *The March on Washington: The Zenith of the Southern Movement*. J. MILLS THORNTON III, *Municipal Politics and the Course of the Movement*. ROBERT J. NORRELL, *One Thing We Did Right: Reflections on the Movement*. PATRICIA SULLIVAN, *Southern Reformers, the New Deal, and the Movement's Foundation*. RAYMOND GAVINS, *The NAACP in North Carolina during the Age of Segregation*. ROBERT L. HARRIS, JR., *Racial Equality and the United Nations Charter*. RAY MARSHALL, *Civil Rights and Social Equity: Beyond Neoclassical Theory*. GAVIN WRIGHT, *Economic Consequences of the Southern Protest Movement*. STEVEN F. LAWSON, *From Boycotts to Ballots: The Reshaping of National Politics*. AUGUST MEIER, *Epilogue: Toward a Synthesis of Civil Rights History*.

BARBARA L. TISCHLER, editor. *Sights on the Sixties*. (Perspectives on the Sixties.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 270. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$14.00.

BARBARA L. TISCHLER, Introduction: "It Was Twenty Years Ago Today" or Why We Need More 1960s Scholarship. MORRIS DICKSTEIN, *After Utopia: The 1960s Today*. MARK STERN, *Lyndon Johnson and the Democratization of the Party Process*. JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN, *Agent Orange on Campus: The Summit-Spicerack Controversy at the University of Pennsylvania, 1965–1967*. CLIFFORD WILCOX, *Antiwar Dissent in the College Press: The Universities of Illinois and Michigan*. GLENN W. JONES, *Gentle Thursday: An SDS Circus in Austin, Texas, 1966–1969*. ELLEN HERMAN, *Being and Doing: Humanistic Psychology and the Spirit of the 1960s*. STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD, *The Stunt Man: Abbie Hoffman (1936–1989)*. STEPHEN A. KENT, *Slogan Chanters to Mantra Chanters: A Deviance Analysis of Youth Religious Conversion in the Early 1970s*. DAVID SANJEK, *Apocalypse Then: Apocalyptic Imagery and Documentary Reality in Films of the 1960s*. ALEXIS GREENE, *The Arts and the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*. AMY SWERDLOW, "Not My Son, Not Your Son, Not Their Sons": Mothers against the Draft for Vietnam. GERALD GILL, *From Maternal Pacifism to Revolutionary Solidarity: African-American Women's Opposition to the Vietnam War*. BARBARA L. TISCHLER, *Voices of Protest: Women and the GI Antiwar Press*. GERALD R. GIOGLIO, *In the Belly of the Beast: Conscientious Objectors*.

in the Military during the Vietnam War. BARBARA EHRENREICH, Legacies of the 1960s: New Rights and New Lefts.

## CANADA

KERRY ABEL and JEAN FRIESEN, editors. *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*. (Manitoba Studies in Native History, number 6.) Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. 1991. Pp. vii, 343. \$34.95.

KERRY ABEL, Introduction. OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON, "For Every Plant There Is a Use": The Botanical World of Mexico and Iroquoians. BRIAN J. SMITH, The Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Use of Fish as an Alternate Subsistence Resource among Northern Plains Bison Hunters. JOHN MILLOY, "Our Country": The Significance of the Buffalo Resource for a Plains Cree Sense of Territory. D. WAYNE MOODIE, Manomin: Historical-Geographical Perspectives on the Ojibwa Production of Wild Rice. IRENE M. SPRY, Aboriginal Resource Use in the Nineteenth Century in the Great Plains of Modern Canada. ELEANOR M. BLAIN, Dependency: Charles Bishop and the Northern Ojibwa. LAURA L. PEERS, Changing Resource-Use Patterns of Saulteaux Trading at Fort Pelly, 1821 to 1870. TIM E. HOLZKAMM *et al.*, Rainy River Sturgeon: An Ojibway Resource in the Fur Trade Economy. JEAN FRIESEN, Grant Me Wherewith to Make My Living. DAVID T. McNAB, "Principally Rocks and Burnt Lands": Crown Reserves and the Tragedy of the Sturgeon Lake First Nation in Northwestern Ontario. KEN COATES, The Sinews of Their Lives: Native Access to Resources in the Yukon, 1890 to 1950. PETER CLANCY, State Policy and the Native Trapper: Post-War Policy toward Fur in the Northwest Territories. NIGEL D. BANKES, The Board of Investigation and the Water Rights of Indian Reserves in British Columbia, 1909 to 1926. S. BARRY COTTAM, Indian Title as a "Celestial Institution": David Mills and the *St. Catherine's Milling Case*. ANTHONY J. HALL, *The St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company versus the Queen*: Indian Land Rights as a Factor in Federal-Provincial Relations in Nineteenth-Century Canada. RICK RIEWE, Inuit Land Use Studies and the Native Claims Process. ARTHUR J. RAY, Fur Trade History and the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Comprehensive Claim: Men of Property and the Exercise of Title. BARRY BARTON, Defending World Markets for Fur: Aboriginal Trapping, the Anti-Harvest Movement and International Trade Law.

ALLAN GREER and IAN RADFORTH, editors. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 328. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.

ALLAN GREER and IAN RADFORTH, Introduction. ALLAN GREER, The Birth of the Police in Canada. BRIAN YOUNG,

Positive Law, Positive State: Class Realignment and the Transformation of Lower Canada, 1815–1866. IAN RADFORTH, Sydenham and Utilitarian Reform. BRUCE CURTIS, Class Culture and Administration: Educational Inspection in Canada West. JEAN-MARIE FECTEAU, État et associationalisme au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle québécois: Éléments pour une problématique des rapports État/société dans la transition au capitalisme. LYKKE DE LA COUR *et al.*, Gender Regulation and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Canada. DOUGLAS MCCALLA, Railways and the Development of Canada West, 1850–1870. PETER BASKERVILLE, Transportation, Social Change, and State Formation: Upper Canada, 1841–1864. MICHAEL J. PIVA, Government Finance and the Development of the Canadian State. GRAEME WYNN, Ideology, Society, and State in the Maritime Colonies of British North America, 1840–1860.

## LATIN AMERICA

TERESA ROJAS, editor. *La agricultura en tierras mexicanas desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*. (Los Noventa.) Mexico City: Grijalbo, with the cooperation of the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes. 1991. Pp. 420.

TERESA ROJAS RABIELA, La agricultura en la época prehispánica. MARÍA DE LOS ÁNGELES ROMERO FRIZZI, La agricultura en la época colonial. CATALINA RODRÍGUEZ LAZCANO and BEATRIZ SCHARRER TAMM, La agricultura en el siglo XIX. GISELA VON WOBESER, La agricultura en el porfiriato. TOMÁS MARTÍNEZ SALDAÑA, Agricultura y estado en México: Siglo XX.

PAGET HENRY and PAUL BUHLE, editors. *C. L. R. James's Caribbean*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 287. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

STUART HALL, C. L. R. James: A Portrait. C. L. R. JAMES, C. L. R. James on the Caribbean: Three Letters. PAUL BUHLE, Interview of George Lamming: C. L. R. James; West Indian. SELWYN CUDJOE, The Audacity of It All: C. L. R. James's Trinidadian Background. PAUL BUHLE, Interview of C. L. R. James: The Making of a Literary Life. SYLVIA WYNTER, Beyond the Categories of the Master Conception: The Counterdoctrine of the Jamesian Poiesis. NEIL LAZARUS, Cricket and National Culture in the Writings of C. L. R. James. PAGET HENRY and PAUL BUHLE, Caliban as Deconstructionist: C. L. R. James and Post-Colonial Discourse. PAGET HENRY, C. L. R. James and the Caribbean Economic Tradition. WALTON LOOK LAI, C. L. R. James and Trinidadian Nationalism. KENT WORCESTER, The Question of the Canon: C. L. R. James and *Modern Politics*. PAGET HENRY, C. L. R. James and the Antiguan Left.

# Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the AHR office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the AHR.

## GENERAL

- CONZEN, MICHAEL P., et al. *A Scholar's Guide to Geographical Writing on the American and Canadian Past*. (University of Chicago Geography Research Paper, number 235.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 741. \$29.95.
- LAWSON, GEORGE. *Politica sacra et civilis*. Edited by CONAL CONDREN. (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. li, 283. \$69.95.
- SCHLESINGER, ROGER, editor. *Portraits from the Age of Exploration: Selections from André Thevet's Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres*. Translated by EDWARD BENSON. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. 159.

## MEDIEVAL

- BLOCKMANS, WILLEM PIETER, editor. *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen: Regering van Filips de Goede (10 september 1419–15 juni 1467); Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse steden en harselrijen en van de vorstelijke ambtenaren*. Volume 1, *Tot de onderwerping van Brugge (4 maart 1438)*. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1990. Pp. xix, 746.
- CHAMPIER, SYMPHORIEN. *Les gestes ensemble la vie du preux Chevalier Bayard*. Edited by DENIS CROUZET. (Acteurs de l'histoire.) Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1992. Pp. 291. 170 fr.
- CORRÊA, ALICIA, editor. *The Durham Collectar*. (Henry Bradshaw Society, number 107.) London: Boydell. 1992. Pp. xii, 302. \$50.00.
- FROISSART. *Chroniques*. Book 1, *Le manuscrit d'Amiens*. Volume 3, *Depuis la bataille de Crécy jusqu'au mariage du duc de Bourgogne avec Marguerite de Flandre (1346–1369)*. Edited by GEORGE T. DILLER. (Textes littéraires français.) Geneva: Droz. 1992. Pp. 496.
- REUTER, TIMOTHY, editor and translator. *The Annals of Fulda: Ninth-Century Histories*. Volume 2. (Manchester Medieval Sources Series.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. x, 174. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.
- WOOLGAR, C. M., editor. *Household Accounts from Medieval England*. Part 1, *Introduction; Glossary; Diet Accounts (1)*. (Records of Social and Economic History, new series, number 17.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 1992. Pp. xv, 430. \$85.00.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- ENGLISH, BARBARA, et al., editors. *Royal Historical Society: Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History; Publications*

*of 1991*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 314. \$75.00.

- GRIFFITHS, DENNIS. *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422–1992*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. ix, 693. \$79.95.
- LAMOINE, GEORGES, editor. *Charges to the Grand Jury, 1689–1803*. (Camden Fourth Series, number 43.) London: Royal Historical Society; distributed by Boydell, New York. 1992. Pp. vi, 642. \$50.00.
- REHBOCK, PHILIP E., editor. *At Sea with the Scientifics: The Challenger Letters of Joseph Matkin*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 415. \$38.00.

## FRANCE

- MARQUIS DE BOMBELLES. *Journal*. Volume 3, 1789–1792. Edited by JEAN GRASSION and FRANS DURIF. (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, number 317.) Geneva: Droz. 1993. Pp. xiii, 434.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

- GRAU, GÜNTHER, editor. *Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit: Dokumente einer Diskriminierung und Verfolgung*. Assisted by CLAUDIA SCHOPPMANN. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 373. DM 19.90.
- KNOWLTON, JAMES and TRUETT CATES, translators. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1993. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.00.

## ITALY

- I documenti diplomatici italiani: Seconda serie, 1870–1896*. Volume 14, *29 maggio 1881–20 maggio 1882*. Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri. 1991. Pp. lxiii, 830.
- I documenti diplomatici italiani: Ottava serie, 1935–1939*. Volume 2, *1 settembre–31 dicembre 1935*. Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri. 1991. Pp. lxxi, 1005.

## EASTERN EUROPE

- DIÓSZEGI, ISTVÁN, editor. *Die Protokolle des gemeinsamen Ministerrates der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1883–1895*. (Die Protokolle des gemeinsamen Ministerrates der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 1867–1918, number 4.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1993. Pp. 810. \$100.00.
- PASCU, ȘTEFAN, editor. *Documente privind revoluția de la 1848 în țările române: Transilvania*. Volume 5, *26 mai–4 iunie 1848* [Documents on the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Principalities: Transilvania]. Bucharest: Academia Română. 1992. Pp. xxx, 572. 380 L.

STOY, MANFRED, and GERHARD SEEWANN, compilers. *Südost-europa-Bibliografie*. Volume 6, part 1, Rumänien 1971–1980. Munich: Oldenbourg. 1992. Pp. xv, 664.

## COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

KOROLENKO, WLADIMIR. *Ohne Freiheit keine Gerechtigkeit: Die Briefe an den Volkskommissar Lunatscharski (1920); Mit Texten zu Person und Schaffen Korolenkos von Anatoli Lunatscharski und Wladimir Bontsch-Bruijewitsch*. Edited by MICHAEL HARMS. Translated from Russian by ERNST KUHN. (Stimmen aus Russland, number 2.) Berlin: Erbst Kuhn. 1993. Pp. 157. DM 29.80.

## UNITED STATES

ARNOLD, ELEANOR, editor. *Memories of Hoosier Homemakers*. Volume 1, *Feeding Our Families*; volume 2, *Party Lines, Pumps and Privies*; volume 3, *Buggies and Bad Times*; volume 4, *Girlhood Days*; volume 5, *Going to Club*; volume 6, *Living Rich Lives*; volume 7, *Index of Memories of Hoosier Homemakers*. Assisted by F. GERALD HANDFIELD, JR., and PAUL WILSON. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1985. Pp. 153; 176; 170; 202; 175; 244; 27. \$45.00 the set.

ARNOLD, ELEANOR, editor. *Voices of American Homemakers*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1985. Pp. 295. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$10.95.

ATKINSON, JAMES W. *The Soldier's Chronology*. (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, number 1577.) New York: Garland. 1993. Pp. xvi, 602. \$93.00.

BENNETT, MILLY. *On Her Own: Journalistic Adventures from San Francisco to the Chinese Revolution, 1917–1927*. Edited by A. TOM GRUNFELD. (An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1993. Pp. xx, 320. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

CASHIN, HERSHEL V., et al. *Under Fire with the Tenth U.S. Cavalry*. Foreword by RICHARD N. ELLIS. Reprint. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1993. Pp. xv, 361. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

CATANZARITI, JOHN, editor. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Volume 25, *1 January to 10 May 1793*. Assisted by EUGENE R. SHERIDAN et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xliii, 773. \$65.00.

DÖHLA, JOHANN CONRAD. *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution*. Translated and edited by BRUCE E. BURGONNE. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 276. \$13.95.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960*. Volume 14, *Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1992. Pp. xxv, 784. \$33.00.

DULLES, ALLEN W. *The Marshall Plan*. Edited and foreword by MICHAEL WALA. Providence, R.I.: Berg. 1993. Pp. xxii, 138. \$29.95.

FARRELL, JAMES T. *A Note on Literary Criticism*. Reprint. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xxxvii, 213. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.00.

FONER, ERIC. *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xlv, 290. \$75.00.

GALLIN, ALICE, editor. *American Catholic Higher Education: Essential Documents, 1967–1990*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 448. \$29.95.

GOSSE, PHILIP HENRY. *Letters from Alabama: Chiefly Relating to Natural History*. Foreword by HARVEY H. JACKSON III. (The Library of Alabama Classics.) Paperback edition. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1993. Pp. 324. \$18.95.

HAINES, GERALD K. and DAVID A. LANGBART. *Unlocking the Files of the FBI: A Guide to Its Records and Classification*

*System*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1993. Pp. xviii, 348. \$60.00.

HESKES, IRENE. *Yiddish American Popular Songs, 1895 to 1950: A Catalog Based on the Lawrence Marwick Roster of Copyright Entries*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. 1992. Pp. xliii, 527. \$44.00.

HIGHAM, ROBIN and DONALD J. MROZEK, editors. *A Guide to the Sources of United States Military History: Supplement III*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon. 1993. Pp. xii, 531. \$55.00.

KIMNACH, WILSON H., editor. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Volume 10, *Sermons and Discourses, 1720–1723*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 670. \$70.00.

LARSON, STAN, editor. *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884–87*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. x, 256. \$29.95.

MCCUTCHEM, DAVID, translator. *The Red Record: The Wallam Olum, The Oldest Native North American History*. Garden City Park, N.Y.: Avery. 1993. Pp. xvi, 222. \$14.95.

MCDONOGH, GARY W., editor. *The Florida Negro: A Federal Writers' Project Legacy*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1993. Pp. xxxv, 177. \$30.00.

MCLEAN, MALCOLM D., editor and compiler. *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas*. Volume 18, *August 11, 1840, through March 4, 1842: The End of an Era*. Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington Press. 1993. Pp. 412.

MARTIN, JOHN BARTLOW. *Indiana: An Interpretation*. Foreword by JAMES H. MADISON. Paperback edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 300.

MAYER, MILTON. *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir*. Edited by JOHN H. HICKS. Foreword by STUDS TERKEL. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 546. \$35.00.

MERRILL, MICHAEL, and SEAN WILENTZ, editors. *The Key of Liberty: The Life and Democratic Writings of William Manning, "A Laborer," 1747–1814*. (John Harvard Library.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 240. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$14.95.

MILLER, ROBERT RYAL, editor. *The Mexican War: Journal and Letters of Ralph W. Kirkham*. (Essays on the American West, number 2.) Paperback edition. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 141. \$12.95.

MODELL, JOHN, editor. *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp; the Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi*. Paperback edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 253. \$11.95.

PARSONS, LYNN H., compiler. *John Quincy Adams: A Bibliography*. (Bibliographies of the Presidents of the United States, number 6.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1993. Pp. xvii, 217. \$55.00.

RIES, LINDA A. *Guide to Photographs at the Pennsylvania State Archives*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1993. Pp. vii, 229. \$6.95.

ROTHBERG, MOREY, and JACQUELINE GOGGIN, editors. *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America*. Volume 1, *Selected Essays*. Foreword by WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG et al. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1993. Pp. liii, 404. \$45.00.

RUDDOCK, TED, editor. *Travels in the Colonies in 1773–1775: Described in the Letters of William Mylne*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 127. \$25.00.

SHURCLIFF, ALICE W., and SARAH SHURCLIFF INGELFINGER, editors. *Captive of the Nootka Indians: The Northwest Coast Adventure of John R. Jewitt, 1802–1806*. Foreword by RICHARD I. INGLIS. Boston: Back Bay; distributed by Northeastern University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 135. \$24.95.

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897*. Foreword by ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS.

- Afterword by ANN D. GORDON. Rev. ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1993. Pp. xxix, 490. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.
- THEOHARIS, ATHAN, editor. *From the Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover*. Paperback edition. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1993. Pp. 376. \$12.95.
- WASHINGTON, MARGARET, editor. *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. (Vintage Classics.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. xxxiii, 138. \$9.00.
- WELCHER, FRANK J. *The Union Army, 1861-1865: Organization and Operations*. Volume 2, *The Western Theater*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 989. \$75.00.



## Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

### GENERAL

- AURELL, MARTIN, *et al.*, editors. *La sociabilité à table: Commensalité et convivialité à travers les âges*. (Actes du Colloque de Rouen, 1990; Publications de l'Université de Rouen, number 178.) Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, with the assistance of the C.N.R.S. and the Centre National des Lettres. 1992. Pp. 392. 190 fr.
- BIRNBAUM, NORMAN. *Searching for the Light: Essays on Thought and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 252. \$38.00.
- BOWKER, MIKE, and ROBIN BROWN, editors. *From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 183. \$49.95.
- BOYARIN, JONATHAN. *Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 161. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.
- CARGAS, HARRY JAMES. *Voices from the Holocaust*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1993. Pp. xix, 164. \$24.00.
- DOCHERTY, THOMAS, editor. *Postmodernism: A Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 528.
- DOYLE, WILLIAM. *The Old European Order, 1660–1800*. (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World.) 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 420. \$24.95.
- DRAÏ, RAPHAËL. *La communication prophétique: La conscience des prophètes*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 529. 198 fr.
- DWORK, DEBORAH. *Children with a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xlvii, 354. \$16.00.
- FLEGG, COLUMBA GRAHAM. "Gathered Under Apostles": *A Study of the Catholic Apostolic Church*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 524. \$102.00.
- GASTONY, ENDRE B. *The Ordeal of Nationalism in Modern Europe, 1789–1945*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1992. Pp. xii, 265. \$39.95.
- GAULD, ALAN. *A History of Hypnotism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 738. \$140.00.
- GOLDSTEIN, ERIK. *Wars and Peace Treaties 1816–1991*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xx, 264. \$49.95.
- GUNDLACH, ROLF, and HERMANN WEBER, editors. *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers: Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*. (Schriften der mainzer philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft, number 13.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1992. Pp. viii, 358. DM 88.
- HAMERMESH, DANIEL S. *Labor Demand*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 444. \$45.00.
- HOYT, EDWIN P. *The Day the Chinese Attacked: Korea, 1950; The Story of the Failure of America's China Policy*. Paperback edition. New York: Paragon House. 1993. Pp. x, 245. \$12.95.
- HUDSON, MICHAEL. *Trade, Development and Foreign Debt: A History of Theories of Polarisation and Convergence in the International Economy*. Volume 1, *International Trade*; volume 2, *International Finance*. London: Pluto; distributed by Westview, Boulder, Colo. 1992. Pp. xiv, 286; 287–481. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.
- HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture Series, number 4.) Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 366. \$16.95.
- KAHN, DAVID. *Seizing the Enigma: The Race to Break the German U-Boat Codes, 1939–1943*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1991. Pp. xii, 336. \$24.95.
- KAUFMAN, YOGI, and PAUL STILLWELL. *Sharks of Steel*. Assisted by STEVE KAUFMAN. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, with the cooperation of Lance K. Shultz, Auburn Productions, East Liverpool, Ohio. 1993. Pp. xvii, 107; 167 plates. \$39.95.
- KAUFMANN, THOMAS DaCOSTA. *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 325. \$39.95.
- KENNEDY, PAUL. *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. xvi, 428. \$25.00.
- KIPLE, KENNETH F., editor. *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 1176. \$150.00.
- KOCHAN, LIONEL. *The Jewish Renaissance and Some of Its Discontents*. (Sherman Studies of Judaism in Modern Times.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. x, 125. \$59.95.
- KUBBIG, BERND W., and HARALD MÜLLER. *Nuklearexport und Aufrüstung: Neue Bedrohungen und Friedensperspektiven*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 191. DM 16.90.
- LANGER, LAWRENCE L. *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 216. \$13.00.
- MCGRATH, ALISTER E. *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*. 2d ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. x, 285. \$19.95.
- OSTROGORSKI, MOISEI. *La démocratie et les partis politiques*. Foreword by PIERRE AVRIL. (L'esprit de la cité.) Reprint. Paris: Fayard, with the assistance of the Centre National des Lettres. 1993. Pp. 764. 240 fr.
- PASSERINI, LUISA, editor. *Memory and Totalitarianism*. (International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories, number 1.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 209. \$55.00.
- POST, JERROLD M., and ROBERT S. ROBINS. *When Illness Strikes*

- the Leader: *The Dilemma of the Captive King*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 243. \$25.00.
- REYNOLDS, EDWARD. *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. (Elephant Paperbacks.) Reprint. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1993. Pp. 182. \$8.95.
- RYDING, ERIK S. In *Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Daniels*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 21.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1993. Pp. xi, 223. \$35.00.
- SICKER, MARTIN. *Judaism, Nationalism, and the Land of Israel*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xi, 174. \$37.50.
- SIMMEL, ERNST, editor. *Antisemitismus*. Assisted by ELISABETH DAHMER-KLOSS and HELMUT DAHMER. (Fischer Wissenschaft.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 199. DM 14.90.
- STICHWEH, RUDOLF. *Der frühmoderne Staat und die europäische Universität: Zur Interaktion von Politik und Erziehungssystem im Prozess ihrer Ausdifferenzierung (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. 1991. Pp. 426. DM 64.
- STOCKING, GEORGE W., JR. *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992. Pp. 440. \$32.50.
- TAYLOR, BARBARA. *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 402. \$15.95.
- VEGA, JOSÉ J. *El 5º centenario hispano-americano: Su historia y su aportación al desarrollo y engrandecimiento de los Estados Unidos*. In two volumes. Phoenix, Ariz.: Biblioteca Hispana. 1991. Pp. 228; 330. \$10.00 the set.
- VIDAL-NAQUET, PIERRE. *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*. Translated by JEFFREY MEHLMAN. (European Perspectives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xxv, 205. \$27.50.
- WALLACE, BRUCE. *The Search for the Gene*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 224. Cloth \$37.95, paper \$14.95.
- WUTHNOW, ROBERT. *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 739. \$29.95.

## ANCIENT

- BELL, ROBERT E. *Women of Classical Mythology: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Oxford Paperback Reference.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 462. \$12.95.
- CHUVIN, PIERRE. *La mythologie grecque: Du premier homme à l'apothéose d'Héraclès*. (L'esprit de la cité.) Paris: Fayard. 1992. Pp. 405. 170 fr.
- GREEN, MIRANDA. *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xix, 283. \$45.00.
- WELCH, MARTIN. *Discovering Anglo-Saxon England*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1992. Pp. 144. \$18.95.

## MEDIEVAL

- BRAND, PAUL. *The Making of the Common Law*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon. 1992. Pp. xvi, 490. \$70.00.
- CAMPBELL, BRUCE M. S., editor. *Before the Black Death: Studies in the "Crisis" of the Early Fourteenth Century*. Paperback edition. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. viii, 232. \$24.95.
- COLGRAVE, BERTRAM, editor. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) Reprint. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. lxxvi, 618. \$110.00.
- DUBY, GEORGES, editor. *A History of Private Life*. Volume 2, *Revelations of the Medieval World*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap

Press of Harvard University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 650. \$18.95.

GILLINGHAM, JOHN, and RALPH A. GRIFFITHS. *The Oxford History of Britain*. Volume 2, *The Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 166. \$9.95.

PICCOLOMINUS, AENEAS SYLVIVS (PIUS II). *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum: Libri II*. Edited and translated by DENYS HAY and W. K. SMITH. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) 2d ed. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xxxviii, 268. \$59.00.

RICHÉ, PIERRE. *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*. Translated by MICHAEL IDOMIR ALLEN. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 398. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

RÖSENER, WERNER. *Peasants in the Middle Ages*. Translated by ALEXANDER STÜTZER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 338. \$21.95.

TOCK, BENOÎT-MICHEL. *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le cas d'Arras*. (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales; textes, études, congrès, number 12.) Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: The Society. 1991. Pp. xviii, 309.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

BOBBIO, NORBERTO. *Thomas Hobbes and the Natural Law Tradition*. Translated by DANIELA GOBETTI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 228. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.95.

BRUSTER, DOUGLAS. *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare*. (Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 164. \$39.95.

DINTENFASS, MICHAEL. *The Decline of Industrial Britain, 1870–1980*. (Historical Connections.) New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. 94. \$9.95.

GLASSCOCK, ROBIN, editor. *Historic Landscapes of Britain from the Air*. (Cambridge Air Surveys.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. 256.

GREAVES, RICHARD. *John Bunyan and English Nonconformity*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon. 1992. Pp. xii, 230. \$60.00.

GUV, JOHN, and JOHN MORRILL. *The Oxford History of Britain*. Volume 3, *The Tudors and Stuarts*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 169. \$9.95.

HORDER, JEREMY. *Provocation and Responsibility*. (Oxford Monographs on Criminal Law and Justice.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 208. \$49.95.

KENT, JOHN. *William Temple*. (British Lives.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 197. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$14.95.

LANGFORD, PAUL, and CHRISTOPHER HARVIE. *The Oxford History of Britain*. Volume 4, *The Eighteenth Century and the Age of Industry*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 149. \$9.95.

MATTHEW, H. C. G., and KENNETH O. MORGAN. *The Oxford History of Britain*. Volume 5, *The Modern Age*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. vi, 175. \$9.95.

MORSE, DAVID. *High Victorian Culture*. New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 553. \$50.00.

PRALL, STUART E. *Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England*. (The European History Series.) Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1993. Pp. xi, 181. \$11.95.

REX, RICHARD. *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. ix, 205. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

SALWAY, PETER, and JOHN BLAIR. *The Oxford History of Britain*. Volume 1, *Roman and Anglo-Saxon Britain*. Paperback

- edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 146. \$9.95.
- SMYTH, ALFRED P. *Faith, Famine and Fatherland in the Nineteenth Century Irish Midlands: Perceptions of a Priest and Historian, Anthony Cogan, 1826-1872*. Dublin: Four Courts. 1992. Pp. 222. \$37.50.
- SYMONDS, RICHARD. *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?* Paperback edition. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xxiv, 368. \$26.00.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L., editor. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*. Volume 1, *Regions and Communities*; volume 2, *People and Their Environment*; volume 3, *Social Agencies and Institutions*. Paperback edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 588; xv, 373; xiii, 492. \$69.95 the set.
- ### FRANCE
- BROWN, JAMES W., and LAWRENCE D. STOKES, editors. *The Silence of the Sea/Le silence de la mer: A Novel of French Resistance during World War II by "Vercors"*. Paperback edition. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. viii, 102. \$14.95.
- GOLD, ARTHUR, and ROBERT FIZDALE. *The Divine Sarah: A Life of Sarah Bernhardt*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1992. Pp. ix, 351. \$17.00.
- GOLD, ARTHUR, and ROBERT FIZDALE. *Misia: The Life of Misia Sert*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1992. Pp. xii, 337. \$17.00.
- GOUBERT, JEAN-PIERRE, et al. *Atlas de la Révolution française*. Volume 7, *Médecine et santé*. (Librairie du bicentenaire de la Révolution française.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1993. Pp. 83. 110 fr.
- LEVY, MICHAEL. *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700-1789*. (Pelican History of Art.) 2d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. 318; 300 plates. \$55.00.
- MANENT, PIERRE. *Tocqueville et la nature de la démocratie*. (L'esprit de la cité.) 2d ed. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. iv, 181. 120 fr.
- NAGLE, JEAN. *Le droit de marc d'or des offices: Tarifs de 1583, 1704, 1748; Reconnaissance, fidélité, noblesse*. Foreword by DANIEL ROCHE. (Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, number 52.) Geneva: Droz. 1992. Pp. iv, 277.
- PRICE, ROGER. *A Concise History of France*. (Cambridge Concise Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 380. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$14.95.
- SIVÉRY, GÉRARD. *Philippe Auguste*. Paris: Plon. 1993. Pp. 429. 155 fr.
- STEVENS, ANNE. *The Government and Politics of France*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xvi, 336. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.
- sen- und Innenansichten zur staatlichen Einheit Deutschlands. Assisted by GÜNTHER KRONENBITTER. (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg, number 43.) Munich: Ernst Vögel. 1992. Pp. viii, 262. DM 48.
- CLEMENTE, STEVEN E. *For King and Kaiser! The Making of the Prussian Army Officer, 1860-1914*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 123.) New York: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. xv, 280. \$45.00.
- DREYFUS, FRANÇOIS-GEORGES. *L'unité allemande*. (Que sais-je?) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1993. Pp. 127.
- ENGELBERG, ERNST. *Bismarck: Das Reich in der Mitte Europas*. Paperback edition. Munich: Deutsches Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 596. DM 29.90.
- GELBERG, KARL-ULRICH. *Hans Ehard: Die föderalistische Politik des bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten 1946-1954*. (Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 18.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1992. Pp. xv, 600. DM 89.
- HIDEN, JOHN. *Germany and Europe 1919-1939*. 2d ed. New York: Longman. 1993. Pp. viii, 227.
- KERN, ERNST. *War Diary 1941-45: A Report*. Translated by WILLIAM H. KERN and URSULA HOEDE. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. vii, 152. \$16.95.
- KERSHAW, IAN. *Hitlers Macht: Das Profil der NS-Herrschaft*. Translated from English by JÜRGEN PETER KRAUSE. Munich: Deutsches Taschenbuch. 1992. Pp. 265. DM 19.80.
- REINHARDT, KLAUS. *Moscow—The Turning Point: The Failure of Hitler's Strategy in the Winter of 1941-42*. Translated by KARL B. KEENAN. (Studies in Military History.) Providence, R.I.: Berg. 1992. Pp. xiv, 481. \$54.50.
- SCHÜLLER, KARIN. *Die deutsche Rezeption haitianischer Geschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum deutschen Bild vom Schwarzen*. (Lateinamerikanische Forschungen, number 20.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1992. Pp. 324. DM 88.
- SCHWAGERL, H. JOACHIM. *Rechtsextremes Denken: Merkmale und Methoden*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 250. DM 14.90.
- STUDT, CHRISTOPH. *Lothar Bucher (1817-1892): Ein politisches Leben zwischen Revolution und Staatsdienst*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 47.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1992. Pp. 390. DM 92.
- TROX, ECKHARD. *Karl Grün (1817-1887): Eine Biographie; Begleitband zur Ausstellung*. (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Lüdenscheid, Objekte und Dokumente, number 1.) Lüdenscheid: Kulturdezernat der Stadt Lüdenscheid/Stadtmuseum. 1993. Pp. 101.
- WALKER, MARK. *German National Socialism and the Quest for Nuclear Power 1939-1949*. Paperback edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 290. \$13.95.

### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

- COSTA PINTO, ANTÓNIO. *O Salazarismo e o fascismo europeu: Problemas de interpretação nas ciências sociais*. (Imprensa universitária, number 92.) Lisbon: Editorial Estampa. 1992. Pp. 148.
- DÍAZ-MAS, PALOMA. *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*. Translated by GEORGE K. ZUCKER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 235. \$27.50.
- THOMPSON, I. A. A. *War and Society in Habsburg Spain: Selected Essays*. (Variorum Collected Studies Series.) Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum. 1992. \$89.95.

### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

- BALFOUR, MICHAEL. *Germany: The Tides of Power*. New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. vii, 271. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$16.95.
- BECKER, JOSEF, editor. *Wiedervereinigung in Mitteleuropa: Aus-*

### ITALY

- PUTNAM, ROBERT D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Assisted by ROBERT LEONARDI and RAFAELLA Y. NANETTI. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 258. \$24.95.
- WHITE, STEVEN F. *Progressive Renaissance: America and the Reconstruction of Italian Education, 1943-1962*. New York: Garland. 1991. Pp. ix, 215. \$54.00.

### EASTERN EUROPE

- GALÁNTAI, JÓZSEF. *Trianon and the Protection of Minorities*. (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, number 70; East European Monographs, number 352.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs or Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, N.J.; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1992. Pp. x, 185. \$36.50.
- LEVINE, HILLEL. *Economic Origins of Antisemitism: Poland and*

- Its Jews in the Early Modern Period.* Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 271. \$17.00.
- Polin: *A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies.* Volume 7. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford. 1992. Pp. viii, 339. \$64.95.
- SPIRA, GYÖRGY. *The Nationality Issue in the Hungary of 1848-49.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1992. Pp. 255. \$32.00.

### COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

- ADAMS, JAN S. *A Foreign Policy in Transition: Moscow's Retreat from Central America and the Caribbean 1985-1992.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. 248. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.
- BREMER, IAN, and RAY TARAS, editors. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xxvii, 577. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$19.95.
- HOSKING, GEOFFREY. *The First Socialist Society: A History of the Soviet Union from Within.* 2d ed., rev. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. 570. \$16.95.
- KOZICKI, HENRY, editor. *Western and Russian Historiography: Recent Views.* Foreword by SIDNEY MONAS. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. x, 218. \$49.95.
- MACKENZIE, DAVID, and MICHAEL W. CURRAN. *A History of Russia, the Soviet Union, and Beyond.* 4th ed. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth. 1993. Pp. xxv, 912.
- WEAVER, KITTY. *Bushels of Rubles: Soviet Youth in Transition.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1992. Pp. vi, 215. \$45.00.

### NEAR EAST

- AL-OSTA, ADEL. *Die Juden in der palästinensischen Literatur zwischen 1913 und 1987.* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 156.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz. 1993. Pp. vii, 258.
- ARONOFF, MYRON J. *Power and Ritual in the Israel Labor Party: A Study in Political Anthropology.* (Comparative Politics Series.) Rev. ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1993. Pp. xx, 267. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$18.00.
- BEILIN, YOSSEI. *Israel: A Concise Political History.* New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 276. \$35.00.
- CARRÉ, OLIVIER. *Le nationalisme arabe.* Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 304. 120 fr.
- GIL'ADI, AVNER. *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society.* New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xii, 176. \$49.95.
- MCLOUGHLIN, LESLIE. *Ibn Saud: Founder of a Kingdom.* New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xvi, 240. \$39.95.
- RAYMOND, ANDRÉ. *Le Caire.* Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 428. 150 fr.
- SEGEV, TOM. *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust.* Translated by HAIM WATZMAN. New York: Hill and Wang. 1993. Pp. ix, 593. \$27.50.

### AFRICA

- NTANTALA, PHYLLIS. *A Life's Mosaic: The Autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala.* (Perspectives on Southern Africa, number 49.) 2d ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. x, 237. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$13.00.
- RUEDY, JOHN. *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 290. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

### ASIA

- CALMAN, DONALD. *The Nature and Origins of Japanese Imperialism: a Reinterpretation of the Great Crisis of 1873.* New York: Routledge. 1992. Pp. xxii, 354. \$55.00.

- MANION, MELANIE. *Retirement of Revolutionaries in China: Public Policies, Social Norms, Private Interests.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 196. \$35.00.
- WOLPERT, STANLEY. *A New History of India.* 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 505. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

### UNITED STATES

- ACKERMAN, BRUCE. *We the People: Foundations.* Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 369. \$9.95.
- ALEXANDER, BEVIN. *Lost Victories: The Military Genius of Stonewall Jackson.* (A John Macrae Book.) New York: Henry Holt. 1992. Pp. xiii, 350. \$30.00.
- AMMERMAN, NANCY TATOM, editor. *Southern Baptists Observed: Multiple Perspectives on a Changing Denomination.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1993. Pp. 362. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$19.95.
- ANDERSON, NORMAN D. *Ferris Wheels: An Illustrated History.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. 1992. Pp. ii, 407. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$29.95.
- ARNBAL, ANDERS KJAR. *The Barrel-Land Dance Hall Rangers: World War II, June 1942-February 1944.* New York: Vantage. 1993. Pp. ix, 243. \$18.95.
- BALDWIN, JAMES. *Another Country.* Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. 436. \$12.00.
- BALDWIN, JAMES. *The Fire Next Time.* Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. 106. \$8.00.
- BALDWIN, JAMES. *Nobody Knows My Name: More Notes of a Native Son.* Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. xiv, 241. \$10.00.
- BANEY, TERRY ALAN. *Yankees and the City: Struggling over Urban Representation in Connecticut, 1880 to World War I.* (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1993. Pp. ix, 269. \$70.00.
- BARRINGER, HERBERT R., et al. *Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States.* (The Population of the United States in the 1980s.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation for the National Committee for Research on the 1980 Census. 1993. Pp. xx, 371. \$42.50.
- BAYOR, RONALD H. *Fiorello La Guardia: Ethnicity and Reform.* (American Biographical History Series.) Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1993. Pp. xi, 213. \$9.95.
- BERGERUD, ERIC M. *Red Thunder, Tropic Lightning: The World of a Combat Division in Vietnam.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xix, 328. \$24.95.
- BERNSTEIN, RICHARD B. *Amending America: If We Love the Constitution So Much, Why Do We Keep Trying to Change It?* Assisted by JEROME AGEL. New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. xix, 392. \$25.00.
- BLACK, EARL, and MERLE BLACK. *The Vital South: How Presidents Are Elected.* Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 400. \$14.95.
- BRIGHT, WILLIAM. *A Coyote Reader.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 202. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$13.00.
- CHANNING, EDWARD. *A History of the United States.* Abridged edition. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 338. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$32.50.
- CRAMPTON, FRANK A. *Deep Enough: A Working Stiff in the Western Mine Camps.* Foreword by W. H. HUTCHINSON. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 281. \$13.95.
- CRONIN, JANET, and DOROTHY VICK. *Montana's Gallatin Canyon: A Gem in the Treasure State.* Missoula, Mont.: Mountain. 1992. Pp. xvi, 243. \$12.00.
- DAWLEY, ALAN. *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State.* Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap



- Press of Harvard University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 538. \$14.95.
- DEAREN, PATRICK. *Portraits of the Pecos Frontier*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 226. \$14.95.
- DEES, MORRIS, and STEVE FIFFER. *Hate on Trial: The Case against America's Most Dangerous Neo-Nazi*. New York: Villard. 1993. Pp. xiv, 280. \$21.00.
- DEVEAUX, SCOTT, and WILLIAM HOWLAND KENNEY, editors. *The Music of James Scott*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1992. Pp. ix, 271. \$39.95.
- DICK, EVERETT. *The Dixie Frontier: A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War*. Foreword by JOHN D. W. GUICE. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xxii, 374. \$14.95.
- DUNNE, GERALD T. *The Missouri Supreme Court: From Dred Scott to Nancy Cruzan*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 222. \$34.95.
- ESAREY, LOGAN. *The Indiana Home*. Foreword by R. E. BANTA. Assisted by BRUCE ROGERS. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1976. Pp. ix, 120. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.
- FERLING, JOHN. *Struggle for a Continent: The Wars of Early America*. (The American History Series.) Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1993. Pp. xiv, 240. \$9.95.
- FLANAGAN, EDWARD M., JR. *Battle for Panama: Inside Operation Just Cause*. (An AUSA Book.) Washington, D.C.: Brassey's. 1993. Pp. xix, 251. \$25.00.
- FLETCHER, EUGENE. *The Lucky Bastard Club: A B-17 Pilot in Training and in Combat, 1943-45*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1992. Pp. 505. \$29.95.
- FULLER, PAUL E. *Laura Clay and the Woman's Rights Movement*. Foreword by A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR. Paperback edition. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1992. Pp. xv, 216. \$15.00.
- GOULD, LEWIS L. *1968: The Election That Changed America*. (The American Ways Series.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1993. Pp. ix, 178. \$18.95.
- GRANDY, CHRISTOPHER. *New Jersey and the Fiscal Origins of Modern American Corporation Law*. (Government and the Economy.) New York: Garland. 1993. Pp. xii, 141. \$45.00.
- HAGAN, WILLIAM T. *American Indians*. (The Chicago History of American Civilization.) 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 239. Cloth \$32.00, paper \$13.95.
- HALL, RICHARD. *Patriots in Disguise: Women Warriors of the Civil War*. New York: Paragon House. 1993. Pp. xiv, 224. \$21.95.
- HARRIS, EDDY L. *Native Stranger: A Black American's Journey into the Heart of Africa*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. 315. \$12.00.
- HARSTAD, PETER T., and BOÑNE LINDEMANN. *Gilbert N. Haugen: Norwegian-American Farm Politician*. (Iowa Biographical Series.) Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1992. Pp. xi, 217. \$14.95.
- HAUPTMAN, LAURENCE M., and JAMES D. WHERRY, editors. *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Foreword by WILLIAM T. HAGAN. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 198.) Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 268. \$12.95.
- HEINZE, ANDREW R. *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity*. (Columbia History of Urban Life.) Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 1990. Pp. x, 276. \$14.50.
- HENRETTA, JAMES A., et al. *America's History*. 2d ed. New York: Worth. 1993. Pp. xxxii, 1037. \$36.95.
- HUNT, WILLIAM R. *Whiskey Peddler: Johnny Healy, North Frontier Trader*. Missoula, Mont.: Mountain. 1993. Pp. ix, 253. \$12.00.
- IVES, EDWARD D. *George Magoon and the Down East Game War: History, Folklore, and the Law*. (Folklore and Society; Publications of the American Folklore Society.) Paperback edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 335. \$17.95.
- JACKSON, DONALD. *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello*. Foreword by JAMES P. RONDA. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 339. \$16.95.
- JAMES, MARQUIS. *The Cherokee Strip: A Tale of an Oklahoma Boyhood*. Foreword by WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. x, 294. \$14.95.
- KALLINA, EDMUND F., JR. *Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. ix, 253. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$18.95.
- KNIGHT, OLIVER. *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents among the Indian Campaigners*. Foreword by SHERRY L. SMITH. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 348. \$17.95.
- KNIGHT, OLIVER. *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army*. Foreword by PAUL L. HEDREN. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. x, 280. \$13.95.
- KOLSKY, THOMAS A. *Jews against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948*. Paperback edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1990. Pp. xi, 269. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.
- KONNER, MELVIN. *Medicine at the Crossroads: The Crisis in Health Care*. New York: Pantheon. 1993. Pp. xxii, 298. \$23.00.
- LA FEBER, WALTER. *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. xi, 452. Cloth \$22.95, paper \$12.95.
- LEDBETTER, CALVIN R., JR. *Carpenter from Conway: George Washington Donaghey as Governor of Arkansas, 1909-1913*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 272. \$16.95.
- LEMAY, J. A. LEO. *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 144. \$22.50.
- LEWIS, TOM. *Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio*. (An Edward Burlingame Book.) New York: HarperPerennial. 1993. Pp. 421. \$13.00.
- LEWIS, THOMAS A. *For King and Country: The Maturing of George Washington, 1748-1760*. New York: HarperCollins. 1993. Pp. xvii, 296. \$27.50.
- MCCARTHY, KATHLEEN D. *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 324. \$16.95.
- MCCULLEY, RICHARD T. *Banks and Politics during the Progressive Era: The Origins of the Federal Reserve System, 1897-1913*. (The Financial Sector of the American Economy.) New York: Garland. 1992. Pp. ix, 341. \$81.00.
- MACKESY, PEIRS. *The War for America, 1775-1783*. Foreword by JOHN SHY. (A Bison Book.) Paperback edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. xxvi, 565. \$16.95.
- MARKS, JASON. *Around the World in 72 Days: The Race between Pulitzer's Nellie Bly and Cosmopolitan's Elizabeth Bisland*. New York: Gemittarius. 1993. Pp. 261.
- MARRIOTT, ALICE. *Hell on Horses and Women*. Foreword by MARGOT LIBERTY. Assisted by MARGARET LEFRANC. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 290. \$14.95.
- MARTIN, ANDREW. *Receptions of War: Vietnam in American Culture*. (Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory,



- number 10.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 192. \$24.95.
- MASSEY, ELLEN GRAY, editor. *Bittersweet Earth*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 405. \$14.95.
- MATHER, R. E., and F. E. BOSWELL. *Gold Camp Desperadoes: A Study of Violence, Crime, and Punishment on the Mining Frontier*. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 218. \$11.95.
- MAY, ERNEST R., editor. *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*. (Bedford Books in American History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 228. \$35.00.
- METZ, LEON C. *Dallas Stoudenmire: El Paso Marshal*. Paperback edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 162. \$9.95.
- MILLER, LILLIAN B. *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860*. Assisted by CAROL EATON HEVNER. Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with the University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1992. Pp. 320. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$35.00.
- MORGAN, EDMUND S. *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89*. (Chicago History of American Civilization.) 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 206. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$8.95.
- MORGAN, EDWARD P. *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America*. Paperback edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1991. Pp. xxiv, 357. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.
- MUCCIGROSSO, ROBERT. *Celebrating the New World: Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893*. (The American Ways Series.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1993. Pp. xii, 209. \$24.95.
- NEIMARK, MARILYN KLEINBERG. *The Hidden Dimensions of Annual Reports: Sixty Years of Social Conflict at General Motors*. New York: Markus Wiener. 1992. Pp. v, 207. \$34.95.
- O'CONNELL, ROBERT L. *Sacred Vessels: The Cult of the Battleship and the Rise of the U.S. Navy*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 409. \$14.95.
- PAUL, KAREN DAWLEY. *The Documentation of Congress: Report of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable Task Force on Congressional Documentation*. Washington, D.C.: Senate Historical Office. 1992. Pp. ix, 177.
- PEARCY, ARTHUR. *Flying the Frontiers: NACA and NASA Experimental Aircraft*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1993. Pp. 200. \$34.95.
- PHILLIPS, CHARLES, and ALAN AXELROD. *My Brother's Face: Portraits of the Civil War in Photographs, Diaries, and Letters*. Foreword by BRIAN C. POHANKA. San Francisco: Chronicle Books. 1993. Pp. 153. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$16.95.
- PORTES, JACQUES. *Les Américains et la guerre du Vietnam*. (Questions au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.) Brussels: Éditions Complexe. 1993. Pp. 358.
- POWER, HUGH. *Battleship Texas*. Foreword by WILSON E. DOLMAN III et al. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 45.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 141. Cloth \$29.50, paper \$9.95.
- ROBERTS, BOBBY, and CARL MONEYHON. *Portraits of Conflict: A Photographic History of Mississippi in the Civil War*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 396. \$60.00.
- RODGERS, ANDREW DENNY III. *Bernhard Eduard Fernow: A Story of North American Forestry*. Reprint. Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society. 1991. Pp. xii, 623. \$19.95.
- ROYSTER, CHARLES. *The Destructive War: William Tecumseh Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, and the Americans*. (Vintage Civil War Library.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. xii, 531. \$15.00.
- RUNTE, ALFRED. *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness*. Paperback edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 271. \$14.95.
- SALISBURY, ROBERT S. *William Windom: Apostle of Positive Government*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1993. Pp. xiv, 397. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$37.50.
- SAVAGE, WILLIAM W., JR., editor. *Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. Pp. xii, 286. \$12.95.
- SAYRE, ROBERT F., editor. *New Essays on Walden*. (The American Novel.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 117. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.
- SEABORG, GLENN T. *The Atomic Energy Commission under Nixon: Adjusting to Troubled Times*. Assisted by BENJAMIN S. LOEB. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xv, 268. \$39.95.
- SEARS, STEPHEN W. *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam*. Paperback edition. New York: Ticknor and Fields. 1983. Pp. xii, 431. \$12.95.
- SHAFFER, LYNDA NORENE. *Native Americans before 1492: The Mountainbuilding Centers of the Eastern Woodlands*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1992. Pp. xxi, 124. Cloth \$32.90, paper \$12.90.
- SHARBACH, SARAH E. *Stereotypes of Latin America, Press Images, and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1920-1933*. (Modern American History: New Studies and Outstanding Dissertations.) New York: Garland. 1993. Pp. xviii, 233. \$63.00.
- SILVERMAN, KENNETH, editor. *New Essays on Poe's Major Tales*. (The American Novel.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 134. Cloth \$27.95, paper \$10.95.
- SIRACUSA, JOSEPH M. *New Left Diplomatic Histories and Historians: The American Revisionists*. Rev. ed. Claremont, Calif.: Regina. 1993. Pp. x, 132.
- SPANN, GIRARDEAU A. *Race against the Court: The Supreme Court and Minorities in Contemporary America*. New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. vii, 266. \$40.00.
- STILLWELL, PAUL, editor. *The Golden Thirteen: Recollections of the First Black Naval Officers*. Foreword by COLIN L. POWELL. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 304. \$21.95.
- STROBER, GERALD S., and DEBORAH H. STROBER. *"Let Us Begin Anew": An Oral History of the Kennedy Presidency*. New York: HarperCollins. 1993. Pp. xiii, 540. \$25.00.
- STYRON, WILLIAM. *The Long March and In the Clap Shack*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. 224. \$11.00.
- STYRON, WILLIAM. *Set This House on Fire*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. 507. \$12.00.
- STYRON, WILLIAM. *This Quiet Dust and Other Writings*. Paperback edition. New York: Vintage. 1993. Pp. xiv, 344. \$12.00.
- VAN ALSTYNE, WILLIAM W., editor. *Freedom and Tenure in the Academy*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 429. \$39.95.
- VAN ZANTEN, WILLIAM. *Don't Bunch Up: One Marine's Story*. Foreword by P. X. KELLEY. Hamden, Conn.: Archon. 1993. Pp. xv, 208. \$25.00.
- VIOLA, HERMAN J. *After Columbus: The Smithsonian Chronicle of the North American Indian*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution; distributed by Orion, New York. 1990. Pp. 288. \$24.95.
- WALKER, JANET. *Couching Resistance: Women, Film, and Psychoanalytic Psychiatry*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993. Pp. xxv, 211. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$16.95.
- WARNER, LEE H. *Free Men in an Age of Servitude: Three Generations of a Black Family*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1992. Pp. 168. \$22.00.
- WATERS, FRANK. *Brave Are My People: Indian Heroes Not Forgotten*. Foreword by VINE DELORIA, JR. Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Clear Light. 1993. Pp. xviii, 189. \$24.95.
- WESTMACOTT, RICHARD. *African-American Gardens and Yards*

- in the Rural South. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 198. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$24.95.
- WILLINGHAM, WILLIAM F. *Northwest Passages: A History of the Seattle District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1896-1920*. Assisted by ROBERT E. FICKEN. Seattle, Wash.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. 1992. Pp. xi, 156.
- WILSON, JOHN R. M. *Herbert Hoover and the Armed Forces: A Study of Presidential Attitudes and Policy*. (Modern American History: New Studies and Outstanding Dissertations.) New York: Garland. 1993. Pp. xiii, 275. \$71.00.
- YOUNG, ALFRED F., and TERRY J. FIFE. *We the People: Voices and Images of the New Nation*. Assisted by MARY E. JANZEN. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 265. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.
- ZUCKERMAN, MICHAEL. *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. x, 315. \$30.00.
- RAIBLE, CHRIS. *Muddy York Mud: Scandal and Scurrility in Upper Canada*. Creemore, Ontario: Curiosity House, with the cooperation of the Ontario Heritage Foundation. 1992. Pp. xiv, 289. \$18.99.

### LATIN AMERICA

- GRAHAM, SANDRA LAUDERDALE. *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Paperback edition. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 212. \$11.95.
- ORR, BERNADETTE M. *Americas: Study Guide*. Assisted by BÁRBARA CRUZ. (The Annenberg/CPB Collection.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 179. \$17.95.
- ORR, BERNADETTE M. *Americas: Telecourse Faculty Guide*. Assisted by BÁRBARA CRUZ. (The Annenberg/CPB Collection.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 153.
- ROSENBERG, MARK B., et al., editors. *Americas: An Anthology*. (The Annenberg/CPB Collection.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 380. \$16.95.
- STEEN, HAROLD K., and RICHARD P. TUCKER, editors. *Changing Tropical Forests: Historical Perspectives on Today's Challenges in Central and South America*. (Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Forest History Society and IUFRO Forest History Group.) Durham, N.C.: Forest History Society; distributed by Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 303. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.
- STRONG, SIMON. *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru*. New York: Times Books. 1992. Pp. xv, 286. \$23.00.
- VAN YOUNG, ERIC. *La crisis del orden colonial: Estructura agraria y rebeliones populares de la Nueva España, 1750-1821*. (Raíces y razones.) Mexico City: Alianza. 1992. Pp. 515.
- BUMSTED, J. M. *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 581. \$29.95.
- BUMSTED, J. M. *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 442. \$29.95.
- DECHÊNE, LOUISE. *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*. Translated by LIANA VARDI. (Studies on the History of Quebec/Études d'histoire du Québec.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 428. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

### CANADA

---

# Communications

---

*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to respond to Mark Tushnet's review of my book, *Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights* (AHR, 97 [December 1992]: 1624-25).

In the last paragraph of his review, Tushnet states, "by describing both Kennedy and Johnson as mere politicians, Stern rather clearly underplays Johnson's deep and principled commitment to racial equality." First, I never use the term "mere" in connection with Kennedy or Johnson as politicians. In fact, the final words in my concluding substantive chapter on Johnson are: "He had evolved from an ordinary east-Texas politician into an extraordinary national leader."

Second, I must disagree with Mark Tushnet's unqualified description of Johnson's "deep and principled commitment to racial equality." During his 1948 Texas Senate race, Johnson denounced President

Truman's civil rights proposals as "a farce and a sham." When he served as a congressman, Johnson voted against every civil rights measure that came to the floor of the House of Representatives. As Senate leader, he watered down, almost beyond any substantive value, President Eisenhower's 1957 civil rights legislative package. President Johnson opposed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) position at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. None of this reflects a "deep and principled commitment to racial equality." Johnson's commitment simply was not that of Paul Douglas. Yet, as president, Johnson was generally a great civil rights supporter. My last chapter on Johnson is titled "The Second Great Emancipator."

Finally, Tushnet concludes, "there surely is a difference between Kennedy, who did what he had to, but no more, on the civil rights issue, and Johnson, who did all that he could." Mark Tushnet and I do not disagree on this point, despite his apparent reading of my book to the contrary. I leave it to other readers to decide whether or not my work differentiates between Kennedy and Johnson in both a clear and convincing manner.

MARK STERN  
Orlando, Florida

Mark Tushnet does not wish to reply.

THE EDITOR

# The American Historical Association...

## THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ALL HISTORIANS

Only the AHA brings together historians from all geographical, chronological, and topical specializations and all work contexts, reflecting the breadth and variety of activity in the profession today. Recognizing the special responsibilities that ensue from that unique position, the AHA has taken on an equally broad and diverse agenda, including—

- Establishing standards for professional conduct
- Maintaining the most complete clearinghouse for employment information
- Providing timely and systematic coverage of research opportunities and developments
- Addressing the common concerns of teachers, whatever their specialization or institution
- Representing the profession in Washington and in international activity

In other words, the AHA is much more than just an annual meeting and a journal. As a historian, you can't afford not to be a part of *the* American Historical Association. **Join today!**

Last Name \_\_\_\_\_ First \_\_\_\_\_ MI \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Check dues category:**

- |  |         |   |         |
|--|---------|---|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Over \$60,000                         | \$85.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Life Membership  | \$1200  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000–\$59,999                     | \$75.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> *Associate Membership  | \$35.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000–\$49,999                     | \$65.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Overseas Members (extra)   | \$8.00  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000–\$39,999                     | \$55.00 | (Including Canada and Mexico)   |         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000–\$29,999                     | \$45.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>New Member</i>  |         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$20,000/Student/<br>unemployed | \$25.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Renewal</i>   |         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> K–12 Teacher                          | \$45.00 | *Associate membership is for persons whose<br>primary identification is in other fields other<br>than history.<br>Dues are payable in advance, U.S. funds only. |         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> K–12 Teacher with <i>AHR</i>          | \$70.00 |   |         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Joint/Spouse of member                | \$25.00 |   |         |

Please return this coupon with your check made payable to: American  
Historical Association, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. *AHR*

---

# American Historical Association

---

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889

Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Louise A. Tilly, *New School for Social Research, New York*

President-elect: Thomas C. Holt, *University of Chicago*

Executive Director: Samuel R. Gammon

Controller: Randy Norell

**MEMBERSHIP:** persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's next annual meeting takes place January 6–9. The meeting in 1994 will be held in San Francisco. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

**PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES:** The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report, Perspectives* (newsletter with classified listings), and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

**PRIZES:** The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of \$1,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of \$1,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (next award, 1994). The *Paul Birdsall Prize* of \$1,000 for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history offered biennially (next award, 1994). The *James H. Breasted Prize* of \$1,000 offered annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of \$1,000 awarded biennially for a book on any subject relating to American

history (next award, 1993). The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History since 1800* of \$1,000 awarded annually. The *Herbert Feis Award* of \$1,000 awarded annually to recognize the recent work of independent scholars and public historians. The *Leo Gershow Award* of \$1,000 awarded annually for outstanding work in seventeenth or eighteenth-century Western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of \$500 awarded every five years to a Latin American for an outstanding book in Latin American history (next award, 1996). The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for the best book in women's history and/or feminist theory. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize* of \$1,000 awarded annually for the best work on history of American law and society. The *Howard R. Marraro Prize* in Italian history awarded annually and carrying a cash award of \$500. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history (next biennial award, 1994). The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years for outstanding editorial achievement (next award, 1995). The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool (next award, 1996). The *Premio del Rey Prize* of \$1,000 awarded biennially for Spanish medieval history and culture (500–1516 A.D.) (next award, 1994). The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize* awarded every other year to recognize the best book in the field of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history (next award, 1993).

**DUES:** For incomes of \$60,000 and above, \$85.00 annually; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$75.00; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$65.00; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$55.00; \$20,000–\$29,999, \$45.00; below \$20,000, students, and joint memberships, \$25.00; associate (nonhistorian) \$35.00; life \$1,200; teachers of K-12 \$70.00, K-12 without *The Review* \$45.00. Non-U.S. members add \$8.00 for postage. Members receive the *American Historical Review, Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting, and the *Annual Report* on request.

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.



---

# American Historical Review

---

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are two categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, United States \$52.00, foreign \$65.00.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review, Perspectives*, the program of the annual meeting of the Association, and the *Annual Report*, United States \$60.00, foreign \$70.00.

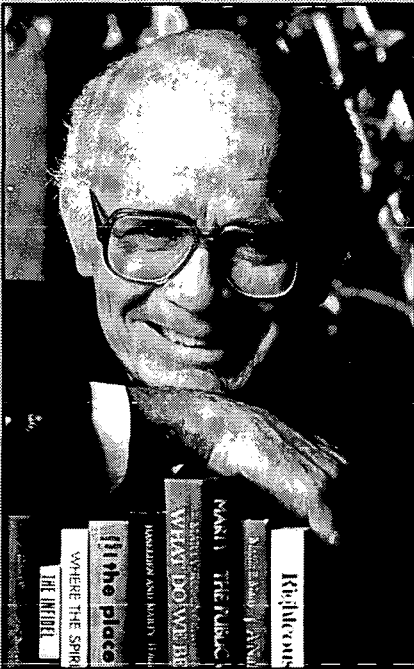
Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 92 (1987) can be ordered from the Membership Secretary of the Association at \$12.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 90 (1985) should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Company, Route 100, Millwood, N.Y., 10546.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.

*"An eloquent tribute to the man who, more than anyone else of his generation, has shaped the study of American religious history."*

—RANDALL BALMER



"A collection that matches the extraordinary range of Martin Marty himself, whose scholarship, energy, and vision have become an academic field almost unto themselves."

—JON BUTLER

"These superb essays constitute a worthy tribute to a remarkable human being. Martin Marty is a man of many parts: it is the teacher part that here is acknowledged, honored, and embodied in Marty's very own apostolic succession."

—EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

"There is a coherence and an integrity to the book which make it required reading by all serious students of American religious history."

—JERALD C. BRAUER

*New Dimensions*  
in **AMERICAN  
RELIGIOUS  
HISTORY**

**ESSAYS IN HONOR OF MARTIN E. MARTY**

Edited by *Jay P. Dolan*  
and *James P. Wind*

ISBN 0-8028-3702-6

Cloth, \$29.99



At your bookstore, or call 800-253-7521 FAX 616-459-6540

**WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.**

255 JEFFERSON AVE. S.E. / GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49503

---

# C O R N E L L

## China's Quest for National Identity

EDITED BY  
LOWELL DITTMER  
AND SAMUEL S. KIM

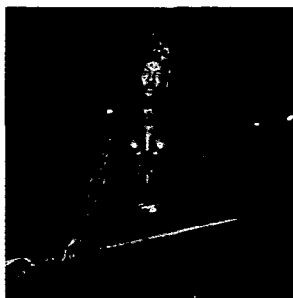
This volume brings together ten new essays by an interdisciplinary group of leading sinologists and offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the nature of Chinese national identity in past and contemporary settings. \$42.50 cloth, \$16.95 paper

## Comrades and Chicken Ranchers

*The Story of a California  
Jewish Community*

KENNETH L. KANN

This delightful book tells the story of Petaluma, California, which was transformed over the twentieth century from a small town of Jewish chicken ranchers and radicals into the San Francisco bedroom suburb it is today. Kann has ingeniously arranged and edited interviews with more than two hundred people. \$36.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper



## Portraits in Steel

PHOTOGRAPHS BY  
MILTON ROGOVIN,  
INTERVIEWS BY  
MICHAEL FRISCH

This powerful book—the result of a collaboration between a celebrated documentary photographer and an oral historian—records the unsettling experience of workers who lost their jobs in the steel mills of Buffalo, New York, and had to fashion new lives for themselves. \$49.95 cloth, \$28.95 paper

## Every Child a Lion

*The Origins of Maternal  
and Infant Health Policy  
in the United States and France,  
1890–1920*

ALISA KLAUS

Klaus gives a comparative account of the early history of maternal and child welfare programs in the United States and France over a thirty-year period. \$36.95

## It Had to Be Revolution

*Memoirs of  
an American Radical*  
CHARLES SHIPMAN  
WITH A FOREWORD BY  
HARVEY KLEHR

In this fascinating autobiography, Shipman recounts the remarkable career that took him from the inner circles of the world communist movement to the boardrooms of capitalism. Shipman, an underground organizer who cofounded the Mexican Communist Party, vividly describes his encounters with Lenin, Zinoviev, Michael Borodin, John Reed, Walter Lippmann, Bertolt Brecht, Dorothy Day, and many other figures of the left. \$29.95

## Workshop to Office

*Two Generations of Italian  
Women in New York City,  
1900–1950*

MIRIAM COHEN

Drawing on a range of sources from censuses to high school yearbooks, Cohen examines shifting patterns in the family roles, work lives, and schooling of two generations of Italian-American women. \$39.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper

---

---

# C O R N E L L

## Lines of Authority

*Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689*

STEVEN N. ZWICKER

Zwicker maintains that the sources of Restoration culture lay within the civil war years of the 1640s and that the memory of those years shaped writing and politics for the remainder of the century. \$32.50

## Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era

*Trade, Power, and Belief*

EDITED BY ANTHONY REID

This book is the first to document the full range of responses to the profound changes of the period from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries: urbanization and the burgeoning of commerce; the proliferation of firearms; an increase in the number and strength of states; and the shift from experimental spirit worship to the universalist scriptural religions of Islam, Christianity, and Theravada Buddhism. *Asia East by South*. \$41.50 cloth, \$15.95 paper

## The Empire of the Eye

*Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875*

ANGELA MILLER

"Miller has achieved more in dealing with American political and social history than any other art historian who has written on American landscape. She so capably invokes the tools of the historian that she informs the study of formal and iconographical aspects of these paintings with new life."  
—Elizabeth Johns,  
University of Pennsylvania.  
\$35.00

## Dilemmas of Appeasement

*British Deterrence and Defense, 1934–1937*

GAINES POST, JR.

Post reexamines how British leaders planned foreign policy and imperial defense as they faced the increasing likelihood of war with the dictatorial regimes of Germany, Italy, and Japan. *Cornell Studies in Security Affairs*.  
\$48.50

## Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship

*The Red Army and the Soviet Socialist State, 1917–1930*

MARK VON HAGEN

*New in Paper!* "A pioneering and nuanced account of the Red Army as a social institution. . . . A fine study that casts genuinely new light on the crucial early years of Soviet society."  
—John Bushnell, *American Historical Review*.  
\$16.95

## Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition

JOHN MCCOLE

In a landmark volume, McCole interprets the whole of Benjamin's career in a fashion that both contextualizes and addresses the complexities and ambiguities of his texts. \$43.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper

---

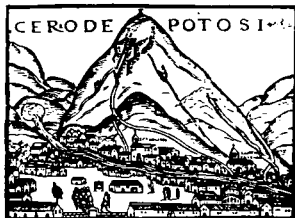
## Cornell University Press

Sage House, 512 East State Street, Ithaca NY 14850

At bookstores, or call (607) 277-2211 (credit card orders only, please)

---

# Princeton



## Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan

**Gary P. Leupp**

In this analysis of lower-class life in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868), Gary Leupp vividly portrays the emergence of an urban proletariat during a time of extraordinary economic change. Leupp shows that in the same way that products previously restricted to use by the elite became commodities for mass consumption, labor power itself became a commodity.

"This book will be very useful to students of modern Japan who seek to understand the origins of class relations and the industrial work force. The data alone are breathtaking."—Sheldon Garon, Princeton University  
Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 0-691-03139-8

*New in paperback*

## A Woman, A Man, and Two Kingdoms

The Story of Madame d'Épinay and the Abbé Galiani

**Francis Steegmuller**

Pre-revolutionary Paris comes to life in this fascinating story surrounding the correspondence between two colorful and witty society figures: the French author Louise d'Épinay and the Italian priest-diplomat Ferdinando Galiani. Francis Steegmuller's book is at once a unique history and a charming account of friendship sustained in a turbulent age.

"... the story of a warm friendship ... put together with expert skill, urbanity, and insight."—Victor Brombert,

*The New York Times Book Review*

Now in paper: \$14.95 ISBN 0-691-02489-8

Not available from Princeton in the Commonwealth except Canada

*New in paperback*

## Religion in the Andes

Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru

**Sabine MacCormack**

Addressing problems of objectivity and authenticity, Sabine MacCormack reconstructs how Andean religion was understood by the Spanish in light of seventeenth-century European theological and philosophical movements.

"This volume provides a salutary reminder that the 'New World' was not only encountered and conquered, but also explained, and explained in a way which revealed much about Europe."—Stephen Nugent,

*The Times Higher Education Supplement*

Now in paper: \$18.95 ISBN 0-691-02106-6



*New in paperback*

## Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England

**Mary Lyndon Shanley**

This comprehensive study of Victorian reforms in marriage law reshapes our understanding of the feminist movement of that period.

"Shanley's work is not only a fine feminist tract for our times but also a significant scholarly work."

—Lee Holcombe, *American Historical Review*

Now in paper: \$14.95 ISBN 0-691-02487-1



*New in paperback*

## **The Military Revolution and Political Change**

Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe

**Brian M. Downing**

Brian Downing maintains that in late medieval times an array of constitutional arrangements distinguished Western Europe from other parts of the world and predisposed it toward liberal democracy. Here he looks at how medieval constitutionalism was affected by the "military revolution" of the early modern era.

"The author's emphasis on the role of the instruments of violence and repression in inhibiting liberal and democratic trends is new to scholarship and quite convincing. . . . This book takes a big step beyond my *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*."

—Barrington Moore, Jr.

Now in paper: \$16.95 ISBN 0-691-02475-8

*New in paperback*

## **Rhineland Radicals**

The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849

**Jonathan Sperber.**

"One of the most important books on modern German history to emerge from the United States recently and probably the most important to emerge on the pre-Bismarck era."—Geoff Eley, University of Michigan

Now in paper: \$18.95 ISBN 0-691-00866-3



*New in paperback*

*With a new afterword by the author*

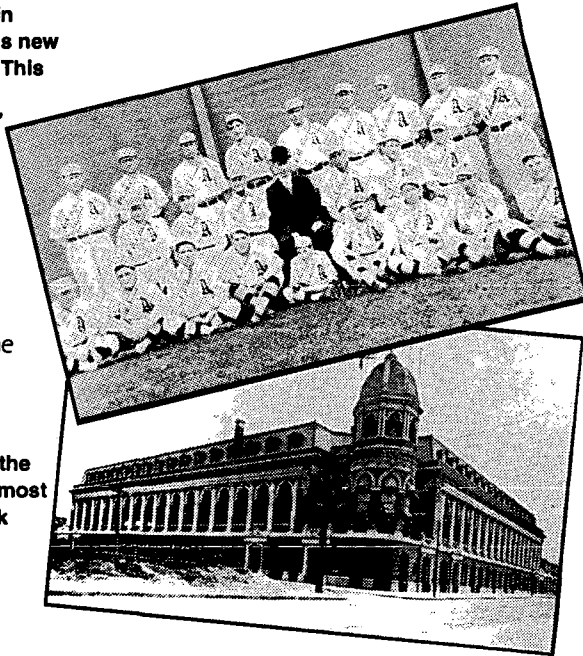
## **The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia**

A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages

**Christopher I. Beckwith**

"An absorbing and highly original narrative of Imperial rivalries that is of particular interest to comparative historians."—*Choice*

Now in paper: \$16.95 ISBN 0-691-02469-3



*New in paperback*

## **To Every Thing a Season**

Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976

**Bruce Kuklick**

"... a valuable and original contribution worthy of a place on any all star line-up of baseball writings."

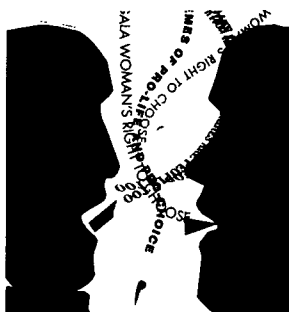
—Edward Pessen, *Reviews in American History*

Now in paper: \$9.95 ISBN 0-691-02104-X

# **Princeton University Press**

41 WILLIAM ST., PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

# NEW TITLES DUKE



Latin American  
and Caribbean Studies

## **Persistent Oligarchs**

Elites and Politics in Chihuahua,  
Mexico, 1910-1940  
Mark Wasserman  
240 pages, 13 tables, 1 map, paper  
\$16.95, library cloth edition \$35.00

## **Working Women, Working Men**

São Paulo and the Rise of Brazil's  
Industrial Working Class, 1900-1955  
Joel Wolfe  
336 pages, 3 b&w photographs,  
1 map, paper \$17.95,  
library cloth edition \$45.00

*New in Paperback*

## **Black into White**

Race and Nationality in  
Brazilian Thought  
Thomas E. Skidmore  
336 pages, paper \$16.95

*New in Paperback*

## **Bondmen and Rebels**

A Study of Master-Slave  
Relations in Antigua  
David Barry Gaspar  
368 pages, paper \$18.95



Law and  
Constitutional Studies

## **The Politics of Virtue**

Is Abortion Debatable?  
Elizabeth Mensch and Alan Freeman  
264 pages, paper \$14.95, library cloth  
edition \$39.95

## **The Constitution Besieged**

The Rise and Demise of Lochner Era  
Police Powers Jurisprudence  
Howard Gillman  
328 pages, cloth \$34.95

## **Freedom and Tenure in the Academy**

William W. Van Alstyne, editor  
440 pages, cloth \$39.95

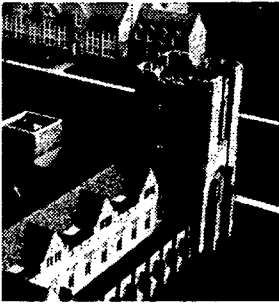
Southern History

*New in Paperback*

## **The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership**

Gordon Blaine Hancock, 1884-1970  
With a new preface by the author  
Raymond Gavins  
240 pages, paper \$15.95

# U N I V E R S I T Y P R E S S



*New in Paperback*

**Black Business in  
the New South**

A Social History of the  
North Carolina Mutual Life  
Insurance Company  
With a new introduction by the author  
Walter B. Weare  
360 pages, 38 b&w photographs,  
paper \$18.95

**The Launching of Duke  
University, 1924-1949**

Robert F. Durden  
588 pages, 40 b&w photographs,  
cloth \$29.95

Asian Studies

**Japan in the World**

Masao Miyoshi and H. D.  
Harootunian, editors  
368 pages, paper \$18.95,  
library cloth edition \$42.50



Europe, East and West

**The Land and the Loom**

Peasants and Profit in  
Northern France, 1680-1800  
Liana Vardi  
280 pages, cloth \$34.95

**Stefan Stambolov and  
the Emergence of Modern  
Bulgaria, 1870-1895**

Duncan M. Perry  
296 pages, 10 b&w photographs,  
1 map, cloth \$39.95

*New in Paperback*

**Contracting Colonialism**

Translation and Christian  
Conversion in Tagalog Society  
Under Early Spanish Rule  
Vicente L. Rafael  
256 pages, 3 halftones, paper \$15.95

**Duke University Press**

Publishers of *Ethnohistory*,  
*Hispanic American Historical  
Review*, *Journal of Medieval  
and Renaissance Studies*,  
*Social Science History*  
Box 90660 Durham,  
NC 27708-0660

## After the Cold War

International Institutions and State  
Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991  
Edited by Robert O. Keohane,

Joseph S. Nye, and  
Stanley Hoffmann

The dismantling of the Berlin Wall marked the end of the Cold War and the arrival of a new era in world politics. How the world powers, have adapted to this new reality is the subject of this volume. Bringing together the work of seasoned experts and younger scholars, it offers a wide-ranging analysis of the effects of historical patterns—whether interrupted or intact—on post-Cold War politics. The contributors explore these changes in five areas: trade, international public finance, foreign direct investment, environmental protection, and military security.

Center for International Affairs

\$50.00 cloth/\$22.50 paper

## A View to a Death in the Morning

Hunting and Nature through History  
Matt Cartmill

In this engrossing book, leading biological anthropologist Matt Cartmill searches out the origins—and the strange allure—of the myth of "Man the Hunter." An exhilarating foray into cultural history, *A View to a Death in the Morning* shows us how hunting has figured in the western imagination. From the myth of Artemis to the power of Bambi metaphors to current controversy over wildlife management, Cartmill shows how hunting's evolving image has reflected our own view of ourselves.

17 halftones \$29.95 cloth

## G.B. Vico

The Making of an Anti-Modern  
Mark Lilla

This first truly comprehensive introduction to Vico puts all the elements of his theories of authority, politics, and civil religion in their proper relationship with his theory of history. As such, it raises provocative questions about the subsequent intellectual development of the anti-modern tradition as it relates to the historical and social sciences of our time. It is a brilliant antidote to the "standard" reading of Vico and will transform studies of his work.

\$39.95 cloth

## A History of Women in the West

Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot,  
General Editors

Volume III: Renaissance and  
Enlightenment Paradoxes

Edited by Natalie Zemon Davis  
and Arlette Farge



"The third volume of this excellent series explores women's position in the socio-economic world of the 16th through 18th centuries...The essays are unique in that they use evidence and ideals that are particular to women. This volume is a first-rate piece of scholarship, holding wide appeal for just about anyone interested in this time period of history. Highly recommended." —*Library Journal*  
The Belknap Press 49 halftones \$29.95 cloth

## From May Fourth to June Fourth

Fiction and Film in  
Twentieth-Century China  
Edited by Ellen Widmer and  
David Der-wei Wang

What do the Chinese literature and film inspired by the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) have in common with the Chinese literature and film of the May Fourth movement (1918-1930)? This new volume in the Harvard Contemporary China Series—now under the editorial direction of Harvard University Press—demonstrates that these two periods of the highest literary and cinematic creativity in twentieth-century China share several aims.

Harvard Contemporary China Series, 9  
\$49.95 cloth/\$24.95 paper

Available at bookstores or from

**Harvard  
University  
Press**

Cambridge, MA 02138

Call toll-free: 1-800-448-2242



AP Wire World Photos

The genocide of two world wars —  
and America's complicity —  
explored in "shocking investigative  
scholarship of a high order." \*



The Library of Congress

# THE SPLENDID BLOND BEAST

**Money, Law, and Genocide  
in the Twentieth Century**

**Christopher Simpson**

With the help of newly uncovered archival sources, the award-winning author of  
*Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effect on the Cold War*  
presents a devastating exposé of mass murder as an instrument of state power.

"Of utmost interest is the evidence that John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles  
deliberately stymied efforts to bring to justice many German bankers  
and industrialists involved in the Nazi extermination programs."

— *Publishers Weekly*

At bookstores or call 1-800-937-5557



AP Wire World Photos

\* *Kirkus Reviews*

**GROVE PRESS**



AP Wire World Photos





## The Shaping of America

*A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*

*Volume 2: Continental America, 1800-1867*

D. W. Meinig

"A rich, dazzling, indispensable reinterpretation of an expanding America, with a panoramic view that embraces all of its regions and all of its peoples."—David Weber

This new volume, the second in an acclaimed series, brings a unique geographical perspective to the tumultuous years between 1800 and 1867, when the nation experienced a dramatic expansion in territory, population, economy, and political tension that culminated in the Civil War. 86 illus. \$45.00

Also available: *Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* Illus. cloth \$50.00 and paper \$19.95

## The Transformation of American Politics

*The New Washington and the Rise of Think Tanks*

David M. Ricci

Washington think tanks have become so influential in recent years that they now constitute virtually a new branch of the political system. This book brilliantly explores the social, economic, and political trends that have transformed government and led to the development and prestige of these public policy research centers. \$30.00

## Yale University Press

92A Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520

## Toward Managed Peace

*The National Security Interests of the United States, 1759 to the Present*

Eugene V. Rostow

"This superb short diplomatic history of the United States provides valuable insights into how the United States ought to deal with major world problems."

—Robert F. Turner

"Rostow's new book embodies a lifetime of reflection, experience, and advocacy. It presents a rich and challenging view of the main issues for American diplomacy, past and present."—David Calleo \$35.00

## The Censored War

*American Visual Experience During World War II*

George H. Roeder, Jr.



Courtesy National Archives

This powerful book tells the story of how American public opinion about World War II was manipulated both by the wartime images that citizens were allowed to see in pictures, ads, and posters and by the images that were suppressed.

"Roeder's striking visual images and documentary evidence will change the way we see World War II."—Clayton Koppes 88 illus. \$30.00

## Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America

Richard Carwardine

This book reveals how the evangelicals helped to shape political culture, party development, and sectional antagonism as issues with clear religious and moral implications came to dominate political life.

"A substantial and important book that examines religion's role in bringing about the Civil War."—Jon Butler \$45.00

## Rome Reborn

*The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*

Edited by Anthony Grafton

This beautiful book introduces the reader to the Vatican Library. Distinguished scholars discuss the Library's holdings and the historical circumstances of its growth, presenting a fascinating cast of characters who influenced how the Library evolved.



"This impressive catalog portrays the Vatican Library as repository, reflection, patron, and artifact of Roman Renaissance culture."—*Library Journal* 216 color illus. \$55.00

*Published in association with the Library of Congress and the Vatican Library*

## When Illness Strikes the Leader

*The Dilemma of the Captive King*

Jerrold M. Post, M.D., and Robert S. Robins

Illness and instability in high office has often shaped the course of world events. Drawing on examples from around the world and throughout history—including George III, Woodrow Wilson, Deng Xiaoping, and Menachem Begin—this absorbing book reveals how mortal illness can affect decisions and make a leader more determined to leave his mark on history.

"A sophisticated and knowledgeable treatment of a complex and demanding subject."—James MacGregor Burns \$25.00

## Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt

Wolfgang Decker

Translated by Allen Guttmann

This fascinating book draws on recent evidence from the fields of Egyptology and sports history to offer the most thorough treatment of the athletic and recreational activities of the people of ancient Egypt. 132 illus. \$40.00

*Sport and History Series*

## New in Paperbound

### Catherine the Great

*A Short History*

Isabel de Madariaga

An eminent scholar of Russian history here presents the most informative, balanced, and up-to-date short study yet written of Catherine the Great and her reign.

"This book is certainly not just another biography of Catherine but a panoramic view of Russia's social, political, economic, and cultural development and of its emergence as a formidable power in the international arena during the thirty-four years of her reign."—Anthony Cross, *The New York Times Book Review* \$13.00



### The Reign of Edward III

*Crown and Political Society in England, 1327-1377*

W. M. Ormrod

This powerfully written book provides not only a richly detailed study of the reign of Edward III but also a reassessment of his domestic achievements. Ormrod reveals Edward III as the prototype of a successful medieval king, rebuilding and enhancing the authority of the throne through the longest period of domestic peace in the Middle Ages.

"[A] tightly written, comprehensive interpretation of the reign....A persuasive, revisionist view of Edward as a successful administrator written with learning and reasonableness."—*The Virginia Quarterly Review* \$17.00

## Yale University Press

92A Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520

# New From NYU Press

## BLACKS AT HARVARD

A Documentary History of African-American Experience  
at Harvard and Radcliffe

EDITED BY WERNER SOLLORS, CALDWELL TITCOMB,  
AND THOMAS A. UNDERWOOD  
INTRODUCTION BY RANDALL KENNEDY

"A fascinating collection, extraordinarily well-researched, an essential text for all who are interested in the history of African-Americans in higher education."

—Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Harvard University*

575 pages/ 61 illustrations/ \$20.00 paper/ \$50.00 cloth



## SOJOURNER TRUTH

Slave, Prophet, Legend

CARLETON MABEE

"An invaluable contribution to our understanding of [Truth's] public life and her relationship to the reform movements of nineteenth-century America...will stimulate lively discussions among both academics and nonacademics interested in the history of race relations in the United States."

—Jean Humez, Author of *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress*. A landmark work by Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer Carleton Mabée.

320 pages/ 20 illustrations/ \$35.00 cloth

## THE MODERN CHRISTMAS IN AMERICA

A Cultural History of Gift Giving

WILLIAM B. WAITS

This incisive and engaging history reveals how the custom of gift giving was transformed by industrialization, and how Christmas became part of a larger effort to celebrate a mythic past of well-ordered communities.

272 pages/ 77 illustrations/ \$40.00 cloth

## TRADITION AND CRISIS

Jewish Society at the End of  
the Middle Ages

Second Edition

JACOB KATZ

TRANSLATED AND WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX  
AND AFTERWORD BY BERNARD DOV COOPERMAN

"An acknowledged classic. Katz has transformed our conception of Jewish history from the 16th to the 18th century."

—Arthur Hertzberg

This groundbreaking study provides incomparable analysis into the social, historical, cultural, and economic issues of the premodern Jewish community.

416 pages/ \$40.00 cloth

*Just in time for Mother's Day!*

## THE ANCHOR OF MY LIFE

Middle Class American Mothers  
and Daughters, 1880-1920

LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG

"Extremely useful to scholars and teachers of women's history and family history."

—Laurie Crumpacker, *Simmons College*

Provocatively challenges the assumption that the mother-daughter relationship is necessarily defined by hostility, guilt, and antagonism.

320 pages/ 24 illustrations/ \$35.00 cloth



NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS

70 Washington Square South  
New York, NY, 10012

Phone: (212) 998-2575 • Fax: (212) 995-3833

## *A Picturesque Past*

Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass  
The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers  
NELSON B. WADSWORTH

From archives and attics, Wadsworth has assembled 400 photographs depicting life in territorial Utah during construction of the Mormon temple. The text includes colorful biographical sketches of pioneer photographers.

Cloth. 400 pp. \$39.95. ISBN: 1-56085-024-8. Available.

A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson  
STAN LARSON, editor

For six years, Clawson kept detailed minutes of the weekly meetings of the LDS Quorum of Twelve Apostles. They include everything from finances, political strategy, and secret polygamous marriages, to the apostles' preferred beer.

Cloth. 600 pages. \$85.00. ISBN: 0-941214-96-6.

Limited edition. Available May.

Waiting for World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff  
SUSAN STAKER, editor

Wilford Woodruff was an ardent nineteenth-century millenarian, but his world view changed when the parousia was delayed. A polygamist fugitive who became Mormon church president, Woodruff stunned followers by renouncing polygamy and compromising with federal officials.

Paper. 450 pp. \$19.95. ISBN: 0-941214-92-3. Available May.

Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess  
RICHARD S. VAN WAGONER

Sidney Rigdon was founder of the Ohio Reformed Baptists, counselor in Joseph Smith's Church of Christ, and founder of a communal society in Pennsylvania. Here Rigdon re-emerges to his original prominence and erratic zeal.

Cloth. 400 pages. \$28.95. ISBN: 1-56085-030-2. Available June.

SIGNATURE BOOKS

# AMERICAN CULTURES

## THE SKULKING WAY OF WAR

TECHNOLOGY AND TACTICS  
AMONG THE NEW ENGLAND  
INDIANS

**Patrick M. Malone**

Patrick Malone looks at combat in the seventeenth century and shows how Indians honed their skills, creatively adapting European military technology to fit their own needs.

\$13.95 paperback



## PALATINES, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY

GERMAN LUTHERANS IN COLONIAL  
BRITISH AMERICA

**A. G. Roeber**

"The most thoughtful and comprehensive study ever attempted of the German migration to eighteenth-century America and how it affected and was affected by the Revolution."—John M. Murin, Princeton University

*Early America: History, Context, Culture*  
Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, Series Editors

\$49.95 hardcover



## A SPIRITED RESISTANCE

THE NORTH  
AMERICAN INDIAN  
STRUGGLE FOR  
UNITY, 1745-1815

**Gregory Evans  
Dowd**

"Angrily reject[s] the Eurocentric assumptions of works that center on big-chief-hero or on isolated tribes."—James R. Kincaid, *New York Times Book Review*

\$14.95 paperback

## REDEEMING THE REPUBLIC

FEDERALISTS, TAXATION, AND THE  
ORIGINS OF THE CONSTITUTION

**Roger H. Brown**

"A highly original and substantial contribution which is based on much original research concerning the impact of tax policy."—Van Beck Hall, University of Pittsburgh

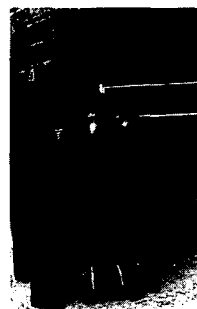
\$38.50 hardcover

## THE AMISH AND THE STATE

**edited by Donald B. Kraybill**

Donald Kraybill brings together legal scholars and social scientists to explore a unique series of conflicts between a traditional religious minority and the modern state.

\$14.95 paperback



**The Johns Hopkins University Press**

Hampden Station, Baltimore, Maryland 21211

To order, call 1-800-537-5487.



# ROUTLEDGE

**Announcing  
a major new series . . .**

## REWRITING HISTORIES

Series Editor: **Jack R. Censer**,  
George Mason University

**Rewriting Histories** focuses on historical themes where standard conclusions are facing major challenges. Each book presents 8-10 articles (edited and annotated where necessary) at the forefront of current research and interpretation, offering an accessible way to engage with contemporary historical debate.

### ATLANTIC AMERICAN SOCIETIES

From Columbus Through Abolition  
1492-1888

Edited by **Alan L. Karras** and **J. R. McNeill**

"Rather than seeing the creation of the Atlantic world as the triumphant story of European expansion, this volume, by examining the multiple dimensions of contact between Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans, presents a far more complex, if more tragic vision of the foundations of the Atlantic colonial system."

—Stuart B. Schwartz, Director,

Center for Early Modern History,  
University of Minnesota

274 pp \$16.95/paper

### GENDER AND AMERICAN HISTORY SINCE 1890

Edited by **Barbara Melosh**

"... the volume is superb and the combination of visual and literary representations with material, including geographical analysis makes this collection one of the richest available on issues of gender, sexuality and power"

—Nancy Hewitt, University of South Florida

320 pp 12 b/w photos \$15.95/paper



### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND WORK IN NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE

Edited by **Lenard R. Berlanstein**

"While the forces of revisionism, particularly under the impetus of social constructivism, have forced scholars in many fields to historicize their concepts, history as a discipline has ironically remained relatively unremoved to challenge its own paradigms. This volume, and surely this series, will go a long way towards changing that."

—Judith S. Lewis, University of Oklahoma

192 pp \$15.95/paper

### SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE SLAVE SOUTH

Edited by **J. William Harris**

"A very useful collection of articles that highlights some of the principle debates in the history of the Old South."

—Drew Faust, University of Pennsylvania

Contributions by established scholars include Bertram Wyatt-Brown's provocative essay on slave psychology, excerpts from Sterling Stuckey's analysis of the African roots of slave religion and folklore, and Robert William Fogel's newest synthesis of the work on the economics of slavery.

256 pp \$15.95/paper



Available at better bookstores

29 WEST 35TH STREET NEW YORK NY 10001-2299 (212) 244-3336

## ASIA IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE, Volume III in 4 Books

*A Century of Advance*

**Donald F. Lach, Edwin J. Van Kley**

"No scholar before Donald F. Lach has attempted to survey the intricate web of relationships between Europe and Asia at such a level of detail. His book is a masterpiece of comprehensive scholarship."  
—*New York Times Book Review*

"One can only admire the immense industry and knowledge, and the skill in marshaling the evidence. . . . Already one can say that nothing of this scope and magnitude has been performed before, and nothing is likely to be performed again."—*New York Review of Books*

**4-volume cloth set \$250.00**

**Book 1: Trade, Missions,  
Literature**  
680 pages illus.

**Book 2: South Asia**  
576 pages illus.



**Book 3: Southeast Asia**  
520 pages illus.

**Book 4: East Asia**  
632 pages illus.

*Volumes available individually*

Winner of the R. R. Hawkins Award for the Outstanding Professional, Reference, or Scholarly Work of 1992

## The History of Cartography, Volume 2, Book 1

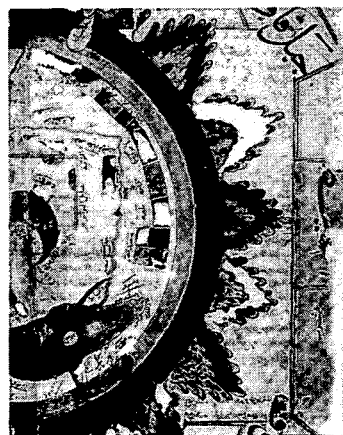
*Cartography in the Traditional Islamic  
and South Asian Societies*

**Edited by J. B. Harley and David Woodward**

This volume offers a fascinating picture of maps used not only as practical tools but also as images symbolic of religion and culture.

"The standard reference for all subsequent scholarship."—John Noble Wilford, *New York Times Book Review*

**Cloth \$125.00 644 pages illus.**



**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637

# LSU Press



Courtesy Morgan Sparks Smith, New York City. Copy held by Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University

## **Carter G. Woodson**

### ***A Life in Black History***

Jacqueline Goggin

"In this important, compellingly written, and exhaustively researched biography, Goggin illuminates the complex nature of a great American intellectual. . . . Every student of African-American history should read this biography."

—Darlene Clark Hine

Illustrated

\$24.95

## **Francisco Boulogny**

### ***A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana***

Gilbert C. Din

Gilbert C. Din draws a lively and informative portrait of an ambition-driven soldier and government official who hoped to find in the colonial arena opportunities for professional, social, and economic advancement. The biography is based on years of archival research in Spain and the United States as well as on family papers and secondary materials in several languages.

Illustrated

\$45.00

## **Archibald Grimké**

### ***Portrait of a Black Independent***

Dickson D. Bruce, Jr.

This first full-length examination of one of the most important figures in African-American life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is grounded in an impressive array of primary sources, particularly the letters and writings of Grimké and his contemporaries. Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., provides both a thorough study of the life of this prominent writer, thinker, and activist, and a delineation of the broader worlds of race relations and racial politics at the turn of the century.

Illustrated

July

\$24.95

## **The Civil War Reminiscences of Major Silas T. Grisamore, C.S.A.**

*Edited by Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr.*

Silas T. Grisamore, a merchant who served in the 18th Louisiana Infantry Regiment during the Civil War, wrote a series of newspaper articles that appeared from 1867 to 1871 recalling his wartime experiences and those of his fellow soldiers. Grisamore's compelling narrative, enlivened by his droll sense of humor, is now available to the modern reader in this skillfully edited and annotated volume.

Illustrated

\$24.95

**Louisiana State University Press    Baton Rouge 70803**

# HISTORY

NEW FROM CALIFORNIA



From *Japan's Orient*

## Japan's Orient

Rendering Pasts  
into History

**Stefan Tanaka**

"[A] fascinating book. Tanaka has provided a rich account of the ways in which Japanese historians adopted and adapted European ideas of progress and cultural identity in order to reformulate their ideological relationship to China."—Talal Asad, *New School for Social Research*  
\$40.00 cloth

## The Long Peace

Ottoman Lebanon,  
1861-1920

**Engin Deniz Akarli**

Akarli examines the socio-political changes resulting from the negotiations and shifting alliances during Lebanon's crucial years of peace.

"One of the best studies of 19th-century Lebanon."

—Leila Fawaz,  
Tufts University

\$40.00 cloth

## The Great Central Valley

California's Heartland

**Stephen Johnson,**

**Gerald Haslam,**

**and Robert Dawson**

This beautiful and evocative book by three natives of California's Central Valley is the first to explore in detail the rich natural and social history of the state's agricultural heartland.

\$50.00 cloth, \$30.00 paper,  
illustrated, *A Centennial Book*

## Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society

**John A. Larkin**

Larkin examines how both the Filipino people and colonizing forces participated in the sugar industry and how two types of society emerged: one based on plantation agriculture, and the other on tenant farming.

\$48.00 cloth, illustrated

## Reading Columbus

**Margarita Zamora**

In this first book in English to focus specifically on Columbus's writings, Margarita Zamora offers an original analysis of their textual problems and ideological implications.

*Latin American Literature and Culture*, \$42.00 cloth,  
\$18.00 paper, illustrated

UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES NEW YORK LONDON

# HISTORY

NEW FROM CALIFORNIA

## Venice's Hidden Enemies

Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City

**John Martin**

Here is a vivid re-creation of the social and cultural worlds of the Venetian heretics in this profoundly important contribution to Renaissance and Reformation studies.

*Studies on the History of Society and Culture*, \$42.50 cloth, illustrated

## The Prince and the Law, 1200-1600

Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition

**Kenneth Pennington**

"A work of synthesis that at the same time introduces new material to the treasury of studies on medieval political thought."

—Stanley Chodorov,  
UC, San Diego

*A Centennial Book*, \$40.00 cloth

## Christianity and the Eastern Slavs

Volume I: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages

**Edited by Boris Gasparov and Olga Raevsky-Hughes**

This three-volume collection brings together essays from two international conferences. Volume I explores the history and influence of Christianization from the tenth to the seventeenth century.

*California Slavic Studies*  
\$50.00 cloth

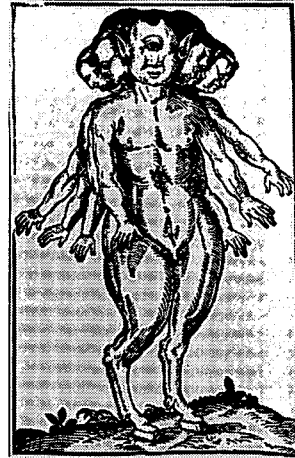
## California Slavic Studies

Volume 14

**Edited by Henrik Birnbaum, Thomas Eekman, Hugh McLean, & Nicholas V. Riasanovsky**

This volume completes a program of publishing distinguished essays on a wide range of Slavic topics.

\$45.00 cloth



From *Wondrous in His Saints*

## Wondrous in His Saints

Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria  
**Philip M. Soergel**

Soergel's cogent exploration of little-known pilgrimage literature yields a vivid portrait of religion before, during, and after the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

*Studies on the History of Society and Culture*, \$38.00 cloth, illustrated

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657.

UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES NEW YORK LONDON



# HISTORY

NEW FROM CALIFORNIA

## NEW PAPERBACKS

### The Invention of Argentina

Nicolas Shumway

"Shumway's history of Argentine histories offers illuminating parallels and contrasts to the national experience of other parts of the world."

—*Times Higher Education Supplement*

\$14.00 paper, illustrated

### Justice at War

The Story of the Japanese-American Internment Cases  
Peter Irons

With a new Afterword — "A major contribution to the history of governmental oppression and demonstrates how good men sometimes do evil deeds."

—*American Historical Review*  
\$14.00 paper

### The Remaking of Istanbul

A Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century  
Zeynep Çelik

"A serious urban history of one of the world's great cities, at a critical period in its evolution." —*History*

\$16.00 paper, illustrated

### Victorian Cities

Asa Briggs

Foreword by Andrew and Lynn Hollen Lees

"[Briggs] has a profound sense of the difficulties that accompanied urbanization."

—*New York Times Book Review*  
*Classics in Urban History*  
\$15.00 paper, illustrated

### The Fragmented Metropolis

Los Angeles, 1850-1930

Robert M. Fogelson

Foreword by Robert Fishman

"An excellent addition to the small but growing shelf of serious urban historical studies."

—*American Historical Review*  
*Classics in Urban History*  
\$15.00 paper, illustrated

### The Exploding Metropolis

William H. Whyte, Jr., Editor

Foreword by Sam Bass Warner, Jr.

"Provides a window into the undertow of post-modernist historicism in the 1950s."

—Zane L. Miller, author of  
*Urbanization of Modern America*

*Classics in Urban History*  
\$12.00 paper, illustrated

### History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil Otherwise Called America

Jean de Léry

Translation and Introduction by Janet Whatley

"Will benefit anyone who cares about the early history of the European venture in Brazil."

—*South American Explorer*  
*Latin American Literature and Culture*, \$14.00 paper, illustrated

### In the Name of Democracy

U.S. Policy Toward Latin America in the Reagan Years  
Thomas Carothers

"The most balanced and sophisticated account currently available of U.S. policy toward Latin America in the 1980s."

—Ambassador Viron P. Vaky  
\$14.00 paper

### Thrown Among Strangers

The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California  
Douglas Monroy

"A well-rounded view of history. . . . The best synthesis to date on frontier California."

—Vicki Ruiz, author of  
*Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*  
\$14.00 paper, illustrated, 1990  
James A. Rawley Prize, OAH

UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES NEW YORK LONDON

# HISTORY

NEW FROM CALIFORNIA

## NEW PAPERBACKS

### The Family Romance of the French Revolution

Lynn Hunt

"This study will definitely challenge many a complacent historian."—*San Francisco Chronicle*  
A Centennial Book  
\$12.00 paper, illustrated

### History, Religion, and Antisemitism

Gavin I. Langmuir

"An ambitious, stimulating, original work... a fresh analysis of the most basic concepts confronting historians of religion."  
—*American Historical Review*  
A Centennial Book, 1991 National Jewish Book Award, \$15.00 paper

### Thomas Carlyle

A Biography  
Fred Kaplan

"Kaplan illumines the Victorian era by bringing us into what we feel is the very presence of one of its idols."—*The New Yorker*  
\$17.00 paper, illustrated

### A History of Macedonia

R. Malcolm Errington

Translated by Catherine Errington

"Errington is a thorough, no-nonsense political historian."  
—*Times Literary Supplement*  
*Hellenistic Culture and Society*  
\$14.00 paper

### The Palestinian Uprising

A War By Other Means  
F. Robert Hunter

Updated with a new afterword and concluding chapter—"A history of the intifada that is both scholarly and sensitive."

—*Journal of Palestine Studies*  
\$15.00 paper

### Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World

Jack A. Goldstone

"A major intellectual achievement which will redraw the map of early modern history."

—*Times Higher Education Supplement*

\$17.00 paper  
Winner, 1993 American Sociological Association, Distinguished Publication Award

### The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945

Gregory J. Kasza

"A provocative analysis of important political trends during the interwar era."

—*Journal of Asian Studies*  
\$14.00 paper

### Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution

Arif Dirlik

"Should stand for some time as the definitive study of the Chinese anarchist movement of the early 20th century."—*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

\$15.00 paper

### Rickshaw Beijing

City People and Politics in the 1920s  
David Strand

"Strand takes us into a part of urban China in the 1920s that we have not seen before."

—*New York Review of Books*  
\$15.00 paper, illustrated  
Winner, Joseph Levenson Prize

### The Political Economy of Mountain Java

An Interpretive History

Robert W. Hefner

"[A] painstakingly crafted interpretation of the historical evolution of class consciousness in a peasant culture."

—*Journal of Human Ecology*  
\$15.00 paper, illustrated

At bookstores or order toll-free  
1-800-822-6657.

UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES NEW YORK LONDON

# NEW FROM OXFORD

## **NICHOLAS II**

The Last of the Tsars  
**MARC FERRO**

One of the world's preeminent historians of the Russian Revolution, Marc Ferro now turns to the biography of one of the pivotal figures of the period, Nicholas II. "Upon a well-conceived framework Ferro hangs telling and even colorful detail, resulting in a sound biography of wide appeal"—*Booklist*. \$25.00, 305 pp.

## **ISLAM AND THE WEST**

**BERNARD LEWIS**

"Eleven superb essays on the culture clash between the Islamic nations of the Middle East and the more secularized West.... Lewis makes an ideal guide through the political, religious, and cultural thickets of Islam.... A learned, forceful analysis that treats Islam with respect"—*Kirkus Reviews*. \$23.00, 224 pp.

## **CHICAGO JAZZ**

A Cultural History, 1904-1930  
**WILLIAM HOWLAND KENNEY**

"An entertaining and well-documented account of Chicago jazz in the Roaring '20s"—*Library Journal*. "A richly researched overview of the social forces that brought about and then supported Chicago jazz"—*Kirkus Reviews*. \$24.00, 224 pp.

## **THE SCHOOLHOUSE DOOR**

Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama

**E. CULPEPPER CLARK**

"All but impossible to put down, this remarkable study recalls the high drama of the days when the human spirit at its best met the human spirit at its worst at 'the schoolhouse door.' Rarely have I seen a more effective blend of analytical rigor and masterful storytelling"—James C. Cobb. \$25.00, 305 pp.

## **SERIOUS FUN**

A History of Spectator Sports in the U.S.S.R.

**ROBERT EDELMAN**

"An agreeable and enlightening overview of spectator sports in the Soviet Union from the 1917 revolution through Communism's collapse"—*Kirkus Reviews*. "Well documented, scholarly coverage"—*Library Journal*. "Illuminates a vital but understudied side of Russian life"—Jonathan Sanders, CBS News, Moscow. \$27.50, 288 pp.

## **DOCTORS AND THE LAW**

Medical Jurisprudence in Nineteenth-Century America

**JAMES C. MOHR**

"Understanding the evolution of medical jurisprudence in 19th-century America is essential to current legal thought. This study examines the foundations of medical education, court practice, and the development of social policy in post-Revolutionary America.... Mohr provides a scholarly and thorough treatment of this topic"—*Library Journal*. \$35.00, 368 pp.

At better bookstores. To charge, call 1-800-451-7556 (M-F, 9-5 EST)

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS**

## PITTSBURGH PRESENTS

*Back in print*

**American Mosaic  
The Immigrant Experience  
in the Words of Those  
Who Lived It**

*Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky**Foreword by Oscar Handlin*

\$49.95 cloth (3753-0)

\$10.95 paper (5488-5)

**Dead Laws for Dead Men  
The Politics of Federal  
Coal Mine Health and  
Safety Legislation**

*Daniel J. Curran*

\$39.95 cloth (3733-6)

**Researching  
the Presidency  
Vital Questions,  
New Approaches**

*George C. Edwards III, John H. Kessel,  
and Bert A. Rockman, Editors*

\$49.95 cloth (3737-9)

\$22.95 paper (5494-X)

**Origins of the Czech  
National Renaissance**

*Hugh LeCaine Agnew*

\$49.95 cloth (3742-5)

**The Political Psychology  
of the Gulf War  
Leaders, Public, and  
the Process of Conflict**

*Stanley A. Renshon, Editor*

\$49.95 cloth (3744-1)

\$16.95 paper (5495-8)

**The Franco-Perón Alliance  
Relations Between Spain  
and Argentina, 1946-1955**

*Raanan Rein**Translated by Martha Grenzeback*

\$49.95 cloth (3751-4)

**Pennsylvania's  
Covered Bridges  
A Complete Guide**

*Benjamin D. Evans and June R. Evans*

\$39.95 cloth (3748-4)

\$19.95 paper (5504-0)

*Now in paperback*

**The Thaw Generation  
Coming of Age  
in the Post-Stalin Era**

*Ludmilla Alexeyeva and Paul Goldberg**with a new preface by the authors*

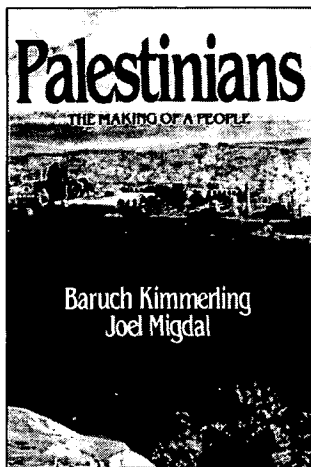
\$16.95 paper (5911-9)

ISBN prefix 0-8229

*Available at bookstores, or***UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS**

C/O CUP SERVICES, P.O. BOX 6525, ITHACA, NY 14851 OR CALL 800-666-2211

# THE BEST IN HISTORY



**PALESTINIANS**  
**The Making of a People**  
 Baruch Kimmerling,  
*Hebrew University* and  
 Joel S. Migdal,  
*University of Washington*

“Kimmerling and Migdal bring historical perspective to the study of Palestinian society. In so doing, they help the reader to understand the place of the Palestinians in the Arab-Israeli dispute.”

—William B. Quandt, Senior Fellow,  
 The Brookings Institution

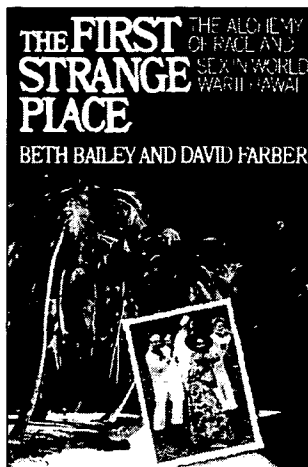
1992 0-02-917321-3 \$29.95

**REFIGHTING  
 THE LAST WAR**  
**Command and Crisis in  
 Korea, 1950-1953**  
 D. Clayton James,  
*Virginia Military Institute*, with  
 Anne Sharp Wells

“James has brought to bear his unparalleled knowledge to explore how MacArthur and the rest of the American high command, conditioned by the total war concepts of World War II, came to wage the Korean War as a limited war in spite of themselves. This is superb military history.”

—Russell F. Weigley, author of  
*The American Way of War*

1992 0-02-916001-4 \$24.95



**THE FIRST  
 STRANGE PLACE**  
**The Alchemy of Race and Sex  
 in World War II Hawaii**  
 Beth Bailey and David Farber,  
 both *Columbia University*

“A fascinating, startling, and wise book. It will now be impossible to tell the story of the modern civil rights struggle or of the women’s movement without seeking to understand the anxieties that flourished on Hawaii after Pearl Harbor. Wonderfully readable, this is a book for everyone who lived through the 1940s—or whose parents did!”

—Linda K. Kerber, University of Iowa,  
 author of *Women of the Republic*

1992 0-02-901222-8 \$22.95

**THE LEVERAGE  
 OF SEA POWER**  
**The Strategic Advantage  
 of Navies in War**  
 Colin S. Gray,  
*National Institute for  
 Public Policy*

“Essential reading.”

—Williamson Murray, author of  
*Calculations: Net Assessment and the  
 Coming of World War II*

1992 0-02-912661-4 \$24.95

**THE FREE PRESS**



**AFTER TET****The Bloodiest Year  
in Vietnam****Ronald Spector,***George Washington University*

“Immensely readable and thoroughly researched, this is a major contribution to the study of the war and a superb book.”

—George C. Herring, author of  
*America's Longest War*

*A Book-of-the-Month Club Featured Alternate*  
*A History Book Club Featured Alternate*

1992 0-02-930380-X \$24.95

**THE JEWS OF SPAIN****A History of the  
Sephardic Experience****Jane Gerber,***City University of New York*

“Gerber is to be congratulated for her rare achievement, a work that will be welcomed by anyone interested in Jewish history and the Sephardic experience.”

—Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi,  
*Columbia University*

1992 0-02-911573-6 \$24.95

— **New in paperback** —

**CHINESE CIVILIZATION****A Sourcebook,  
Second Edition****Patricia Buckley Ebrey,***University of Illinois, Editor*

Ebrey has revised and updated her classic sourcebook, bringing it up to the 1990s and China's struggle to build a viable democracy in the aftermath of Mao. With thirty-nine new selections, this new edition has expanded coverage of earlier periods, and of political ideas and practices, more material on intellectual history, philosophy, and religion, new selections on Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, and Buddhism, historical accounts of great events including China's encounters with foreign peoples, and enriched coverage of China after 1949, including the most recent scholarship on China and reevaluations of the Maoist era—so that the volume can now serve as the sole sourcebook on Chinese history, civilization, or society. Each document has an effective introduction placing the source in its historical setting and calling the reader's attention to important themes and literary styles, and comes with a full map of China, a glossary, a comprehensive list of suggestions for further reading, and notes on the original sources.

May 1993 0-02-908752-X \$18.95 paper

**For Visa, MasterCard, Discover,  
and American Express orders,  
call toll-free 1-800-323-7445.**

**BAD BLOOD****The Tuskegee****Syphilis Experiment****New and Expanded Edition****James H. Jones,***University of Houston*

1992 0-02-916676-4 \$14.95

**FROM PARALYSIS  
TO FATIGUE****A History of Psychosomatic  
Illness in the Modern Era****Edward Shorter**

1993 0-02-928667-0 \$12.95

**BEYOND BELIEF****The American Press****and the Coming of the  
Holocaust, 1933-1945****Deborah E. Lipstadt**

1993 0-02-919161-0 \$12.95

**THE DEATH OF AN  
AMERICAN JEWISH  
COMMUNITY****A Tragedy of Good Intentions***With a New Introduction**by the Authors***Hillel Levine and****Lawrence Harmon**

1993 0-02-913866-3 \$12.95

**THE FREE PRESS**

*A Division of Macmillan, Inc./A Maxwell Macmillan Company*  
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

## ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

Editors: **Leonard W. Levy** and **Louis Fisher**

A comprehensive overview of the office of the Presidency of the United States.

4 volumes ♦ 8½ x 11 ♦ c.1000 articles  
c.400 contributors ♦ ISBN: 0-13-275983-7  
\$355; **Special price: \$295**

FALL 1993

*To Commemorate the  
50th Anniversary*

## THE D-DAY ENCYCLOPEDIA

Editors: **David G. Chandler** and **James Lawton Collins, Jr.**

1 volume ♦ c.600 pages ♦ 8½ x 11  
c.400 illus. ♦ ISBN: 0-13-203621-5  
\$85; **Special price: \$75**

FALL 1993

## THE NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE HOLY LAND

Editor: **Ephraim Stern**,  
*Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

4 volumes ♦ c.1600 pages ♦ 9 x 12  
2-color throughout ♦ 64 pages full-color  
c.2000 illus. ♦ ISBN: 0-13-276288-9  
\$355; **Special price: \$295**

SPRING 1993

## THEY MADE HISTORY

Editor: **Geoffrey Wigoder**

c. 576 pages ♦ 7 x 10 ♦ c.200 b/w illus.  
ISBN: 0-13-915257-1

\$55.00; **Special price: \$45**

FALL 1993

*Available Now*

## THE CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS ENCYCLOPEDIA

Editor: **Silvio A. Bedini**

2 volumes ♦ 849 pages ♦ 8½ x 11 ♦ 300 illus.  
♦ 363 articles ♦ 131 contributors  
ISBN: 0-13-142662-1 ♦ \$175 the set

*Free catalog cards &  
Free Curriculum Guide*

## ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE CONFEDERACY

Editor in Chief: **Richard N. Current**,  
*Emeritus, University of North  
Carolina, Greensboro*

4 volumes ♦ c.2200 pages ♦ 8½ x 11  
c.1500 articles ♦ c.330 contributors  
♦ c.600 illus. ♦ ISBN: 0-13-275991-8  
\$355; **Special price: \$295**

SUMMER 1993

## THE HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE CONGRESSES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

**Kenneth C. Martis**

128 pages ♦ 10 x 14 ♦ ISBN: 0-13-389115-1  
\$75; **Special price: \$65**

FALL 1993

*Available Now*

## RETURN TO BULL RUN

The Campaign and  
Battle of Second Masassas

**John Hennessey**

ISBN: 0-671-79368-3 ♦ \$27.50

## THE HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

**G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville**

144 pages ♦ 9 x 12 ♦ c.115 maps  
ISBN: 0-13-390915-8

\$65; **Special price: \$55**

SUMMER 1993

*Available Now*

## POLITICAL LEADERS IN WEIMAR GERMANY

A Biographical Study

**Peter D. Stachura**

230 pages ♦ 6 x 9 ♦ ISBN: 0-13-020330-0  
\$45; **Special price: \$40**

## SIMON & SCHUSTER Academic Reference Division



15 Columbus Circle, 26th floor  
New York, New York 10023

A Paramount Communications Company

**Questions?** Call us at (212) 373-7353

# FEVER TREES

## AND OTHER FABRICATIONS FROM HISTORY, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY



### WORLD TRADE SINCE 1431

GEOGRAPHY, TECHNOLOGY, AND  
CAPITALISM

**Peter J. Hugill**

"This is an excellent work; Braudelian in inspiration and scope, it succeeds admirably in synthesizing a vast amount of empirical information on the historical-geographical transformations following from technological innovation."—John Agnew, University of Chicago

\$59.95 hardcover

### NETWORKS OF POWER

ELECTRIFICATION IN WESTERN  
SOCIETY, 1880-1930

**Thomas P. Hughes**

*Awarded the Dexter Prize by the Society for the History of Technology*

"An exciting, major contribution to the field of history, for it establishes very convincingly that the growth of . . . power networks is as intrinsic to and characteristic of modern society as the growth of manorialism was to medieval society."—*American Historical Review*

\$34.95 softcover

### QUININE'S PREDECESSOR

FRANCESCO TORTI AND THE EARLY  
HISTORY OF CINCHONA

**Saul Jarcho**

"Jarcho's major contribution in this work is his careful elucidation of the early history of cinchona as a treatment for malaria—a subject that has been obscured by unsubstantiated mythology for many years."—J. Worth Estes, M.D., Boston University School of Medicine

*The Henry E. Sigerist Series in the History of Medicine*

\$55.00 hardcover

### CIVILIZING MISSION

EXACT SCIENCES AND FRENCH  
OVERSEAS EXPANSION, 1830-1940

**Lewis Pyenson**

From Shanghai to Madagascar to Quito, French scientific norms dominated institutions of higher learning for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lewis Pyenson offers a reappraisal of French intellectual expansion during the crucial period from the conquest of Algeria to the fall of the Third Republic.

\$45.00 hardcover

**The Johns Hopkins University Press**

Hampden Station, Baltimore, Maryland 21211

To order, call 1-800-537-5487.

## MEMOIRS OF PEASANT TOLSTOYANS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Translated and edited by  
**William Edgerton**

Powerful and moving memoirs of Tolstoy's followers, who joined together in communes after 1917 and were harassed and imprisoned by the Soviet machine.

*Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies*  
illustrated, cl \$29.95

## LOOKING TOWARD ARARAT

*Armenia in Modern History*

**Ronald Grigor Suny**

"... a fine collection of scholarly articles..." —*Library Journal*

Suny traces the cultural and social transformations and interventions that have created a new sense of Armenian nationality.

cl \$39.95 pa \$14.95

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

*Second Edition*

**William Tordoff**

This new edition of the definitive textbook on African government and politics has been thoroughly updated for the major developments of the 1980s.

cl \$35.00 pa \$14.95

*At bookstores or from*

**INDIANA  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS**

Bloomington, IN 47404

Orders may call: 1-800-842-6796

## VILLAGE LIFE IN LATE TSARIST RUSSIA

**Olga Semyonova**

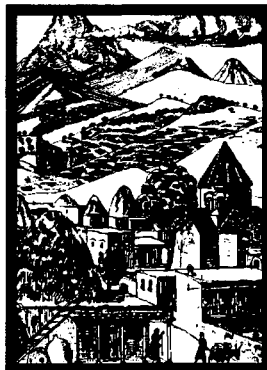
**Tian-Shanskaia**

Edited and translated

by **David L. Ransel**

"... a marvelous source for the social history of Russian peasant society..." —Steven Hoch  
*Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies*

illustrated, cl \$29.95 pa \$10.95



## SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION

Edited by **William G. Rosenberg**  
and **Lewis H. Siegelbaum**

Pathbreaking essays examine the relationships between the first Five Year Plans and the society and culture of Stalinist Russia.

*Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies*

cl \$39.95 pa \$14.95

## MAU MAU AND KENYA

*An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt*

**Wunyabari O. Maloba**

Maloba traces the unique peasant revolt against British colonialism and analyzes the impact of Mau Mau on decolonization in Kenya.

*Blacks in the Diaspora*

cl \$35.00

# WORLD HISTORY

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 IN ODESSA

*Blood on the Steps*

**Robert Weinberg**

"... [a] searching analysis of the pogrom as a 'social movement' and [a] sensitive analysis of the interplay between class tension and ethnic violence..."

—Stephen A. Smith

*Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies*  
*Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University*  
illustrated, cl \$29.95

## FLORA TRISTAN, UTOPIAN FEMINIST

*Her Travel Diaries and Personal Crusade*

Translated and edited by  
**Doris and Paul Beik**

A child of both the French and Industrial revolutions, Flora Tristan (1803-1844) became a bold social critic and political activist.

cl \$29.95 pa \$12.95

## ARAB WOMEN

*Old Boundaries, New Frontiers*

Edited by **Judith E. Tucker**

Distinguished feminist scholars address Arab women's changing lives: gender discourses, women's work, politics, power, and gender roles and relations.

*Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies. Published in association with the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University*  
cl \$35.00 pa \$14.95

## New from The University of Arkansas Press

---

### **One-Room Schoolhouses of Arkansas as Seen through a Pinhole**

Text and photographs by Thomas Harding,  
with an afterword by Cyrus Sutherland

Through the simple magic of the pinhole camera, Thomas Harding brings us the one-room schoolhouse, helping to preserve the sense of purpose and the aura that pervade this captivating structure.

120 pages, 52 illustrations

\$35.00 cloth, 1-55728-271-4      \$20.00 paper, 1-55728-272-2

### **The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543**

Edited by Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman

This volume focuses on recent research that challenges traditional interpretations of de Soto's travel route, particularly after the expedition crossed the Mississippi River.

368 pages, 35 illustrations, 13 tables

\$29.00 cloth (s), 1-55728-270-6

### **Portraits of Conflict**

#### ***A Photographic History of Mississippi in the Civil War***

Bobby Roberts and Carl Moneyhon

The third volume in The University of Arkansas Press's award-winning series tells the stories of the individuals—the heroism and the fear, the boredom and the misery—with over 280 photographs, six maps, and related documents.

424 pages

\$60.00 cloth, 1-55728-260-9

---

Call toll free 1-800-525-1823  
Please specify Order Code A-035



McIlroy House ♦ 201 Ozark Avenue ♦ Fayetteville, AR 72701



## New from Cambridge

### **British Intelligence in the Second World War**

Abridged Edition

*F. H. Hinsley*

This volume provides the only reliable account yet published of the key role played by British Intelligence in Allied strategy and operations in the Second World War. This volume, an abridgement of Professor Hinsley's widely acclaimed five-volume history, covers in fascinating detail the use of intelligence in all aspects of the war in Europe.

44304-0 Hardcover \$39.95

### **Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective**

Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past

*Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger, Editors*

Contributors: *Alan R. H. Baker, Rehav Rubin, Robin A. Butlin, Ruth Kark, Yossi Ben-Artzi, Hans-Jürgen Nitz, D. W. Keinig, Leonard Guelke, Brenda Yeoh, Gideon Biger, Graeme Wynn, Brian S. Osborne, Russell Gerlach, Dietrich Denecke, Peter G. Goheen*  
*Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 18*

41032-0 Hardcover \$59.95

### **The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Latin America and the Caribbean**

Second Edition

*Simon Collier, Thomas E. Skidmore, and The late Harold Blakemore, Editors*

Now in a larger format and fully revised, with new maps and photographs, this new edition of *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Latin America and the Caribbean* remains the essential reference for anyone concerned with the region.

41322-2 Hardcover \$55.00

### **Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare**

*Douglas Bruster*

Douglas Bruster's provocative study of English Renaissance drama explores its links with Elizabethan and Jacobean economy and society, looking at the status of playwrights such as Shakespeare and the establishment of commercial theaters.

41664-7 Hardcover \$39.95

### **A Concise History of Greece**

*Richard Clogg*

This concise, illustrated history of modern Greece, from the beginning of the national movement in the late eighteenth century to the present, is designed to provide a basic introduction for general and academic readers.

37228-3 Hardcover \$44.95

37830-3 Paper \$12.95

### **Latin America Between the Second World War and the Cold War**

Crisis and Containment, 1944-1948

*Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, Editors*

Contributors: *Leslie Bethell, Ian Roxborough, Andrew Barnard, Mario Rapoport, Laurence Whitehead, Steve Ellner, Nigel Haworth, Harold Sims, Jeffrey Gould, Rodolfo Cerdas Cruz, and James Dunkerley*

43032-1 Hardcover \$49.95

Now in paperback...

### **Aztecs**

An Interpretation

*Inga Clendinnen*

"Her book is a unique attempt to understand the ways in which Mexican people living in the capital city, Tenochtitlan, were actively engaged in a system that Western observers find almost unthinkable."

—*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

44695-3 Paper \$17.95

## New from Cambridge

### **American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955**

**Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, Axel Frohn, and Hermann-Josef Rupieper, Editors**

Contributors: *Christoph Buchheim, Werner Bührer, Albert Diegmann, Michael Fichter, Josef Henke, Ulrich Kluge, Gunther Mai, Klaus A. Maier, Bruno Thob, Michael A. Wala, Hermann-Josef Rupieper, Rebecca Boebling, Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, James M. Diehl, John Gillingham, John Gimbel, Erich J. Hahn, David C. Large, Diethelm Prowe, Thomas Schwartz, Raymond G. Stokes, James F. Tent, Robert Wolfe, Axel Frohn*  
43120-4 Hardcover \$69.95

### **The Mystic Life of Alfred Deakin**

**Al Gabay**

Alfred Deakin (1857-1919) is recognized as an architect of Australian Federation and served three terms as Prime Minister between 1903 and 1910. Al Gabay presents us with a complex man obsessed with signs and prophecies who had a profound sense of history and identity. This book relates his intense personal religion to his public life, revealing the implications of this private spirituality for the political history of Australia.

41494-6 Hardcover \$59.95

### **Elections, Mass Politics and Social Change in Modern Germany**

**New Perspectives**

**Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack, Editors**

Contributors: *Larry Eugene Jones, James Retallack, Brett Fairbairn, Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, Peter Steinbach, Eve Rosenhaft, Kathleen Canning, Elizabeth Harvey, Jill Stephenson, Celia Applegate, Richard Bodek, Peter Fritzsche, Roger Chickering, Stuart T. Robson, Jürgen W. Falter, Richard Bessel*

41846-1 Hardcover \$54.95

### **The French State in Question**

**Public Law and Political Argument in the Third Republic**

**H. S. Jones**

*The French State in Question* places the idea of the state back at the heart of our understanding of modern French history and political culture, and challenges accepted views of the Third Republic as a 'weak' state.

43149-2 Hardcover \$54.95

### **The End of the Salon**

**Art and the State in the Early Third Republic**

**Patricia Mainardi**

The author examines the cultural forces that contributed to the demise of the most important exhibition center for art in Europe and America in the late nineteenth century.

43251-0 Hardcover \$50.00

### **Regicide and Restoration**

**English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671**

**Nancy Klein Maguire**

Focusing on the directions taken by tragicomedy and the court masque, this book accounts for the shift in the generic system during the decade following the return of Charles II.

41622-1 Hardcover \$59.95

### **The Industrial Revolution and British Society**

**Patrick O'Brien and Roland Quinault, Editors**

*The Industrial Revolution and British Society* is an original and wide-ranging textbook survey of the principal economic and social aspects of the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

43154-9 Hardcover \$59.95

## New from Cambridge

### **The Early Reformation in Europe**

**Andrew Pettegree, Editor**

This series of specially commissioned essays by leading European history specialists serves as an introduction to the Reformation in different parts of Europe, as well as to recent debates on the success and failure of the movement as a whole.

39454-6 Hardcover \$49.95

### **War and Government in Early Modern France**

Picardy 1470–1560

**David Potter**

David Potter's detailed examination of war and government in Picardy has much to say about the development of French absolutism and the participation of the nobility in the government of the kingdom.

43189-1 Hardcover \$69.95

### **A Concise History of Britain, 1707–1975**

**W. A. Speck**

From the union with Scotland in 1707 to its entry into the European Economic Community in 1975, W. A. Speck provides a concise historical and political look at Britain. Fully illustrated and including a guide to further reading, this volume is sure to be essential to students, historians and all those interested in Britain.

36400-0 Hardcover \$39.95

36702-6 Paper \$12.95

### **A Concise History of France**

**Roger Price**

This book provides a clear, well-informed and highly illustrated guide to French history from the early Middle Ages to the Mitterrand presidency. It is the most up-to-date and comprehensive study of France available, based on a carefully structured synthesis and written in an entertaining style for the student and traveler.

36239-3 Hardcover \$44.95

### **White-Collar Crime in Modern England**

Financial Fraud and Business Morality, 1845–1929

**George Robb**

This is a vivid and lucid account of "white-collar" crime in England from the Victorian period to the early twentieth century.

41234-X Hardcover \$54.95

### **From Jacobite to Conservative**

Right Wing Attitudes and Activities in Britain, c. 1760–1832

**James J. Sack**

*From Jacobite to Conservative* discusses what it meant politically, socially and spiritually to be on the 'Right' in an age of revolutions.

43266-9 Hardcover \$54.95

### **Lumbee Indian Histories**

Race, Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Southern United States

**Gerald Sider**

This book explores the dynamics of struggles over racial and ethnic identities in the southern United States, focusing on the Lumbee Indians.

42045-8 Hardcover \$49.95

### **The Republic in Danger**

General Maurice Gamelin and the Politics of French Defence, 1933–1940

**Martin S. Alexander**

This is the first full-length reappraisal in English of the role of France's chief of defence forces, General Maurice Gamelin (1872–1958). The reader sees him playing the decisive part in overcoming civil-military friction in the pre-war years so that France was able to choose the path of resistance to Germany in September 1939.

37234-8 Hardcover \$94.95

## New from Cambridge

Now a Canto paperback...

### **The Wheelwright's Shop** **George Sturt**

Foreword by E. P. Thompson

George Sturt's frank and moving account of his trade as a wheelwright in the late nineteenth century offers a unique glimpse of a world banished by technology. E. P. Thompson's new foreword acclaims the significance of Sturt's engaging narrative as a vital document in the history of labor at the turn of the century and places this account among the classics of labor history.

44772-0 Paper \$10.95

### **A Distinctive Industrialization**

Cotton in Barcelona, 1728-1832

J. K. J. Thomson

This is a study of the development of the early history of Barcelona's cotton industry. It offers both a specialized industrial history and an interpretation of major issues relating to the industrialization of Catalonia and of Europe as a whole.

39482-1 Hardcover \$89.95

### **The Life of Isaac Newton** **Richard S. Westfall,**

*Indiana University*

This volume captures the personal life and scientific career of one of the greatest scientists of all time and presents a fully rounded picture of Newton the man, the scientist, the philosopher, the theologian, and the public figure.

43252-9 Hardcover \$24.95

### **The Popular Front and the Progressive Tradition**

Socialists, Liberals and the Quest for Unity, 1884-1939

**David Blaazer**

This is a study of the reasons of the British Labour Party's 'left' for supporting the unsuccessful campaign for the formation of a 'Popular Front' of the Labour, Liberal, and Communist parties in the late 1930s.

41383-4 Hardcover \$54.95

### **Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union**

**Linda Edmondson, Editor**

Contributors: *Catriona Kelly, Charlotte Rosenthal, Mary Schaeffer Conroy, Linda Edmondson, Barbara T. Norton, Richard Abraham, Marina Ledkovsky (Astman), Elizabeth Waters, Sue Bridger, Mary Buckley.*  
41388-5 Hardcover \$54.95

Now in paperback...

### **The Racial State**

Germany 1933-1945

**Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann**

*"In looking at the racial underpinnings of virtually every move made by the Nazi state, this book tries to refute the idea that the Third Reich represented just another form of national modernization...[The authors] argue convincingly that Nazism was on its way to creating a society demarcated by race, not economic class."* —*Library Journal*

39802-9 Paper \$17.95

### **The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590**

**Martin van Gelderen**

A comprehensive study of the political thought of the Dutch revolt (1555-1590), this book explores the development of the ideas which motivated and legitimated the Dutch resistance to the government of Philip II.

39204-7 Hardcover \$59.95

Available in bookstores or from

**CAMBRIDGE**  
**UNIVERSITY PRESS**

40 West 20th Street  
New York, NY 10011-4211  
Call toll-free 800-872-7423  
MasterCard/VISA accepted.  
Prices subject to change.

## NEW FROM

**GPC** GREENWOOD  
PUBLISHING GROUP INC.

**Progress****Critical Thinking about  
Historical Change****By Raymond Duncan Gastil**

Gastil develops a vocabulary with which to evaluate whether or not a particular historical change has been beneficial. He considers cultural change across a wide variety of fields, including art and literature, violence, political organizations, and the significance of human life.

Praeger Publishers. 1993. 224 pages.  
0-275-94283-X. \$45.00

**American Rhetoric and  
the Vietnam War****By J. Justin Gustainis**

Gustainis discusses efforts to build or destroy public support of America's most controversial war of the century. Gustainis analyzes several important aspects of Vietnam era rhetoric: presidential rhetoric, protest rhetoric, and the war as portrayed in popular culture.

Praeger Publishers. 1993. 192 pages.  
0-275-93361-X. \$45.00

**In Caesar's Shadow****The Life of General Robert  
Eichelberger****By Paul Chwialkowski**

Based largely on primary sources, this study relies on the papers of Eichelberger and Douglas MacArthur (and others) to draw a portrait of one of our most successful fighting generals of World War II.

Greenwood Press. 1993. 240 pages.  
0-313-28605-1. \$55.00

**Culture, Gender, Race, and  
U.S. Labor History****Edited by Ronald C. Kent,  
Sara Markham, David R. Roediger,  
and Herbert Shapiro**

This volume's eleven essays challenge the boundary between the older, institutional labor history and the more recent social histories of working people by adding a focus on culture, women's history, and race relations.

Greenwood Press. 1993. 224 pages.  
0-313-28828-3. \$49.95

**Iron Brigade General****John Gibbon, A Rebel in Blue****By Dennis S. Lavery and  
Mark H. Jordan**

This long overdue, full-length biography of John Gibbon tells the story of one of the Civil War's best combat leaders. This readable account describes how a distinguished general served in all the major campaigns of the Civil War and later against the Indians on the Western frontier.

Greenwood Press. 1993. 232 pages.  
0-313-28576-4. \$49.95

**The Inaugural Addresses of  
Twentieth-Century  
American Presidents****Edited by Halford Ryan**

Since the rhetorical presidency arose in the twentieth century with Theodore Roosevelt, this valuable book begins with a study of Roosevelt's inaugural address, followed by all subsequent presidents' inaugurals (including Bill Clinton's).

Praeger Publishers. 1993. 352 pages.  
0-275-94039-X. \$55.00

**ORDER TOLL-FREE, 24 HOURS-A-DAY: 1-800-225-5800**  
Please call us for a free catalog at (203) 226-3571



**GREENWOOD PRESS • PRAEGER PUBLISHERS**

Imprints of GREENWOOD PUBLISHING GROUP, INC.  
88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-5007  
(203) 226-3571 • FAX (203) 222-1502

AD 93



# NEW FROM PENN STATE PRESS

## TO SEE A PROMISED LAND

*Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*

LESTER I. VOGEL

"A rich and penetrating chronicle that lovingly unveils a physical tactile Holy Land emerging from the mists of dogma and myth to assume recognizable contours in the consciousness (rather than in the unconscious) of nineteenth-century Christian America. Lester Vogel has given us a splendid blend of scholarship and literary style." —Howard M. Sachar, author of *A History of the Jews in America*  
368 pages 35 illus. \$35.00

## MILTON IN GOVERNMENT

ROBERT THOMAS FALLON

"Fallon has reconstructed Milton's career by a thoughtful retracing of where and how foreign policy was made in the 1650s. This is itself a signal service for historians. He has also trawled his way through the uncalendared and poorly listed State Papers Foreign. I would want to return to such a study again and again for information. Miltonists will have an augmented canon as a result of these searches." —John Morrill, Cambridge University  
312 pages 2 illus. \$42.50

## THE MOST NECESSARY LUXURIES

*The Mercers' Company of Coventry, 1550-1680*

RONALD M. BERGER

"[This book] traces the history of the mercers' trade in Coventry, England, against the background of the economic decline of that city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with extensive coverage of the topic of shopkeeping in England during this period. Berger offers new material, attempts some fresh interpretations, and synthesizes a good deal of general material written over this century which has not been brought together in this way before. A significant contribution." —Alan Dyer, University of Wales, Bangor  
328 pages 14 illus. \$55.00

## BERLIN WITNESS

*An American Diplomat's Chronicle of East Germany's Revolution*

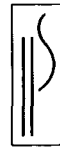
G. JONATHAN GREENWALD

"An absolutely unique account of the tumultuous events in East Germany in 1989 that will be a lasting resource for future scholars seeking to make sense of the swift and unexpected demise of German communism. Greenwald's diary is not only beautifully written; it is also full of piquant observations and anecdotes that take us right to the heart of those important developments in the summer and fall of 1989 which have already become fuzzy memories with the passage of time." —A. James McAdams, Notre Dame University  
392 pages 24 illus. \$32.50

## GERMAN UNIFICATION IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

PETER H. MERKL

Merkel provides the first in-depth analysis in English of the process and implications of German unification in its historical and international setting. A leading U.S. expert on West German politics, Merkkl was teaching at the University of Göttingen in 1990 and was able to witness this incredible transition firsthand. He enlisted the cooperation of a leading East German expert, Gert-Joachim Glaessner, to contribute a chapter on the GDR. The result is a work that offers a careful and comprehensive account of the process of unification and its implications for the future of European and international politics.  
464 pages cloth: \$65.00 paper: \$18.95



PENN STATE PRESS

Barbara Bldg., Suite C  
University Park, PA 16802  
MasterCard/VISA orders,  
call 1-800-326-9180

# Historical Outlooks

## **ELEANOR ROOSEVELT Volume One, 1884-1933**

**Blanche Weisen Cook**

Winner of the *Los Angeles Times* Book Award for Biography. "A new and welcome image of the most powerful woman in American politics up to the present."—*Boston Sunday Globe*. 608 pp.

Penguin paperback 0-14-009460-1 \$14.00

## **FOUR HOURS IN MY LAI**

**Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim**

"A brutal, cautionary tale that serves as a painful reminder of the worst that can happen in war."—*Chicago Tribune*. 448 pp.

Penguin paperback 0-14-017709-4 \$13.50

## **BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER A History of Black America Sixth Revised Edition**

**Lenore Bennett, Jr.**

This newly revised classic traces black history from its origins in western Africa to contemporary America. 720 pp.

Penguin paperback 0-14-017822-8 \$14.00

## **THE SHAPING OF BLACK AMERICA The Struggles and Triumphs of African Americans, 1619 to the 1990s**

**Lenore Bennett, Jr.**

A vastly informed developmental history of the African American struggle for autonomy and power. 368 pp.

Penguin paperback 0-14-017568-7 \$12.00

## **FROM FUGITIVE SLAVE TO FREE MAN**

**The Autobiographies  
of William Wells Brown**

**Edited and with an Introduction  
by William L. Andrews**

Contains two narratives: *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave* (1848) and *My Southern Home* (1880). 304 pp.

Mentor paperback 0-451-62860-8 \$4.99

## **CHICKENHAWK: BACK IN THE WORLD Life After Vietnam Robert Mason**

"As honest and funny, sly, and poignant, grim and wry an expression of the lingering aftermath of the war in Vietnam as you are likely to read."—Larry Heinmann. 416 pp.

Viking hardcover 0-670-84835-2 \$22.50

## **AN AMISTAD CHRONOLOGY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY FROM 1445-1990**

**Henry Louis Gates, Jr.**

The definitive chronological fact-book about African-Americans, cross-referenced by subject and personality. 320 pp.

Amistad paperback 1-56743-024-4 \$16.95

## **THE FALL OF YUGOSLAVIA The Third Balkan War**

**Misba Glenny**

"Urgent, straightforward, and immediately gripping."—*The Los Angeles Times Book Review*. 208 pp.

Penguin paperback 0-14-017288-2 \$10.00

**For a free copy of our History catalog, please call 212-366-2372**

# **PENGUIN USA**

**Academic Marketing Department 375 Hudson Street, New York, NY 10014-3657**

# Scots, Serbs, Sovereigns, and Serfs



## **Yugoslavia**

### **The Process of Disintegration**


Laslo Sekelj  
280 pp / \$39.00

Sekelj examines the slow decay of the Yugoslavian state and society, emphasizing the conflicting roles of state ideology and popular nationalism in the country's recent collapse.

 EAST EUROPEAN MONOGRAPHS

### **Integration and Enlightenment**

**Scotland, 1746-1832**

Bruce P. Lenman  
200 pp / \$20.00 paper  
 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

### **No Gods and Precious Few Heroes**

**Scotland Since 1914**

Christopher Harvie  
192 pp / \$20.00 paper  
 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Now in paperback!*

### **Robert Bruce And the Community of the Realm of Scotland**

Geoffrey Barrow  
448 pp / \$30.00 paper

 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

### **Scottish Medical Societies, 1731-1939 Their History and Records**

Jacqueline Jenkinson  
256 pp / \$60.00

 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

### **Legendary Monarchs and Nationalism in Renaissance France**

R.E. Asher  
256 pp / 6 illus / \$70.00

 EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

### **Romanian Cassandra**

**Ion Antonescu and  
the Struggle for Reform,  
1916-1941**

Larry L. Watts  
320 pp / \$45.00

 EAST EUROPEAN MONOGRAPHS

### **Feudalism, Revolution and the Meaning of Russian History**

**An Intellectual Biography**

**of N.P. Pavlov-Silvanskii**  
Thaddeus C. Radzilowski  
320 pp / \$45.00

 EAST EUROPEAN MONOGRAPHS



DEPT. 540, 136 SOUTH BROADWAY, IRVINGTON, NY 10533  
CREDIT CARDS ACCEPTED

TEL: (800) 944-UNIV, FAX: (800) 944-1844

## THE POWER OF CULTURE

*Critical Essays in American History*

**Edited by Richard Wightman Fox  
and T. J. Jackson Lears**

Original essays by nine leading practitioners in the field offer exhibits of cultural history at its best and represent a range of the most important work now going on in this field. Contributors include Richard Wightman Fox, T. J. Jackson Lears, Christopher P. Wilson, Karen Halttunen, Lisabeth Cohen, Joan Shelley Rubin, Robert Westbrook, Michael L. Smith, and Casey Nelson Blake.

**\*Paper \$13.95 312 pages illus.**

The **POWER**  
of **CULTURE**



Edited by Richard Wightman Fox  
and T. J. Jackson Lears

Chicago History of American Civilization series,  
*edited by Daniel J. Boorstin*

## AMERICAN INDIANS

*Third Edition*

**William T. Hagan**

William T. Hagan has updated his classic history of Indian-white relations with a new chapter on Native American life in the 1970s and 1980s, updated information throughout the book, and a new bibliographic essay.

**\*Paper \$13.95 254 pages illus.**

## THE PERILS OF PROSPERITY, 1914-32

*Second Edition*

**William E. Leuchtenburg**

Originally published in 1958, *Perils of Prosperity* has now been substantially revised throughout. The revision includes changes in passages on why America entered World War I, and elaboration on the role of women in the workplace and at home during the period.

**\*Paper \$10.95 325 pages (est.)**

Now in Paper

## PERFECT CITIES

*Chicago's Utopias of 1893*

**James Gilbert**

"Mr. Gilbert's splendid book opens the door on a conflicted past, and provides an indispensable perspective on the troubled and troubling struggle we face today between old and new, unity and diversity."—Alan Trachtenberg, *The New York Times*

**Paper \$13.95 279 pages illus.**

## LINCOLN, DOUGLAS, AND SLAVERY

*In the Crucible of Public Debate*

**David Zarefsky**

"A wonderful addition to the scholarship, Zarefsky has said something useful about democratic theory as much as the Lincoln-Douglas debates."—Kenneth Cmiel, *American Historical Review*

**Paper \$14.95 324 pages**

## MAPPING IT OUT

*Expository Cartography for the Humanities and Social Sciences*

**Mark Monmonier**

This concise, practical book is an introduction to the fundamental principles of graphic logic and design, from the basics of scale to the complex mapping of movement or change. Monmonier helps writers and researchers decide when maps are most useful and what formats work best in a wide range of subject areas, from literary criticism to sociology.

**\*Paper \$15.95 352 pages illus.**

*Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing*

## THE GREAT MELODY

*A Thematic Biography of Edmund Burke*

**Conor Cruise O'Brien**

"A stunning achievement. . . . Conor Cruise O'Brien on Edmund Burke is a literary gift to political thought."

—John Patrick Diggins, *New York Times Book Review*

**Cloth \$34.95 672 pages**

## PAST IMPERFECT

*Essays on History, Libraries, and the Humanities*

**Lawrence W. Towner**

*Edited by Robert W. Karrow, Jr. and Alfred F. Young*

Spanning the range of his experience and expertise, Towner's essays and talks are concerned with such issues as the role of independent research libraries and the politics of funding. A section of historical essays on the common people of New England reveal his concern with neglected fields of history, a theme that guided his career as a librarian.

**Cloth \$25.00 328 pages (est.)**

## AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE HISTORY

*An Experiment in Modernization*

**Ernst Breisach**

In this exceptionally broad and subtle analysis, Breisach reveals American Progressive history to be an important and innovative experiment in the international quest for a New History, as well as a coherent school of thought in its own right.

**\*Paper \$13.95 256 pages (est.)**

Now in Paper

## LIVING IN THE TENTH CENTURY

*Mentalities and Social Orders*

**Heinrich Fichtenau**

*Translated by Patrick J. Geary*

"Fichtenau delivers a fascinating view of tenth-century Europe. . . . This engaging book lucidly carries the reader through an amazing amount of material. Medieval scholars will find it resourceful and challenging; the nonscholar will find it fascinating and enlightening."—A. L. Kolp, *Choice*

**Paper \$18.95 494 pages**

*\*Cloth edition available*

---

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637



*Modern scholarly editions of classic works for today's readers*

## THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION

**NEW** By Wilhelm von Humboldt  
Edited by J.W. Burrow

*Nearly two hundred years after its origination, **The Limits of State Action** remains an unsurpassed statement of the case for classical liberalism.*

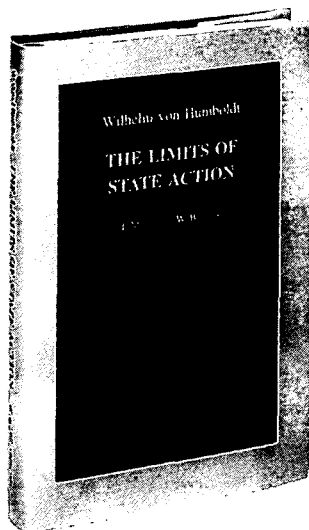
—Hillel Steiner, University of Manchester

Written in 1792 by “Germany’s greatest philosopher of freedom,” as F. A. Hayek called him, this clear and direct discussion of freedom and individual responsibility argues against state promotion of citizen welfare and state interference with private acts.

162 + lxii pages. Editor’s introduction, select bibliography, index.

Hardcover \$25.00 0-86597-108-0

Paperback \$ 7.50 0-86597-109-9



### ALSO AVAILABLE

## ON LIBERTY: THE ESSENTIAL ESSAYS OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER

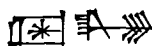
Edited by Robert C. Bannister

“This is the finest single-volume edition of Sumner’s works ever to appear.” — Ronald Lora, University of Toledo

Hardcover \$30.00 0-86597-100-5

Paperback \$ 7.50 0-86597-101-3

To order by phone, call 800-955-8335; fax 317-577-9067. Prepayment by check, VISA, or MasterCard is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on orders prepaid by check. Please allow approximately four weeks for delivery.



**LIBERTY FUND**

8335 Allison Pointe Trail, Dept. Q309, Indianapolis, IN 46250-1687

## Slavic Studies, Shakers, and more . . .

KENNETH E. SHEWMAKER, editor

### **Daniel Webster**

*The Completest Man"*

William H. Rehnquist, foreword

With essays by Richard N. Current,  
Irving H. Bartlett, Maurice G. Baxter,  
and Howard Jones

"A portable Webster" featuring essays  
and documents for students and  
general readers wishing to explore the  
varied contributions of an influential  
nineteenth-century American.

Dartmouth. Now in paperback. \$16.95

WALTER L. HIXSON

### **Witness to Disintegration**

*Provincial Life in the Last Year  
of the USSR*

An American scholar's first-hand  
account of provincial life in the Soviet  
Union in the months before the coup.

"Unusual, engaging, and perceptive . . .  
A thoughtful and sensitive description  
that provides a perspective so often  
lacking from more conventional  
accounts."—*Kirkus Reviews*

Cloth \$19.95

ROBERT ROSS

### **Beyond the Pale**

*Essays on the History  
of Colonial South Africa*

A solid study of the formation of  
South African society and the origins  
of its white ruling class, as revealed in  
the history of the Cape Colony.

Wesleyan. Cloth \$50.00

GIULIETTO CHIESA

### **Transition to Democracy**

*Political Change in the Soviet Union,  
1987-1991*

With Douglas Taylor Northrop

An award-winning Moscow correspon-  
dent analyzes the debates surrounding  
the Soviet struggle for greater democ-  
racy, especially as reflected in the  
Congress of People's Deputies.

Cloth \$40.00 / Paper \$18.95

DEBORAH E. BURNS

### **Shaker Cities of Peace, Love, and Union**

*A History of the Hancock Bishopric*

The establishment, growth, and  
decline of American Shakerism as  
reflected in the history of its second  
bishopric.

*Hancock Shaker Village*

Cloth \$45.00 / Paper \$18.95

ROBERT V. DANIELS, editor

### **A Documentary History of Communism in Russia**

*From Lenin to Gorbachev*

The final edition of a valuable reference  
work documenting the story of Com-  
munism in the Soviet Union from its  
beginnings to its amazing collapse.  
Contains thirty new documents.

Vermont. Paper \$19.95

---

## New England

University Press of New England • Hanover, NH 03755-2048 • 800-421-1561



*A History Book Club Selection*

## **ELIZABETH BACON CUSTER AND THE MAKING OF A MYTH**

**By Shirley A. Leckie**

"In this insightful and extensively researched biography, Leckie provides a look into the Custers' political and cultural worlds and documents their conflicts as well as their strong erotic bonds."—*Publishers Weekly*. "An admirably researched, well-wrought portrait of a talented woman."—*Kirkus Reviews*.

**\$26.95**

*A Military Book Club Selection*

## **ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, AND CUSTER'S LAST BATTLE**

**The Little Big Horn Reexamined**

**By Richard Allen Fox, Jr.**

**Foreword by W. Raymond Wood**

"Fox provides a framework in which history and archaeology as equal partners can be used to analyze battles; his results are clear and accessible to the lay reader as well as the specialist. This landmark study renders obsolete previous accounts."—*Library Journal*.

**\$29.95**

## **QUANAH PARKER, COMANCHE CHIEF**

**By William T. Hagan**

*Volume 6 in The Oklahoma Western Biographies*

"This concise biography reveals crucial details about choices made by Quanah Parker and other Comanches in regard to peyote, cattle ranching, land ownership, and education.

Hagan provides a compelling portrait of a charismatic cultural broker."—*Peter Iverson*, Arizona State University.

**\$17.95**



## **INDIANS AND INTRUDERS IN CENTRAL CALIFORNIA, 1769-1849**

**By George Harwood Phillips**

*Volume 107 in The Civilization of the  
American Indian Series*

"A completely new understanding of pre-Gold Rush California history and of the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley during this period."—*Randall Dean*, Ethnohistorian.

**\$24.95**

## **THE CULTURE OF OKLAHOMA**

**Edited by Howard F. Stein  
and Robert F. Hill**

**Foreword by Fred R. Harris**

This book describes how Oklahomans perceive themselves and how others outside the state view them. It shows how a geographic region can possess its own distinctive meaning system that is mirrored in the larger national image.

**\$29.95 Cloth; \$14.95 Paper**

From your bookseller, or

# University of Oklahoma Press

(Call 1-800-627-7377, or write)

Dept. MAW9—1005 Asp Ave.—Norman, OK 73019-0445

Add: \$1.50 Post/hand. Accept: MC/Visa/AE/Checks. Write for FREE catalogs.





## MOVING?

*Take your subscriptions along with you!*

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

OLD ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

CITY: \_\_\_\_\_

STATE: \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

NEW ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

CITY: \_\_\_\_\_

STATE: \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF RELOCATION: \_\_\_\_\_

*IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE WE SHOULD KNOW?*

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**RETURN TO: Membership Secretary**

**American Historical Association**

**400 A Street, SE**

**Washington, DC 20003**



# Teaching African-American History

*By Robert L. Harris, Jr.*

*1992 Revised Edition*

This updated synopsis of African-American history is the first title in the new AHA series, *Diversity Within America*. It reviews central themes, introduces the significant literature in the field, and provides a conceptual framework for the main events of African-American thought and activity in American history courses. The author traces the rise of African-American culture and its influence on U.S. society over three centuries. This well-written text makes recent interpretations of African-American history accessible to a broad audience.



*Available Spring 1992. \$6.00 members, \$8.00 non-members.*



# AHA PAMPHLETS

## Essays on Global and Comparative History

edited by Michael Adas

This series explores the origins of major civilizations, preindustrial empires, modern revolutions, and recent power struggles. The use of current scholarship demonstrates a greater sensitivity to variations in cultures, social systems, and political economies. These essays are especially useful to college and secondary-school teachers who are engaged in teaching courses on world history or courses with a comparative format.

### Interpreting the Industrial Revolution

by *Peter N. Stearns*

74 pp. 1991 ISBN 0-87229-049-2  
\$4.00 AHA members \$6.00 nonmembers

### The Tropical Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade

by *Philip D. Curtin*

60 pp. 1991 ISBN 0-87229-048-4  
\$4.00 AHA members \$6.00 nonmembers

### Islamic History as Global History

by *Richard Eaton*

51 pp. 1990 ISBN 0-87229-046-8  
\$4.00 AHA members \$6.00 nonmembers

### The Age of Gunpowder Empires, 1450-1800

by *William H. McNeill*

49 pp. 1989 ISBN 0-87229-043-3  
\$4.00 AHA members \$6.00 nonmembers

### The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and their Histories

by *Alfred W. Crosby*

29 pp. 1987 ISBN 0-87229-039-5  
\$4.00 AHA members \$6.00 nonmembers

American Historical Association

Publications Sales Office, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003  
(202) 544-2422 FAX (202) 544-8307

---

## Index of Advertisers

---

American Historical Association	45-47	MIT Press	cover 3
Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press	cover 2	NYU Press	14
Cambridge University Press	32-35	Oxford University Press	24
Columbia University Press	39	Penguin USA	38
Cornell University Press	4-5	Penn State Press	37
Duke University Press	8-9	Princeton University Press	6-7, cover 4
W.B. Eerdmans	3	Routledge	17
The Free Press	26-27	Signature Books	15
Greenwood Press	36	Simon and Schuster	28
Grove Press	11	University of Arkansas Press	31
Harvard University Press	10	University of California Press	20-23
Indiana University Press	30	University of Chicago Press	18, 40-41
Johns Hopkins University Press	16, 29	University of Oklahoma Press	44
Liberty Fund	42	University of Pittsburgh Press	25
Louisiana State University Press	19	University Press of New England	43
		Yale University Press	12-13

# HISTORY & SOCIETY

## **THE INVENTION OF PORNOGRAPHY, 1500-1800**

*edited by Lynn Hunt*

"These absorbing and beautifully researched essays, together with Lynn Hunt's masterful introduction, give a new history to erotic writing and the representation of sexual action. They allow us to see the modern, the daring, the repressive and the dangerous in pornography and to understand why the 'pornographic' emerged as a distinct term for censors only at the end of the French Revolution." — Natalie Zemon Davis, Princeton University  
370 pp., 43 illus. \$26.95

## **MOVEMENT OF THE FREE SPIRIT**

*Raoul Vaneigem*

This book examines the heretical and millenarian movements that challenged social and ecclesiastical authority in Europe from the 1200s into the 1500s. Vaneigem's main emphasis is on the various manifestations of the Movement of the Free Spirit in northern Europe. He sees not only resistance to the power of state and church, but also the immensely creative invention of new forms of love, sexuality, community, and exchange. This book includes translations of original texts and source materials.

260 pp., 4 illus. \$24.95

*Now Available in Paperback*

## **CONSTRUCTING A SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR POSTWAR AMERICA**

*The Cybernetics Group, 1946-1953*

*Steve Joshua Heims*

"This impressive text...is really about interdisciplinary science and creative thinking...Laced throughout is a clear description of how politics and personalities affect the formulation of scientific thought...It accurately and completely presents scientific ideas while maintaining compelling readability." — G. William Troxler, *Science Books and Films*

"The story told by this book is fascinating."

— Martin Shubik, *Science*

352 pp. \$15.95 paper

*Available toll-free 1-800-356-0343 or (617) 625-8569. MasterCard & VISA accepted.*

## **The MIT Press**

**55 Hayward Street Cambridge, MA 02142**

# Princeton



## Erasmus, Man of Letters

The Construction of Charisma  
in Print

**Lisa Jardine**

For many people familiar with the conventional history of the sixteenth century, the name Erasmus of Rotterdam conjures up a golden age of scholarly integrity. Lisa Jardine, however, takes a different view. As she portrays him, Erasmus self-consciously created his own reputation as the central figure of the European intellectual world.

"... a stunning example of what historical scholarship can accomplish: it will provide literary and cultural historians with a model by which to measure their future productions."—*Constance Jordan, Claremont Graduate School*

Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 0-691-05700-1

## The Making of Europe

Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural  
Change, 950-1350

**Robert Bartlett**

This provocative book shows that Europe in the Middle Ages was as much a product of a process of conquest and colonization as it was later a colonizer. Robert Bartlett's theme is not only colonial conquest and settlement, but also the formation of an increasingly homogeneous society that by the end of the Middle Ages lay poised to enter a yet more expansionary phase of its history.

"... a panorama full of excitement, violence, and heroic encounters. In addition, the book is amazingly learned—rarely, if ever, has anyone brought together so much information from so many widely disparate lands (and bodies of scholarship). ... It is one of the most important contributions to medieval history since the Second World War."—*William C. Jordan, Princeton University*

Cloth: \$29.95 ISBN 0-691-03298-X

Available from Princeton in the U.S. and Canada only



## Princeton University Press

41 WILLIAM ST., PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE